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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JANUARY 1, 1917



THE JUBILEE OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

(FOUNDED 1866)

CHAPTER I

FIFTY years have passed since this Association was founded by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and the first lecture ever delivered before it, was delivered by the founder himself on May 2, 1867.

The subject of this address was "England's Duties to India," and it is gratifying to note that (in spite of those momentous fifty years) our founder is still alive and well, and continues to display the same devotion to the welfare of the Empire and the good of the people of India which distinguished the loyal and temperate utterances with which he opened the Proceedings of the Association.

In reply to a letter from our present Hon. Secretary last year, he says:

"I am sorry I am not able to send you the papers of the East India Association which you ask for. I myself do not remember the events of nearly half a century ago."

But although he cannot remember the events of long ago, that there is no change in his feelings and devotion to the British Empire may be gathered from the following letter addressed to his fellow-countrymen a few days after the outbreak of the war now being waged by Britain and her Allies on behalf of truth and right.

Writing from his home at Vesava, near Bombay, on August 10, 1914, he says:

"What a calamity to the world is at present happening! The war in Europe. What is our Indian place in it? We are people of the British Empire. Let us see what our duty and position are.

"If ever India expects to attain again her former glory on the advanced character and scale of modern British civilization, of liberty, humanity, justice, all that is good, great and divine, it will be at the hands of the British people as self-governing members of the British Empire.

"We are, above all, British citizens of the great British Empire, and that is at present our greatest pride. On the other hand, is Britain engaged in the present great struggle for some selfish purpose, for extension of her own dominion and power? No; it is simply for keeping her word of honour and for righteously discharging a solemn obligation for the peace and welfare of minor and weak Powers.

"Fighting as the British people are at present in a righteous cause to the good and glory of human dignity and civilization, our duty is clear—to do everyone our best to support the British fight with our life and property.

"I have been all my life more of a critic than a simple praiser of the British rule of India, and I have not hesitated to say some hard things at times. I can therefore speak with the most perfect candour and sincerity as to what the British character is, what the civilization of the world owes to the British genius, and what we Indians owe to the British people for benefits past as well as benefits to come.

"Yes; I have not the least doubt in my mind that every individual of the vast mass of humanity of India will have but one desire in his heart—viz., to support to the best of his ability and power the British people in their glorious struggle for justice, liberty, honour and true human greatness and happiness.

"The Princes and people of India have already made

spontaneous offers, and until the victorious end of this great struggle no other thought than that of supporting wholeheartedly the British nation should ever enter the mind of India."

One of the chief objects Mr. Naoroji had in view in founding the Association was the awakening of the British people to a due sense of their responsibilities as rulers of India, and his first endeavours were therefore directed to the dissipation of that "colossal ignorance" of India which had so impressed him on his first arrival in England in 1855. Later on he saw how desirable it was that the Chiefs and Princes of India should be represented in this country, and that all possible assistance should be afforded them in laying their claims and views before Government for the protection of their interests and the redress of their grievances. So "all persons interested in India" (whether Indians or Britons) were welcomed as Members of the East India Association.

Its first President was Lord Lyveden, who, as he declared in his inaugural speech, had "been devoted to India during almost the whole of his life." He was born in Calcutta, and was the son of the popular Advocate-General of Bengal, Sydney Smith's brother, Robert Percy Smith (commonly called "Bobus" Smith), whose fame, Sir James Mackintosh declared, was "among the natives greater than that of any Pundit since the days of Manu." Lord Lyveden devoted himself heart and soul to the control and guidance of the Association on the lines laid down by its founder. His Lordship pointed out that there had of late been a deficiency of accurate and authentic information about India, and that it used to be more easy to obtain such information through the old East India Company than under the new Government by the Crown and through the India Office. He thought, too, that information was much needed by Indians as to what was being done in England respecting them, and he instanced particularly the case of native Princes who had claims on this country, and who looked for sympathetic

assistance from Government. He also pointed out how ignorant the people of England were as to what was going on in India, and complained that in London "there was no place where information could be gathered respecting that country." It will thus be seen that one of the main objects of the East India Association from the very first has been to get out the "Truth about India," but, in spite of the exertions of the Association in this direction, it is to be feared that many members of the House of Commons (to say nothing of the masses of the English people) must confess (as one of our most gifted statesmen confessed not so long ago) that their "ignorance of India" is still "colossal."

In pressing for the truth, and in encouraging open discussion in a loyal and temperate spirit, the Association has from time to time been very free and outspoken; and, although it has from its commencement had neither part nor lot in or with "*party politics*," it has never hesitated, in its determined efforts to gain a fair hearing and full justice for India, to freely encourage criticism of political problems when they affect the good faith of Great Britain and the welfare of the Indian Empire. Thus, in very early days Mr. Robert Knight, in his paper on "England's Financial Relations with India," did not hesitate to denounce the financial morality of Sir Charles Wood, then Secretary of State for India, as "conventional," and to declare that "in private life his views would have been held to be disgraceful."

The Association was founded in the year of the great Orissa famine, and the second paper read before it was, very appropriately, read by Sir Arthur Cotton (who may be called India's Grand Old Man of Irrigation). His subject was "Irrigation and Water Transit," and in the course of his address he discussed the first great famine India had experienced since she came under the direct Government of the Crown in the most outspoken manner, and gave free expression to his thoughts and feelings on the failure of the British Government to adequately grapple with the calamity.

It was, he said, a subject on which "it was difficult to speak with calmness," and the somewhat acrid debate which followed the reading of the paper fully bore out his statement, and showed how strongly the speakers condemned the supineness or want of energy of the Government in the face of the great calamity. Complaining of the mass of official papers dealing with the "immense advantages and necessity of irrigation," Sir Arthur Cotton asked what had been *done*, and declared that if India could have been irrigated with *ink* the famines would have been stopped long ago; but, exclaimed he, "I should prefer a Governor-General or head of the Public Works Department who would irrigate one acre or cut one mile of navigation canal to one who would write a whole blue-book full of frothy declamations about the necessity of irrigation and the terrible difficulties attending it."

In presiding over the meeting on July 20, 1867, when Mr. Bannerjee read a paper on "Representative Government for India," the Chairman, Sir Herbert Edwards, at the conclusion of the discussion said:

"I never should think of justifying our position in India if we stood for ruling India for the sake of England. I maintain that our position in India can only be justified by the proposition that we are ruling India for the benefits of the natives of India. And whatever may be said of what was done in past times, and I have read books containing some very strong observations against the acts of the old East India Company, I am proud to think that in the main there never, in the history of the world, was a Government actuated by more pure philanthropy and a more hearty desire to do justice to the people it ruled. That I fully believe, and I am sure that no just man can search into the history of India without having the same belief."

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji concurred in these remarks of the Chairman, and said:

"I assure him—and I think other native friends will agree with me in saying so—that as far as the educated

natives, small as the number is, are concerned, they admit to the fullest possible extent the good that the British Government has done in India. They have never denied it, and I tried my utmost in my first paper to establish that point. We understand what the benefit of the English rule has been, and we fully appreciate it; and I should be the last person to wish that this meeting should disperse without fully agreeing with the remarks made by the Chairman."

By July, 1867, the Association numbered 300 members. A terrible famine having devastated a large part of Southern India in the previous year, General Sir Arthur Cotton again brought forward the subject of Irrigation and Water Transit. He held it to provide the best means of preventing famines in the future. The paper which Sir Arthur read on that subject was able, comprehensive, and conclusive. He had addressed the Imperial Government on the subject a year previously, but his solemn warnings were disregarded. "There was no reason," said the Secretary of State, "to apprehend any great famine in the lower provinces of Bengal." The following year illustrated the prescience of Sir A. Cotton and the fatal incredulity of the Government. Orissa was the scene of frightful suffering. The incident went far to establish the importance of the East India Association in reviving and keeping alive a subject which had been so fatuously neglected by the Home and India Governments.

An attempt having been made to include Colonial affairs in the operations of the Association, the majority of the members were of opinion that it would interfere too much with the higher interests of India if a wider scope were given to the Association. It was therefore determined to limit its consideration to India and China, retaining the exclusive appellation which had been adopted in the first instance.

A paper on the subject of the treaty existing between the Government of India and the Mysore State, and the discussions which issued upon it, demonstrated the desire of the Association to deal fairly with all questions of interest

to the native feudatories and independent chiefs. Much light was thrown upon the subject of treaties generally by the enlightened Sir G. Le Grand Jacob, one of the ablest diplomatists India had ever known; and the action of the Secretary of State in reference to Mysore was generally endorsed.

The question of a Representative Government for India came under discussion which then elicited valuable opinions; and it was quickly followed by a paper from the indefatigable Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, urging the admission of the natives of India into the Civil Service. The effect of the latter paper was to cause a petition to be addressed to the Secretary of State, and a deputation waited with it upon Sir Stafford Northcote, who admitted the great importance of the subject and promised it his best consideration.

The year 1868 opened with a gratifying addition to the numerical strength of the Association. Nearly 600 members had been enrolled. In the course of the year the important subjects of a Representation of India in Parliament (revived by Mr. E. B. Eastwick, C.B.), and the admission of Indians to a share in the Government and access to the Civil Service, were resumed and discussed with much earnestness. The financial relations of India and England were likewise brought on the tapis, and underwent much careful deliberation. This last important question was followed up by a deputation to the Secretary of State to urge the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the matter; and it is almost needless to say that, although the Secretary of State did not yield the point as regards a Royal Commission because of the numerous questions which it involved, the agitation thus begun by the Association resulted ultimately in the formation of a Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry.

At the close of 1868 the Association returned to the vital subject of Irrigation. Lord Mayo was on the point of leaving England to assume the government of India, and the occasion was considered opportune for pressing the matter

upon his consideration; and this was followed up by a deputation to the Duke of Argyll (who had become Secretary of State for India), for the purpose of strengthening the pressure. Lord Lyveden headed the deputation and Mr. W. Tayler enforced the appeal by an eloquent dissertation on the blessings of irrigation. "By a rare and felicitous combination," said Mr. Tayler emphatically, "it comprises all the elements which usually are required by a wise and cautious Government." Other members, two of them members of Parliament, addressed the Duke, and he went the length of admitting the policy of spending money on irrigation works "when and where they could be made remunerative." His Grace seemed to be in great fear of increasing the public debt.

At the first meeting of the Association in January, 1869, the subject of the "Material Improvement of India," which again embraced the question of irrigation, was brought forward by Mr. Login, C.E.; and in the ensuing February the same theme was developed and well treated in an essay on the condition of the Godavery district. In the month of July the terms which should regulate the admission of Natives of the country to the Indian Civil Service were revived by the patriotic Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. The feeling was that the system of open competition for appointments involved unfairness to the Natives in limiting the examinations to London. The assistance of Mr. Fawcett, M.P., was invoked to bring the subject before the House of Commons. In October of the same year Mr. Hyde Clarke, F.R.S., entered the field with a paper on "Transport in India in Reference to the Interests of England and India," which led to an animated discussion regarding the respective value of railways and water-works, Sir A. Cotton maintaining the superior utility of the latter. The Bombay Cotton Act was the last subject which engaged the attention of the Association in 1869; and a reference to the debates elicited thereon will show how boldly and intelligently every subject affecting the welfare of India was grasped and investigated by the Association.

The Public Works of India are so closely interwoven with the prosperity of the country that the Association did not hesitate (1870) to encourage the assertion of sound doctrines by members who had devoted much attention to the subject. Sir Arthur Cotton introduced the subject again with reference to a "proposed additional expenditure of £100,000,000 on railways." Three evenings were devoted to an examination of the question. Many members of high authority entered warmly into the discussion, which, naturally, comprehended a reference to the vast utility of canals. At a later period the Association enjoyed the advantage of the assistance of Sir Bartle Frere on the same theme. Sir Bartle formally proposed the raising of loans by way of creating capital for public works, and the discussion raised on this point was succeeded by an able paper by Sir Charles Trevelyan on "The Finances of India" which underwent much intelligent consideration. The result, indeed, of this particular discussion was a resolution to memorialize Parliament to appoint Select Committees of both Houses to make a searching inquiry into the general administration of Her Majesty's Indian territories. "The Relation between the Native States and the British Government," and the "Delay of Justice to Indian Appellants in England," were introduced in the course of the year and thoroughly ventilated by the well-informed members who followed Mr. Prichard and Mr. Tayler, who had originated the questions in able papers.

"The Deficiencies in the Present Administration of Hindu Law" was the title of the last paper read in 1870. It stands upon the records as an evidence of the readiness with which all such subjects are considered by the Association, but its length and the profound learning brought to bear upon the question prevented its undergoing much discussion at the time.

Many other matters of importance, less directly bearing, however, on native interests, were brought forward and digested in the course of the year 1870. And it should not be overlooked that a movement had been previously made at

Bombay for affiliating the Native Association in that important and populous town with the East India Association.

The "Commerce of India" received early and minute attention at the hands of the Association in 1871. To the ever-active Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was due the credit of bringing the subject forward. If the views which he entertained were not generally adopted, a proper tribute was paid to the great interest of the subject in the lively debate which followed and occupied two evenings, Sir Bartle Frere presiding on each occasion. Immediately upon the heels of that discussion, the great (India) financial question underwent renewed examination, and about the same time the petition which it had been determined to present to the House of Commons regarding the administration of India was presented by Sir Charles Wingfield.

Early in 1871 the Association had acquired so fair a renown that the members numbered 1,000. Its influence had also begun to be felt in the House of Commons; for, when Indian subjects were brought on the tapis, several members, inspired by the Association, spoke with an evident knowledge of the wants and wishes of the people, and endeavoured to enforce them.

As one of the most important elements in the moral prosperity of India, "Popular Education" received attention at the instance of Mr. William Tayler, who read an extremely valuable paper, showing that the education of the lower classes is not incompatible with the instruction of the higher. The introduction of this theme brought forward several members of rank and profound knowledge, including Sir Donald Macleod, Dr. Wilson, of Bombay, and others who had not previously appeared. The accession of these gentlemen proved that the East India Association was able to manifest strength upon any question that might arise affecting the welfare of the people.

A subject which had often presented itself to the minds of the members of the Association—viz., the "Means of Ascertaining Public Opinion in India"—was brought forward

in 1871. Major-General Sir Vincent Eyre justly described it as one of the most important problems affecting the well-being of the great Indian Empire. Sir Bartle Frere inaugurated a lively discussion of the subject in a speech of great force and brilliancy. The solution of the problem is to this moment a difficulty, but great light was thrown upon the question by the speakers that followed Sir Bartle Frere.

Indirectly connected with the foregoing subject is the "Representation of India in Parliament." The arguments in its favour could not be too often iterated, and although, as will have been seen above, it had been frequently considered by the Association, it was again introduced early in 1872.

The great importance of a ship canal between India and Ceylon, as a means of shortening the voyage between England and India, and securing the establishment of safe and commanding harbours for large ships and steamers, infinitely preferable to the harbour of Point de Galle, had long engaged the thoughts of Sir James Elphinstone, M.P. Nothing, however, having been practically attempted by the Government, Sir J. Elphinstone invoked the co-operation of the Association and showed that, besides the advantages referred to above, large supplies of rice from Tanjore could more easily be obtained at Ceylon through the proposed canal than through the Paumben Channel. The benefits were so obvious, and the expense of constructing a new ship canal so very small, compared with the vast sum spent on the Suez Canal, that the Association at once adopted the idea of Sir John Elphinstone, and a large number of gentlemen were deputed to communicate personally with the Duke of Argyll on the subject. The Duke admitted the value of the canal, but as the work was not exclusively an Indian one, he thought that the expense should be shared by the Colonial and the Imperial Governments. The matter was left in his hands.

The Association listened with pleasure, at the commencement of 1872, to an excellent paper by Mr. I. T. Prichard,

who took a perfectly new and original view of the subject of the claims of the natives of India to representation in Parliament. His contention was that the permanence of the union between England and India depended entirely upon the recognition (practically) of the people, who contribute many millions annually to the British Exchequer, to a voice in the supreme public direction of the affairs of their own country. Much valuable light was thrown upon the subject by Sir Vincent Eyre and Mr. James Wilson, the editor of the *Indian Daily News*; the former showing that the natives of the French possessions in the East Indies are represented in the Paris Assembly, and the latter admitting the principle of representation, and luminously exposing the difficulties that beset the arrangement.

Although no direct action was taken upon the questions which received attention during the remainder of the year 1872, the Association, nevertheless, held its regular monthly meetings, at each of which papers turning upon the vital interests of India were read and commented upon by men of rare intelligence, who possessed a competent acquaintance with the wants of the people. "Trust as the Basis of Imperial Policy" was the theme of Major Evans Bell; the "Best Means of Educating English Opinion on Indian affairs" formed the subject of a paper by Mr. Chesson; and the "Law of Mahomedan Inheritance" was brought on the tapis by Mr. Almaric Rumsey, a barrister-at-law.

The operations of 1873 were inaugurated by a lecture on the "Central Asian Question," which was speedily followed by one of more direct concern to the natives of India—namely, "The Land Question." This was treated at large by Colonel Rathborne, an officer of great distinction, who had deeply studied the policy of the Anglo-Indian Government, and had written much with the view of educating public opinion on India. Differences of sentiment rendered an adjournment of the discussion indispensable. The "Land" is still a *vexata questio*, which can only be settled when it has been sifted and examined, and differences of opinion reconciled and adjusted. The agitation of the

subject by the Association sufficiently demonstrates its anxiety to ventilate all laws, regulations, and institutions which have injurious operation in India.

A striking proof of the success attending the unceasing endeavours of the Association to interest the House of Commons in the financial condition of India was apparent in an intimation from the Finance Committee of its desire to receive the evidence of intelligent native gentlemen on points of importance relating to the government of the country. Two Parsee gentlemen, of remarkable talents and attainments, were accordingly deputed to attend the Committee. One of these, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, had been an invaluable member of the Council of the Association, adding to his intelligent communications great personal activity in moving the Princes of Western India to afford liberal pecuniary aid to the institution. The other, Mr. Nowrozjee Furdoonjee, was the Secretary of the Bombay Association, and a person peculiarly qualified, by his extensive knowledge and reasoning faculties, to give valuable information to the Finance Committee. Revenue, taxation, and expenditure were the branches of inquiry on which the Parsee gentlemen were prepared to speak, and the East India Association cheerfully joined with the Association in Western India in getting these two gentlemen to visit England.

The famine, which threatened to devastate Behar and reduce nine millions of people to starvation, was the signal for prompt action on the part of the East India Association. If it could not arrest the pending calamity, or contribute to a fund for the relief of a famishing people, it was at least its bounden duty to enlighten the public on the best means of alleviating suffering, and averting such catastrophes in the future. Mr. W. Tayler, formerly Commissioner in Patna, was foremost to give the Association the benefit of his experience by his paper on "Famines in India: their Remedy and Prevention." The delivery of this paper, and the discussion which ensued, closed the work of the Association in 1873.

This rough sketch of what has been accomplished by the

East India Association in its opening years may be fitly closed with a reference to an excellent paper read before it by Mr. R. H. Elliot, on "Our Indian Difficulties, and the Way Out of Them." The gist of his paper was the necessity for encouraging manufactures in India by the People themselves.

In the foregoing enumeration of the labours of the East India Association no account has been taken of the numerous discussions that arose on questions which had only an indirect bearing on the welfare of the people of India. The claims of the officers of the Indian Army, the "Disputed Succession in Afghanistan," and other subjects more or less mixed up with the affairs and commerce of India, have, from time to time, engaged attention, eliciting opinions and information from intelligent statesmen, civil and military officers, barristers and British merchants of wide experience. But the wants, the wishes, the rights and the interests of the vast population which looks to Great Britain for good government and protection, claimed prominent consideration, and must ever be the foremost objects of an Association formed expressly to echo sentiments of an otherwise unrepresented community. And let it be ever present to the minds of the Princes and People of India that the Association is not composed of persons who merely cherish goodwill towards their fellow-subjects abroad; it is an assemblage of many of the most enlightened noblemen, independent gentlemen, members of Parliament—who have acquired a competent knowledge of India, her claims and necessities either from study or actual experience—Governors, Judges, Commissioners, Envoys, Military Commanders, Revenue and Judicial Officers, journalists, residents for many years among the people, merchants and native gentlemen of education and high intelligence. Their names, which are published from time to time in the Journal of the Association, are a guarantee that they understand the work they have taken in hand, and are at all times ready and willing to perform it conscientiously.

(To be continued.)

NEWS FROM INDIA

THE hot weather and the monsoon are now over, and India is preparing to transact the main features of the business of the year. Conferences and commissions are the order of the day, and on the results and decisions arrived at during their sitting will depend to a large extent any changes and developments to be made concerning the administrative and economic government of the country in the coming year, and afterwards. We are living in some of the most momentous days of the world's life. The world is going to be a very changed place when the War is over. Few of the things that matter will be the same as they were before, and the whole social and economic fabric of the lives of nations and individuals is undergoing a vast upheaval of which as yet we are not fully conscious. Lest chaos be the result when arms are laid aside we are well advised to think early about making provision for the changed order of things. The trade war that will ensue will demand the organization of industrial and commercial brains and resources to meet the new dangers of peace—which, though bloodless, might well result in a long and deadly fight. Even systems of government in parts of the Empire may be altered. Some of the ideals and shibboleths of yesterday bear a different aspect to-day. Two years of the most terrible warfare the world has ever known have brought about changes of perspective too numerous and great to be yet estimated. It will fall to the lot of the historian of the future to record

the differences the War has made. We can only, with our limited outlook, do what appears to us to be the proper means of meeting them.

The sitting of the Industrial Commission at Delhi, under the Presidency of Sir Thomas Holland, during October and November is likely to have far-reaching effects. It is mainly concerned with internal development and progress in the matters of trade and industry, and as its members include Sir F. H. Stewart, Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoy and Dr. Hopkinson, we may look for beneficial results from its deliberations. All witnesses have not yet been heard, so it is not possible to indicate with any degree of certainty what lines its proposals and recommendations will take. The first witness called was Mr. James Currie, President of the Panjab Chamber of Commerce, who advocated strongly the establishment of an Imperial Research Institution and Laboratory on the lines of the Scientific and Technical Department of the Imperial Institute in London. The experts to be maintained by Government at this Institution, he suggested, should be available for loan to private firms; should give expert advice on trade and industrial enterprises, and determine their chances of success. This proposal appears eminently sound, since it may be presumed that such expert assistance would be given for a fee, and that the necessary safeguards would be taken against rash speculation and the wasting of the expert's time. To insure against wild schemes being formulated and taken up in this way, the submission to the Institution of a preliminary report should be sufficient guarantee.

Mr. Currie next suggested that a Trade and Industrial Bank, with branches in all important centres, should be opened, and, helped by Government, be self-supporting. He deprecated the giving of grants-in-aid, bounties, or subsidies by such concerns, and gave it as his opinion that guaranteed dividends would not be desirable. On this point a subsequent witness advocated that dividends should be guaranteed for a limited period in the case of any new

and approved business enterprise; but Mr. Currie considered that the grant of loans towards the supply of machinery or plant, and towards the provision of a portion of share capital, would be sufficient. In such a scheme, also, some sort of guarantee is necessary, otherwise the lives of industrial banks might easily be short. Mr. Currie was entirely against Government assistance in the management of industrial concerns, though it would appear to be only fair that so long as Government were helping an enterprise with money it should have some say in its development. Against the danger of an aided concern swamping private enterprise it was suggested that as soon as a business could compete successfully in the open market by itself the aid given should be withdrawn.

At present industrial undertakings are financed as far as possible by subscriptions, and any amount necessary to make up the required capital is raised in the "bazaars" at big interest. There is no doubt that the substitution of State aid for this means of raising money would be entirely for the good of the country, and it is likely that the only opponents to the scheme would be those who in the past have benefited through its absence. Mr. Currie also suggested that Government might give valuable assistance to industrial development by taking up land for the establishment of factories, or for enlarging the scope of existing industries.

The next witness, Mr. F. C. Walker, declared that the prosperity of India depends on agriculture and minerals, and that it only needed good crops to make the working population generally imagine they were living in a sort of Arcadia. India is, of course, primarily an agricultural country. The bulk of her population of 315,000,000 are cultivators, and derive their living from the land. Of late years the Government Agricultural Institutions at Pusa, Lyallpur and elsewhere, have undoubtedly had the effect of increasing the value of crops in certain districts, and in introducing improved methods of raising them. No less beneficial has been the

conversion of vast tracts of unprofitable ground in the Panjab into rich grain-bearing land through the excellent system of canals. Agriculture has indeed made great strides of late years in spite of partial famines in some districts, and the natural and steady development of the schemes now in progress is all that is necessary for the future. The average Indian cultivator fights shy of changing his method. What was good enough for his ancestors throughout the centuries he considers to be quite good enough for himself. He is eminently conservative, and before he will change he requires ocular and patent proof that he will benefit from doing so. He would far rather go in for the average possibilities of his average crops than launch out with imperfect knowledge into methods which others tell him are better than his own. He works on the principle that "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush," and who shall say that, from his point of view, he is not right? But India is changing every day, and even the cultivator, unbeknown to himself, is being influenced by the altering conditions around him.

Mr. Walker advocated that Government might with advantage finance certain industries, and in this connection he mentioned the leather, match, aluminium, lamp, paper and one or two other trades; and he completed his evidence patriotically by suggesting that the State should give great assistance to any trade that was formerly in the hands of Germans or Austrians. To take only one of these trades—matches. We have had, since the war began, many new kinds of match, chiefly from Japan, which have proved a very inferior substitute for those we had before. Improvement in this line is badly needed, and perhaps Mr. Walker's means of obtaining it are as good as any. The Swedish match appears to be no longer on the market, and doubtless the want of the necessary supply of wood of suitable quality in India is the reason that no large match-making concern has arisen to supply the deficiency.

still in session, and so far as the publicity of its work is concerned, we have only been made aware through the Press of the Viceroy's opening speech, and of the reply thereto by H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda, who spoke on behalf of the Assembly. More than forty ruling Chiefs have met together for the occasion from all parts of India, prominent among them being the rulers of Bikaner, Gwalior, Kolhapur, Kashmir, Cochin, Nawanagar, Gondal, Kapurthala and Kuch-Behar. Lord Chelmsford emphasized the spirit of partnership in the good government of India when he invited their assistance in giving advice on certain specific matters which are apparently to be the subjects of discussion. This keynote of the policy of "mutual co-operation" is an indication that the relations between the States and the Government of India have undergone no change in form, and the unity is the closer since the War began. In the Viceroy's words: "Your Highnesses have stood forth as the pillars of the Empire, and both by personal service in the field and lavish contributions in men, money, and material, you have earned for yourselves a place in the hearts of the British people which will remain for all time." The spontaneous loyalty of the Chiefs at the outbreak of war contributed not a little to the general attitude in India towards it; while the offer and acceptance of personal service in many cases strengthened the bonds of attachment between the Government and the chivalry of the country. There was one notable absentee from the Conference—His Highness Sir Pertab Singh, Regent of Jodhpur—and it may be presumed that this grand old Rajput warrior is still in France with the Indian Cavalry Corps, seeking that death or glory on the battlefield which he covets. His absence from the gathering of his brother Chiefs is to be regretted, since his experience and influence would no doubt have been of great assistance during their deliberations. But it is to be hoped that at the next Conference his seat will not be empty, and that, having seen a victorious peace reigning where now all is strife, he may return with honour to India, to take up

again his place in its life which he so gladly surrendered to fight for King and Empire.

Of late years the States have moved far along the path of progress. In all departments of administration the attainment of a high ideal has been striven after—in some States naturally with greater success than in others. In their initial stages of training at the colleges at Rajkot, Ajmer and Indore, the Chiefs have acquired ideals of rule which they have steadily set before themselves when they have assumed their powers, and to-day the results are apparent everywhere. What their position will become with regard to the Empire as a whole it is still too early to prophesy, but the speeches referred to above make it appear probable that an Advisory Council of Princes will eventually be formulated on a well-defined basis. In the course of an interesting lecture delivered at Simla in the middle of September on "The Ideals of Government in the East and West," Sirdar Jogendra Singh advocated the creation of an Imperial Senate, to include the wisdom, chivalry, and wealth of India. The two schemes may possibly be formed into one, and, thus blended, an advisory body be evolved.

At a Provincial Conference held recently at Ahmedabad, among the resolutions carried was one affecting the whole Indian social system. The delegates gave it as their opinion that the institution of caste hinders the progress of the community in all directions, and ought to be abolished. This is indeed something of the nature of revolutionary thought; but a few years ago such a resolution would have created much violent controversy, whereas now it passes almost unquestioned. Whether its terms will be generally adopted yet remains to be seen, but such a sweeping change in the existing order of things is unlikely to be effected before many years have passed. The continued advance of education is bound to have its effect in the long run, for the main principles of caste are directly opposed to progress, which is the object of all education. But even the abandonment of the caste system among the educated

classes would leave the bulk of the population of India unaffected. In some of the more advanced native States primary education has been made free and compulsory, and a similar development may eventually be found possible in the rest of India. The process is bound to be slow, however, and until education is general and the so-called "depressed classes" have been raised out of their humble position, we cannot expect to see the caste system—the growth of centuries—laid aside.

H. W. B.

NATIVE STATES AND INDIAN HOME RULE

BY JOHN POLLEN, C.I.E., LL.D.

LONG before Sir Walter Lawrence advocated a policy of Indian devolution, I used to maintain that the best and simplest way of giving "Home Rule" to India, if Home Rule be really desired, would be to constitute Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, and possibly Karachi, "free cities," and restore the rest of India to Native Chieftains with British Residents attached to their Courts, the chief control of matters of general concern resting, of course, with the Imperial Government. I was led to this conclusion from observing how powerless under the Secretariat system were British officers, as Heads of districts, to conduct the administration in consonance with the genius of the Indian peoples, whereas the same officers, as Political Agents or Residents, were able to do good work in co-operating with the Native Chiefs in personal rule and in that patriarchal form of administration which the people of India have always loved.

The eulogies bestowed by Mrs. Besant and her new school of "Home Rulers" on the admirable administration of Native States such as Baroda confirm this view, and seem to me to prove that, in spite of the Western Agitator, the country has not changed very much since I left it, and that the peoples of India still retain their innate yearning for, and appreciation of, personal rule, and that the masses still prefer the Native State form of Government.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the "colossal ignorance" about things Indian which has so long prevailed here at home shows signs of disappearing, and, of late, the *Round Table* has been discussing the question of Native States. In a very interesting article in its December issue it tells us that these States lie scattered in even patches throughout internal India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, and that "if the map of India were coloured red for British India and white for Native States, the general effect would be a band of red all round the coast-line and an irregular tessellated pavement of red and white within"—the area covered by Native States being 675,267 square miles, or about two-fifths of the whole of India. These States are inhabited by over 70,000,000 persons, constituting between one-fifth and one-quarter of the entire population of the Peninsula; and these 70,000,000 Indians are certainly "Home Ruled."

The article explains how this enormous area and this huge population came to remain outside the limits of direct British rule, and shows how the Native States were preserved by arrangement with the British Power, the majority of them (except the Rajput States) being of no great antiquity.

Most of these Native States emerged in their present form from the chaos caused by the crumbling of the Mogul Empire during the fifty years following the declaration of war between England and France in A.D. 1744, and the manner in which they emerged and how Empire was literally thrust upon the British is well described by the writer in the *Round Table*. Formerly the Native States were isolated; now they are being drawn closer together, and (as the *Round Table* article declares) "events are undoubtedly marching to a position where greater solidarity between the Chiefs and the Government of India must be attained."

Thus, "it seems probable that room will gradually be found for some kind of representation on the Councils of India of the great area covered by Native States; and two possible developments may here be indicated. One

is the extension of the Conference system in respect of matters of general interest to the Native States. The other is the selection of a few Chiefs of the best type to assist at the deliberations of the Legislative Council. There is no material in India so good as the best of the Native Princes. They may not possess the glibness of tongue, the forensic abilities, the demagogic virtues of the lawyers who, under existing arrangements, find themselves the leaders of Indian opinion. But they know more of the real India; they are accustomed to the responsibilities of actual personal rule; they realize the Imperial position much more keenly; they have had experience of the limitations and shortcomings of the masses, and of their impassiveness and slowness to change; they are much more likely to be actuated by purely impersonal motives; they are, in fact, likely to be quite as valuable counsellors as many who now attain that position.

"In our modern democracies the personal factor is still as great as ever. Much more is this the case in India, which is still at heart conservative and aristocratic. Is it, then, unsafe to prophesy that the day is not far off when the Government of India will be glad to call into their Councils a few of those who represent most obviously the personal element which counts for so much in that country?"

That this day is not far off is shown by H.H. the Gaekwar's reply on behalf of the Chiefs to Lord Chelmsford's advance. His Highness said:

"We are indeed happy to hear all that your Excellency has said in regard to these Conferences, and specially with reference to your Excellency's staunch sympathy with our aspirations as to the future outcome of such assemblies. With the identity of interests which undoubtedly exists between the British Government and the Ruling Princes and the position which we enjoy it will at all times not only be of advantage to us, but also a source of pleasure and satisfaction, to be of whatever assistance we can in the way of advising and perhaps assisting your Excellency and your

Government in important problems concerning the affairs of ourselves, our States and our people."

The identity of the interests of the Supreme Government and the Ruling Princes being thus admitted, it becomes of grave importance to know what are the views of the latter regarding the extension of Home Rule in India, and particularly with regard to the "Post-War Reforms" advocated by the nineteen elected non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council. These reforms declare that what is wanted is "not merely good government or official administration, but government that is acceptable *to the people because it is responsible to them.*" One wonders what the Ruling Chiefs will think of this? They are bound up in the bundle of life with the Imperial Government. How will they be affected? What the Home Ruler demands is the complete control by the Indian people of their own affairs. The Chiefs may ask, Who are the "Indian people"? or they may take it for granted that they themselves are the people. The answer to the question is not so simple as some people think; but the question who are the people must be answered sooner or later.

Now, all well-wishers of India desire to see her sons rendered fit to administer their own country and enjoying a larger share in the government; and, as a matter of fact, the Civil Service of India desires this and is already itself open to all Indians irrespective of caste or creed. There is nothing to prevent any Indian entering by the appointed door of Open Competition, and many Civil Servants consider that a larger share in the administration ought to be given to Indians, and that disabilities with regard to their entry into the commissioned ranks of the army, etc., ought to be removed. Commissions are already granted in the Army Medical Services, and it is not easy to understand on what principle commissions are granted to Indians to cut up His Majesty's subjects and refused to them to cut up the enemy.

Mr. G. B. Clark is, therefore, quite wrong in thinking that the scheme of reforms put forward by the "Nineteen" will be "strongly opposed by the Indian Civil Servants, as it will

deprive them of many of their privileges and of the highest offices—the plums of the Service to which they aspire." If they oppose it, they will oppose it on no such sordid grounds ; for, whatever the form of government may be, the permanent official will have to do the work, just as he does here in England, in spite of the pretensions and pretences of the elect of the people ! So the Civil Service, however composed, has nothing to fear for itself from Home Rule.

What the Civilians do object to is the danger to the country from the unscrupulous manner in which the Agitator endeavours to make bad blood between them and the people by vilifying and misrepresenting the whole Service. The Agitator attributes to the civilian administrator the poverty and all the woes of India, and charges him with not making the progress of India his sole or main consideration. Could any charge be more false, malignant and ridiculous ? But simple and thoughtless people are sometimes taken in by it, and the Agitator knows this.

As a matter of fact, as their record shows, Indian Civilians have as a body recognized from early days their responsibilities to India and the Indians, and, though sometimes condemned to pass the best of their lives in districts desolate and dry, have worked with a will for the good of the people they served, and have cordially sympathized with legitimate Indian aspirations.

It further seems to be forgotten that the British and other Europeans in India, though not natives of the soil or even permanent residents, have nevertheless done more for the development of the country than the Indians themselves, and have therefore some claim to share in any system of Home Rule that may be adopted.

In the latest Home Rule leaflet just received from Bombay, in order to demonstrate the extreme poverty of the people a fantastic comparison is made with much elaboration between the actual annual cost of keeping a prisoner in gaol—which in Bengal is given as Rs. 61.4.1—and the average annual income per head of population outside the 'gaol, which is taken to be only Rs. 30. But the units are really

not of the same genus, and no comparison between them is possible. The prisoners in costly gaols are individuals cut off from their families, whereas the population outside the gaol is made up of families, including members from the grand-sire to the babe, and the average of Rs. 30 a head for each individual member of the family (supposing the family to consist of five members) would make up an income of Rs. 150 a year, or 12.8.0 a month—the usual pay of a police head-constable in old times. But figures are at their best delusive things, and it gives a better idea of the position to point out the plain fact—emphasized by Sir William Wedderburn—that in India human life can be sustained on one anna a day. This is perfectly true, and I for my part would rather be a pauper in India on a penny a day than exist on sevenpence a day in England. The poverty in India is nothing like the poverty prevailing in parts of London and Dublin, and the answer to the question, “How do the millions of indigent Indians make both ends meet?” is that they do make them meet in the anna, and not “in the graveyard or in the burning-grounds,” as the Home Rule pamphleteer hysterically asserts. The conclusion that Home Rule will remedy the poverty of India, and that therefore “the attainment of Home Rule is unquestionably the most urgent and important political and economic problem before the country,” is a ridiculous conclusion. There is high authority for saying, “The poor ye have with you always”; and alas! it is only too true that the same proportion of population is insufficiently fed in Great Britain as in India. Our first endeavours, then, should be to help the poor and to raise and enlighten the masses; and it is false to assert that the Civil Service has not striven to do this with the funds at its disposal, or that the political development of India has not commanded the earnest attention of the British Government. The reverse is the truth! And Home Rulers will only harm the cause they profess to have at heart by false assertions. It is now admitted that India pays Britain no tribute; that the greater part of the so-called

"drain" consists of what the late Mr. Justice Ranade called "interest on moneys advanced to or invested in our country (and so far from complaining we have reason to be thankful that we have a creditor who supplies our needs at such a low rate of interest)"; and that the Imperial land-tax or ground-rent does not on the whole amount to more than one-fifth of the surplus produce of India, although Mr. Keir Hardie once had the hardihood to declare that over a great part of the country the British Government extorted 75 per cent. of the gross produce of the land.

But, however loudly the Home Rulers of India may proclaim fictions for facts, the Native Rulers of the land know the truth; and there is, happily, no lack of sane and true Indian Patriots, like the late Mr. S. M. Dikshit, of Bombay, who declared that "the peaceful progress of British Rule in India was the most eloquent testimony to the solid appreciation by the mass of the population of the benefits it confers on all ranks and conditions of men in the country." The real strength of that rule, he declared, was the moral faith which the people as a whole reposed in the power of the Government to guide its destiny, and to lead it on in the path of progress and happiness. So Lord Sydenham is quite right in holding that British Rule in India can only be justified if, in addition to maintaining Law, Order and equal justice for all, it is directed to leading the people onward and upward, bridging over the gulfs which divide them, and smoothing their path to Nationhood and Self-Government. It will thus be seen that, whatever "the angle of vision," both Lord Sydenham and Sir William Wedderburn seem in substantial agreement as to the desirability of pursuing a noble and generous policy. But all well-wishers of India must deprecate and deplore "immoderate" demands (even though put forward by "Moderates") and unreasonable moves or hasty rushes, only too likely to result in harm it might take centuries to undo. At any rate, all must agree that vilification of faithful friends and servants is not the way to win Home Rule for India.

MILITARY NOTES

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL

THERE are some who regard the present War as the greatest the world has ever seen, involving more countries and arraying more combatants than any previous combination of forces. It may prove interesting, therefore, to compare it with some of the great wars recorded in history. The Thirty Years' War involved the whole of Germany, the Netherlands, France, Spain, Sweden, and Denmark. Great Britain had her own civil war on at the time. The War of the Spanish Succession involved Great Britain, France, Spain, the German Empire, Holland, Savoy, and the greater part of Italy, which was then a bone of contention between Spain and Austria. At the same time Sweden, single-handed, was fighting Denmark, Poland, Russia, and Prussia, and the German Empire was waging a war against the Turks in Hungary which lasted for seventeen years. For the space of ten years or more there was not a single country in Europe that was not at war, unless we except Switzerland, which was busily engaged in supplying thousands of soldiers impartially to both belligerents for value received. In the War of the Austrian Succession Great Britain was the ally of Austria against France, Spain, and Prussia. Holland and Savoy joined in the fray as allies of the Empress, while many of the minor States of Germany followed the example of Prussia and took sides with France. This war was fought out in Asia and America by the French, Spaniards, and

English; and the same was the case in the Seven Years' War, which followed close upon it, in which Great Britain and Prussia stood together against almost the whole Continent, France, the German Empire, Russia, Sweden, and Spain, being all banded together to destroy the growing power of Prussia; and they might well have succeeded but for the financial aid which we afforded to Frederick the Great. The series of wars provoked by the French Revolution lasted with hardly any intermission for two-and-twenty years. Great Britain was at war with France during the whole of this time, with only two breaks of a year each—one in 1802 and one in 1814. In 1813 every country in Europe was engaged in war, and most of them the theatre of active operations. Turkey was engaged in reconquering Servia with the armies which had been set free by the cessation of her war with Russia in 1812. Not only was all Europe in arms, but the United States was at war with England, and Americans and Canadians were fighting on the Great Lakes. We had then no difficulties to solve in dealing with the rights of neutrals, because there were none.

But the present War surpasses all others in the use of the new elements of aerial and submarine warfare, and also in the numbers of the combatants engaged. Probably no such multitudes were ever seen even when the nomadic nations of Barbarians, in which every man was a warrior, overran the provinces of the Roman Empire. The hordes at the head of which Changhiz Khan and his sons overthrew the Empire of the Saracens are stated by Oriental historians to have numbered a million of men. Their organization scheme provided that number, but it is impossible to say whether it was ever actually reached. The Turkish army which besieged Vienna in 1683 was estimated at 200,000 men, but doubts may be entertained of the accuracy of its muster-rolls. Napoleon collected an army of more than 400,000 fighting men from all the nations of Europe to invade Russia in 1812, the largest host that had ever been seen in the field

in European wars; but its numbers proved rather a source of weakness than of strength. In those days there were no railways and few roads in Eastern Europe, and the services of supply and transport broke down under the enormous strain. To-day four or five army corps with a total strength of 400,000 men would hardly be considered to constitute an army. Steam and electricity and improved communications and methods of supply have made what was impossible to Napoleon possible to a modern war lord. What a mercy to humanity that the mind of Bonaparte never grasped the idea of universal and compulsory military service, and what a misfortune that it first occurred to the mind of a Prussian statesman !

But universal liability to bear arms in the national cause is as old at least as the days of Joshua, and the wheel has only come round to the original turning-point. The invention of firearms and the superiority of the expert mercenary to the raw Militiaman changed the military system of Europe in the sixteenth century, and standing armies recruited by voluntary enlistment took the place of the feudal levies. The old Militia systems continued to exist, but were neglected and disregarded. King Frederick William, the eccentric father of Frederick the Great, in whose madness there was a good deal of method, instituted a conscription in Prussia, each parish in the kingdom being required to furnish its quota of recruits for the Royal Army. This innovation did not find favour in other countries until Carnot, the War Minister of the French Revolution, adopted it as the basis of his scheme of army organization, and thus provided forces which outnumbered those of the European Coalition brought against them. All other nations were then forced in self-defence to fall into line with the French method. Under very similar conditions all the nations of Europe have found themselves obliged to follow the lead of Prussia, first in the introduction of short service and a Reserve system, and secondly of universal compulsory military service. Our great army reformer, Lord Cardwell, was so

clever that he imagined that he could obtain all the advantages of the Prussian system without paying the Prussian price for it, and introduced short service and a Reserve into the British Army without the corollary of compulsion. It was like acting the play of "Hamlet" with the part of Hamlet omitted. Every soldier knew that the Cardwell scheme of army reform was a farce designed for the entertainment of the ignorant public, and most of them believed that we should have to resort to conscription before we had been engaged for six months in a European war; as a matter of fact, we have been able to stave off the necessity of resorting to compulsion for nearly two years. If Lord Cardwell had grasped the obvious fact of the situation as the late lamented Lord Roberts did, it is quite possible that this war might never have been forced on us at all; for our well-known military unpreparedness was a primary factor in the expectations of the German Cabinet that Great Britain would stand out of the War, and that even if she did come into it, her military action would be a negligible quantity.

Lord Cardwell's chief achievement was the abolition of the Purchase system, a system which was utterly indefensible in theory, but yet worked well in practice. However, it was an anachronism which could no longer be tolerated in the nineteenth century. The rest of Lord Cardwell's reforms might well have been left alone; his Reserve system was the Irishman's plan for lengthening his blanket by cutting a strip from the top and sewing it on to the bottom; and he effected many needless and useless reforms in military nomenclature, changing the titles of Ensign and Cornet to 2nd Lieutenant, Drum-Major to Sergeant-Drummer, and so on, apparently to imbue the mind of the British public with the idea that great reforms were being effected in our army system, while in reality only old names were being changed for new ones. Most of the measures for which Lord Haldane has been lately praised by his admirers in the columns of the Press might come under the same category: he changed the name of some military institution, and the

man in the street thought that he had changed the thing itself. Thus he changed the time-honoured and historical name of the Militia to the meaningless appellation of Special Reserve; and he rechristened the old Volunteers as the new Territorial Force. Such changes as were made in the terms of enlistment, etc., could very well have been made without any change of title. The name of Special Reserve is an especial misnomer, for these battalions are not Reserve battalions at all, but are depot battalions for feeding the battalions of the line. A Reserve battalion would be a battalion composed of Reservists, like the German Landwehr battalion. The title of the Territorial Force was a happier effort, and the addition of field artillery to it must be placed to Lord Haldane's credit, a measure which has been made the most of by his admirers in the Press, who quite forget, or perhaps omit to mention, the large reductions he made in our regular army, particularly in the heavy artillery. Sixty years ago the Emperor Napoleon III. said that future wars would be decided by the artillery arm. His foresight has been justified by the events of the present War. He was not a great General, but he did know something of military affairs.

In some respects the Germans have in this War reverted to the practices of the Dark Ages. From medieval times forward it has never been considered lawful by the civilized peoples of Europe to exact forced labour from a prisoner of war. The only exception (which proves the rule) was made in the case of Turkish or other infidel captives who were not considered to be entitled to Christian treatment. They were employed as galley-slaves in France, Spain, and Italy well into the nineteenth century. But to use any Christian as a slave by exacting forced labour from him would put his captors out of the pale of civilization. Now the Germans have done this thing.

Another iniquitous innovation, of which other combatants besides Germany have been guilty, is the imprisonment of civilians and non-combatants, the barbarity of the practice

being cloaked by the name of "internment." When Napoleon in 1803 arrested all the British residents and travellers in France on the outbreak of war, in retaliation for the seizure of French ships on the high seas, a great outcry was raised in the United Kingdom against his action as a breach of international law. The practice of interning men of military age, of course, naturally arises out of the new practice of universal military service; but old men, and those obviously unfit for military duty, have also been interned. The best thing we could have done with all the Germans and Austrians in England at the beginning of the War would have been to have repatriated them straight away. The German Government would then have had no excuse for detaining English civilians in captivity.

The Germans have now filled the cup of their infamy to the brim by reducing thousands of Belgian civilians to a condition of slavery.

There has lately been inquiry made in the Houses of Parliament into the alleged unsatisfactory conditions prevailing in some Indian military hospitals. When the late Duke of Buckingham was Governor of Madras, he paid a first visit to a hospital there, and seeing in the corridor a bamboo erection of three stages, on each of which a large earthenware water-pot was placed, inquired the use of it from the surgeon in charge. The latter informed him that it was the single water-filter commonly used in the country: a layer of charcoal was deposited in the uppermost pot, and a layer of sand in the midmost one; the water was poured into the topmost vessel and percolated through the charcoal into the second one, and through the sand into the third and lowest one, whence it was drawn for drinking. The Duke, who was above all things a practical business man, reached up and put his hand into the topmost vessel. "No charcoal there!" he said. "And no sand here," as he put his hand into the second water-pot. The native hospital attendants, who regard the practice of filtering drinking-water as an amiable but irrational foible of their English masters, had not troubled

themselves to replenish the charcoal and sand in the pots, and the patients were drinking unfiltered water. A native would often draw drinking-water straight from the topmost pot rather than wait for the water to percolate through to the lowest one. No doubt the delinquents heard some home-truths from the Surgeon-Major when the Duke's back was turned; but the moral of the tale is, that when you want a thing done in India, you should yourself see it done, and not leave it to the discretion of a native, whose views as to the necessity or propriety of doing it may differ widely from your own.

THE WAR AND THE KAISER

BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ALFRED TURNER

GERMANY IN EUROPE

THE Anglican Bishop for North and Central Europe, who has undertaken the praiseworthy mission of visiting Ruhleben, with, of course, the consent of the German Government, is, as reported, under the extraordinary impression that the Kaiser was opposed to the War, but was overweighed by the Crown Prince and his camarilla, which consisted of the worst types of Prussian Generals—namely, Von Haeselar, Von Falkenhayn, Von Einem, and Von Kessel. No opinion could be more erroneous. The Kaiser is not a man to brook opposition from anyone, especially from his evil-minded, degenerate heir, whom he had packed off in disgrace to banishment once or twice for opposing his will, while he had deprived no less persons than Von Bissing and Von Hindenburg of their commands of army corps for daring to advance opinions contrary to his own. It seems extraordinary that any of our countrymen should seek to mitigate the guilt of this arch criminal, who bears the chief responsibility for all the misery and sorrow, all the loss, death, and destruction that this War has caused, and will cause for years to come. The Kaiser's own orders should show on whom the guilt lies. At any cost of life the " contemptible little army of General French " was to be destroyed, at any sacrifice were Paris, Calais, and Verdun to be taken, and now, in his own words, Rumania, which has presumed to

take sides against the Hun, is to be destroyed; and in order to find a pretext for doing so, lying reports have already been made that Rumanian civilians have fired on German troops. We all know what this means—namely, that the diabolical outrages, the crimes of murder, rapine, and pillage, which appeal so forcibly to the Teutonic mind, and which have desolated Belgium, Northern France, and Serbia, are to be repeated in Rumania by Von Falkenhayn (said to be the most cruel, ruthless General even in Germany) and his troops, by his order, acting under the command of the All Highest.

It is of great interest to note the evolution of the hatred of Great Britain by the Kaiser and his flock. I was in Germany every year for some few years from 1896, and attended officially the manœuvres of German army corps. I was received well, and often cordially, by the officers, and perceived no coldness nor slight till the South African War, when the demeanour of some officers with whom I came into contact was decidedly unfriendly. The impertinent telegram of the Imperial busybody, which was generally supposed to have been penned by Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, in which he congratulated President Krüger on having defeated and captured the Jamieson raiders, was laughed at as an act of impulsive folly, though, as will be remembered, it created a perfect *furor* here, that the insolent Hohenzollern should have dared to interfere in our affairs. This feeling, however, soon subsided, and Great Britain went to sleep again, instead of being awakened to the first signs of the hatred of us by the Kaiser. Then came the Boer War, when this hatred broke out and found expression in every part of Germany, and especially in the Press, portions of which published the most outrageous, insulting cartoons, throwing ridicule on our King, Edward VII., on Lord Roberts, Lord Kitchener, and on our soldiers. This showed the real feeling towards us of the Kaiser and the German people, which, though partly concealed with that astuteness and treachery so characteristic of the Hun, has never subsided, and was brought to white heat when we;

as in honour bound, declared war against Germany, for having criminally torn up the treaty of 1839, and instead of keeping her engagements to Belgium, invaded her and massacred her people, because they did not joyfully greet the German Army, but attempted to protect their own from the hordes of Hun bandits which defiled their, to them, sacred soil. Long has the Kaiser plotted this War upon civilization and humanity, and especially did he prepare for it when he began to create the German Navy, in order to wrest eventually the trident from us. In June, 1908, the Kaiser held a secret council at Potsdam, at which Prince Henry of Prussia, the principal officers of State, and heads of the army and navy, were present; an account of this meeting and what passed at it came into the hands of Mr. William Le Queux, who has been much in Germany, and whose eyes have long been open to the iniquitous plot which she was preparing. Doubts have been expressed as to the genuineness of this report, but all one can say is that the plans set forth in it by the Kaiser have been attempted one and all. He is reported to have said that Von Moltke, true to his inherited great name, would demonstrate to the world that Germany has not been resting on her laurels of 1870-71, *but has been preparing ever since for war.* When Von Moltke died a few months ago, the Kaiser telegraphed a message of condolence to his family, in which he said that he had been devoting all his life and energies to the preparation for this War, Moltke being his chief of the staff. Still, notwithstanding this absolute proof of the Kaiser's heinous guilt, there are those who would have us believe that the Imperial hypocrite who perpetually invokes the sacred name of God is not personally responsible for the War, in which, after France and Russia had been crushed, Great Britain was to be invaded and destroyed, our fleet having been sunk by means of Zeppelins and our army being of no account; and then he quoted the words of the old swash-buckler Blücher, "What a splendid city London will be to sack!" Mr. Le Queux tells us, from the notes he received of the speech from one who was present, that at its conclusion

an old white-headed General, Von Kessel, one of the camarilla, was so excited that he knelt at the Kaiser's feet and, kissing his hand, exclaimed: "It is the voice of God that has spoken through your Majesty, whom He has chosen to be the instrument of destroying the nightmare of British supremacy." This scene reminds one of a somewhat similar episode recorded in Holy Writ, when Herod was flattered in like manner, and came to a remarkably untimely end. The guilt of the Kaiser is proved to the hilt; it is he who has killed the soul of Germany, and made of her a people who "are corrupt and do abominable things: there is none that doeth good, no, not one!" He has flattered them as the salt of the earth, and he has filled them with greed by his promises that the fall of the British Empire should make Germany, not only the greatest and richest of nations, but also that a gigantic and hitherto unheard of indemnity should be levied on England and France, so that the War should be paid for by her enemies. Anyone who has read Mr. Curtin's letters in *The Times* and *Daily Mail* can recognize the deadly hatred of Great Britain, which is fanned by the fire-eating Lutheran clergy, who invent hate prayers and hate hymns against us, and poison, as they have done for years past, the minds of the children. As the doctrine of brute force is inculcated by the German Government, so is the doctrine of hate and destruction of Great Britain preached by the Lutheran Church; this should prevent well-meaning men like Lord Bryce from advising us not to hate the Germans—to say nothing of the pacifists and cranks in our midst who would like to see a premature peace made with Germany, leaving that infamous Power the means to repeat her sanguinary crimes against civilization and humanity. The following extract from a letter of a leading, wealthy, and capable man of business in Germany shows the bitter rancour of his class against us, a rancour which has long existed, but has been most carefully concealed. Sir John Wolfe Barry* gives this interesting production to the world:

This is what the German says: "The poisonous seed sown

* From the *Coruhill Magazine*, September, 1916.

by your good King, Edward VII., has sprung up. It is a well-known fact that the great aim of his life, to which he devoted all his energy, was to unite the whole world in one bond against Germany, to annihilate that hated nation.

"We shall win because we are fighting for the right, for our national existence, for civilization. Without England's intervention the War would have been inconceivable.

"Because we have attained great prosperity by ability and hard work, the hatred and jealousy you bear us Germans has grown beyond all bounds. The embarrassing competition must be crushed, so that you can go on in your comfortable decadent position.

"In order that a people particularly Christian may attain this worthy goal, the barbarian hordes of the Slavs are mobilized against the champions of civilization (*sic* /), to whom the world owes so much. The nations of Africa are incited against us, and we are even betrayed in Japan. This last act has raised a storm of indignation in our country which would alarm you had you any idea of it. England will certainly make terrible amends for this underhand deed. The hatred that is raging among Germany's sixty-seven millions will avenge itself on England in a most fearful way. For a hundred years the fist of every German will be clenched whenever the word *England* is spoken." And so on *ad infinitum*.

GERMANY IN ASIA

The contents of this letter are useful as showing those who still tell us not to hate Germany what feelings are entertained by Germans of the most intelligent business classes, of whom the writer is a fair representative. We much prefer the advice of our great national hero, Lord Nelson, to that of Lord Bryce. The former, when asked by one of those individuals who are tolerated in peace, but who are intolerable in war, whether he did not consider it wicked to hate his enemy, replied: "I am not such a hypocrite as

to love him that hates me, nor if he hits me on one cheek to offer him the other. No, by God ! knock him down !”

There is no question as to the deadly hatred that is felt towards us by the entire population of Germany, which, as the writer of the above letter declares, will last for a century. The War is one to the knife, and must be fought out to the bitter end, till either the British or the German Empire goes under; and when the latter takes place, which it assuredly will, though the end is not in sight yet, the Kaiser and his vile dynasty, who have been the cause of all the wars in Europe the last fifty years, and of many before, must disappear. Joseph McCabe, who knows the Kaiser *au fond*, writes in his book, “The Kaiser, his Personality and Career,” that the first and most important deduction—indeed, the only one—that he can draw from the character and doings of the Kaiser is, if he is suffered to remain on the throne of Germany (even a Germany without Alsace-Lorraine, Posen, and East Prussia), he will expend all his remaining vitality on a stupendous, subtle, and utterly unscrupulous effort to secure revenge. This is certain; for Prussia left with any power at all, as Napoleon, to his great regret, after Jena in 1806, when his army humbled her to the dust, found out, will have “wonderful recuperative force.” The diplomacy of some Allied politicians has been weakness itself, but they cannot sink so low as to knuckle to the infamous Hohenzollerns or spare them after the War. It is not to be wondered at that the Germans hate the Japanese only second to ourselves, and they have some reason for doing so. They were the principal means of thwarting Japan in her efforts to acquire Port Arthur at the end of the Japanese-Chinese War, which Japan rightly will not forgive nor forget, especially as the acquisition of it cost her such terrible sacrifices of life in the Russo-Japanese War. She has amply taken her revenge. In the year 1897 Germany, in the most impudent manner, forced China to cede to her the district of Tsingtau, or Kiao-Chiao Bay, one of the best situated places on the coast of that Empire. The pretext was the murder

of two German missionaries by a gang of ruffians. The Germans made a model settlement in the place, and fortified it very strongly. It became in time by far the most attractive resort in China, and the afforesting of the district, which had been almost bare of trees, speaks volumes for the skill and energy of the Germans, who expended, it is said, very many millions in developing their fraudulently seized colony. What they thought of it may be gathered from the telegram that the Kaiser sent to the Chancellor, Prince Hohenlohe, on January 5, 1898, in which he congratulated him on having acquired Kiautschau as a most glorious accomplishment. The Japanese, with the British, have wrested this booty from the Germans, and it now remains, and will remain, in the hands of the Japanese, who have done such incomparable service to the Allied cause.

The late Lord Salisbury no doubt made the greatest error in his career when he ceded Heligoland to the Germans, but he far more than atoned for it by his most far-seeing and statesmanlike act of entering into a treaty with Japan. Though we do not hear so much of her work in this War because she has not been engaged in any actual fighting since the capture of Tsingtau, her services have been immense to us and our other Allies. She holds and guards the Eastern seas and keeps them clear of Germans; she and the Russians landed troops and helped us to subdue the very dangerous revolt at Singapore, which caused much bloodshed, and which was instigated by the treacherous Germans, who lived there amongst our people and enjoyed their hospitality. Her navy escorted our troopships to France, thus releasing a large portion of our fleet for work elsewhere. Every factory in her Empire is commandeered for the production of arms and munitions for the Allies, principally for her close friend Russia, whose recovery of her military position, which was so dangerously threatened by Hindenburg last year, is mainly due. There is no firmer alliance than that which exists between Russia and Japan, founded as it is on mutual respect and admiration, and greatly on the

Russian side, owing to the admirably humane manner in which the Japanese treated the Russian prisoners of war in Japan. Compare this with the savage and bestial manner in which the Germans have treated their prisoners, and especially those which are British. The Japanese would never have dreamed of murdering Edith Cavell or Captain Fryatt; but the German mentioned above, as a prominent manufacturer, describes them "as the most treacherous, most contemptible, most ungrateful people, that the earth holds!" Had not the Germans been totally without a sense of humour, the writer would have perceived that his description of the Japanese is remarkably applicable to his own countrymen of to-day; only, to make it complete, one would have to add "the most cruel" to the category of sins. This enormously widespread War has affected the East equally with the West; and the designs of the German megalomaniac reached as far in the former as in the latter, and have equally failed. Tsingtau was meant to be a foundation of a German Empire in the East, and Yuan Shi Kai, the late Chinese President, had been bought over by German gold, and was doubtless a tool in German hands to aid in carrying out their sinister designs, which included the utter destruction of the Japanese Empire, after Europe had been brought down to the Kaiser's feet and America had submitted to his sway. Shall we ever know what was the magnitude of the Kaiser's megalomania?

Nothing had been neglected to give him the power to call himself Emperor of the world and a partner of the Almighty. Among the places to be seized at the beginning of the War was British North Borneo, the northern portion of the vast island of Borneo. It lies well on the route to the East, to China, Japan, New Guinea, and Australia; it has fine harbours and a good coal-mine, and would have made, like Tsingtau, an excellent station for the German Navy. The North German Lloyd Company had purchased the Holt line of steamers which ran from Singapore to North Borneo, and had acquired nearly all the trade between the two.

When I left North Borneo for Hong-Kong in 1913, there were five steamers in the harbour of Sandakan, the capital of the colony, all flying the German flag. Shortly before the outbreak of War, Von Spee's squadron steamed into Maruda Bay, at the north of the island, to pay a friendly visit, and the officers were received with cordiality and treated with hospitality. They no doubt made a thorough inspection of that portion of the island, and formed their plans for seizing Maruda Bay, a splendid harbour. Fortunately, this squadron lies at the bottom of the sea, off the Falkland Islands, for it might have effected an enormous amount of harm to our Eastern possessions and those of our Allies. I will conclude by relating the following little incident, which is full of meaning. When war was declared on August 4 with Germany, a telegram was sent to the Governor of North Borneo to inform him of the fact. When it arrived an official was sent to warn the captain of a North German Lloyd steamer which lay in Sandakan harbour. When he went on board, he saluted the captain, who was a German naval officer, and said that he regretted to inform him that war had been declared. The captain exclaimed: "Between whom?" and when told between Great Britain and Germany, he shouted: "Mein Gott! three years before it was intended!" A straw shows which way the wind blows, and this trivial incident betrays the treachery of Germans, whom we freely admitted among us, and to whom we gave the greatest liberty and licence to go where they liked and do what they liked. Had the maniacal Kaiser been contented to wait for three years more, during which Germany's prodigious preparations to destroy us would have been incomparably greater, and ours probably infinitely less, the danger to our Empire would have been incomparably greater. Now, in spite of our unpreparedness for war, the extreme danger is past, though, as Sir William Robertson, in whose ability, judgment, and force of character the Empire has rightly perfect confidence, has lately said, in two of his straight-to-the-point, common-sense speeches, we must use

all possible exertions and strain every nerve; and if we do so, there is no doubt that we and our Allies will gain the complete victory we desire, and that the Kaiser, the *fons et origo* of the War and all its hideous accompaniments, will share the fate of one infinitely greater than he—Napoleon—and that we shall be able to quote regarding him, as Sir Walter Scott did of the great French Emperor :

“ Jam non ad culmina rerum
Injustos creviase queror ; tolluntur in altum
Ut lapsu graviore ruant.”—*Claudian in Rufinum*.

Rumours of offers of peace from the Kaiser have to-day been heard from the German Chancellor. It is too soon to consider what they mean. It is impossible to believe that any terms would be offered by the Germans which would not leave them power to renew their infamous and criminal attacks on the liberty of the world, or to think that any terms made by them would not be broken whenever it suited them. “ Mere scraps of paper !” *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes !*

LI YÜAN-HUNG'S PRESIDENCY

BY E. H. PARKER

Le roi est mort ; vive le roi !

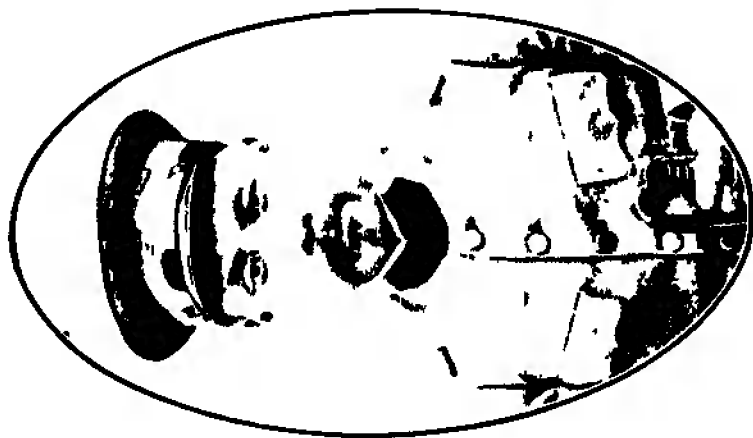
THE new President made his bow to the world on the 7th of June in the following simple and unexceptionable terms : " [I, the unworthy] Yüan-hung on the 7th day of this month took up the Presidency. Conscious of my slender capacity, I am fully alive to the risks I run, and all I can do is to abide by the laws and strengthen the Republic " [the same word *Kung-ho* as used in 842 B.C., when the King or Emperor fled, and a Duumvirate administered until 828, when the same exiled Emperor died and his son was recalled to the throne] " in the hope of constituting a State governed by Law. Let officials and people of all classes join in realizing this sentiment, and with all their mind and strength aid me where lacking, which is my fullest hope."

From the accompanying portrait it will be seen that Li Yüan-hung is no Vere de Vere in external grace, and that his features have rather a Siamese cast. His family name in the northern dialects, like that of the late Li Hung-chang, is pronounced like the English Mr. Lee; but in its inherent etymological value it is Mr. Lie (as in *light*), whilst the deceased statesman had in his family name " latent heat " to the value of Mr. Lay; apart from this, moreover, the " tones " are widely different, and this distinction nothing but the voice can express. Li Yüan-hung was certainly

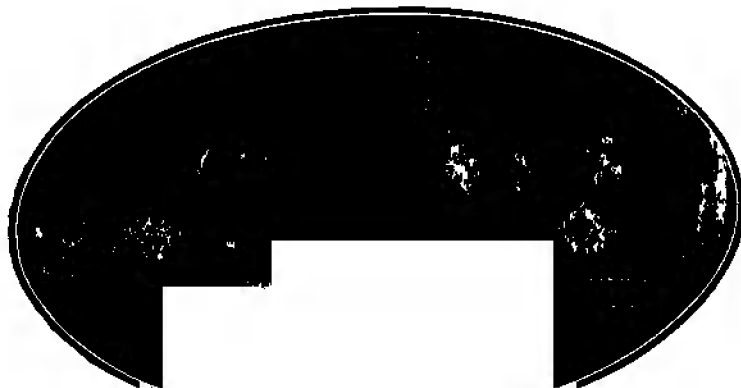


LIN KWOH CHING

Vice President of the Republic and Military Governor



IWAN K'UI JWII



LI YUAN HUNG

not born great, nor had he in any way achieved greatness; but Shakespeare tells us that "some have greatness thrust upon them," and Li Yüan-hung's was clearly a case in point; the reason probably being that, when the revolution broke out in 1911, he alone of known military commanders did *not* pilfer from his own men by falsifying accounts and pocketing or levying percentages upon their pay. It is generally understood that Yüan Shi-k'ai, the first man to organize a contented and efficient army in China, introduced this good new simple plan at Siao-chan near Tientsin in 1897-8. Li Yüan-hung, as just stated, was forced by his admiring soldiery to hold the republican fort at Wu-ch'ang when the revolution, provoked in part by the "forward" railway policy in Sz Ch'wan, somewhat prematurely broke out in October, 1911; and, shortly afterwards, when Yüan Shi-k'ai was sent for in hot haste to Peking after his failure to induce the Wu-ch'ang revolutionists to accept the really excellent Manchu Constitution, long elaborated and now definitely offered, Li Yüan-hung did his best to support Yüan; provided, however, that the special privileges appertaining to Manchus reserved under the Constitution should be abolished. It is not generally understood that, in the years immediately previous to her sudden death in 1908, the old Dowager had really come round to genuine reform, much on the lines originally conceived by the precipitate and rash young Emperor in 1898, acting under the guiding stimulus of K'ang Yu-wei and Liang K'i-ch'ao. What could be more genuine or unexpected than her famous opium counterblast of 1906? Education, justice, Manchu privileges, army reform, soldierly self-respect, etc., were all being placed on a footing consonant with modern ideas, as practically tested by Yüan at Tientsin. True, the law reforms had not yet been formally accepted; but they were on the highroad to acceptance, and the chief difficulty was how to reconcile them with Chinese principles, which base "rights" rather upon paternal authority than upon individualism, and "right" rather upon Confucian "propriety" than upon

religious "faith." Li Yuan-hung's attitude on reform, including the missionary and opium questions, was quite unexceptionable during this 1911 period of his compulsory greatness, and it will be remembered that he caused some sensation in August, 1912, by his insistence upon the immediate execution of General Chang Chên-wu upon the special ground that (besides plotting) he had been peculating the soldiers' pay. In short, Li Yuan-hung's self-effacing conduct from first to last in his difficult position of unsought-for greatness was that of a *preux chevalier* pure and simple, and it is difficult to guess in what school he learnt this "gravity and stillness" that "made him great in mouths of wisest censure." It has been stated that he formed part of Li Hung-chang's travelling suite in 1896, but I cannot find authoritative confirmation of this. Having no personal knowledge of the man, whose name does not appear in any records, I requested an English friend to visit him at Hankow and report upon him, and he "saw that it was good."

There does not appear to be, in the whole 2,000 years of chronicled history, a single individual of this particular Li (*i.e.*, Ligh) clan who has attained prominence; the name is chiefly associated in standard history with an Annamese dynasty (1420-1780); and besides that, one fairly prominent Chinese of that family name is cited about a thousand years ago as being a native of Hainan Island, where the "uncivilized" aborigines (many of Siamese race) are still called Li (*i.e.*, this particular character). Li Yuan-hung was born at Hwang-pei city, near Hankow, not far from the scene of his sudden elevation to the purple; and when the Chinese navy was organized under the elder Prince Ch'un in 1882-5, he studied at the Tientsin Naval School, acquired some knowledge of English, and served as artillery officer in the navy under Captain Sah Chên-ping (now Admiral Sah). Possibly I may have met him when I visited the Chinese fleet at Chemulpho in May, 1886, and (as recounted in my book *John Chinaman*, 1901) received salutes totalling seventy-two or eighty-one guns; nay, possibly Li Yuan-hung was the very

man to fire off the particular nine guns that came thundering from his ship. Unfortunately the Japanese annihilated this fine fleet in the 1894-5 war; Li Yüan-hung was rescued from the sea, and Captain Sah was not restored to favour until the spring of 1899. Li's next step was to serve under the Viceroy Chang Chī-tung, who, fired by Yüan Shī-k'ai's success at Siao-chan, was organizing a German-trained army of his own at Wu-ch'ang. Here Li did excellent reorganization work, and during the fifteen years of his service spent some time in the military and naval schools of Japan, whither he had obtained leave to go, along with a number of others, in order to study active military life on the spot. His progress when he came back to Wu-ch'ang was somewhat checked by the obsequious intrigues of rival army corps or divisional Generals of less ability; but he was certainly the most popular with the men on account of his singleness of purpose, strict but fair discipline, and personal honesty; though, unfortunately, the Viceroy was more successfully impressed by the less competent flatterers. When the revolution broke out under the vicerealty of the Manchu Juicheng, Li Yüan-hung, being a man of humane character, did his best to get the Viceroy safely off and to repress the tendency of his own soldiers to massacre the defenceless Manchus, an effort rendered the more difficult in that the Manchu General Yin-ch'ang had now complete command of the railway, and was leading an army sent from Peking to attack Hankow. Li Yüan-hung's old commander, Admiral Sah, also appeared on the scene with his cruisers in the imperialist interest, but appears to have been rather lukewarm for Manchu interests. Whilst this fighting was going on, Li Yüan-hung despatched a long letter to Yüan Shī-k'ai, upbraiding him for his attempt to bolster up a Manchu Constitution, and insisting on China's popular rights. "I am a military man and do not know much; your experience and ability may be greater than mine, but I have no desire except to protect the people." The Hanyang Arsenal was captured by Li's present vice-president, General Fêng

Kwoh-chang (whose portrait we give here), and for a time Li's struggle with the Imperialists seemed doubtful, so much so that Li now signified his personal readiness to accept the Manchu Constitution offered. Through the mediation of the British Minister at Peking and the British Consul-General at Hankow, an armistice was arranged, and shortly afterwards the Regent (the younger Prince Ch'un, brother of the late and father of the reigning Emperor) resigned his office. The Peace Conference by rights should have been held at Wu-ch'ang, as Li Yüan-hung, up to that moment, had been the chief republican protagonist; but in view of the obstinacy of the Canton clique (headed by the present Foreign Minister, Wu T'ing-fang), he magnanimously gave way, and it was held at Shanghai. Meanwhile, after the Conference had failed, Li Yüan-hung associated himself with the newly arrived Sun Yat-sen party, and adopted the rival Constitution of Nanking, with Sun Yat-sen President and Li Yüan-hung Vice-president. Finally it was seen that Sun could not command northern confidence, and it was arranged that Yüan Shī-k'ai should be Provisional President; Sun Yat-sen thus gave way very creditably. Li Yüan-hung henceforward gave his faithful support to Yüan, but always declared openly that this support was conditional on the Republican Constitution of 1912 being faithfully preserved. Finally, when Yüan became full President, Li Yüan-hung was Vice-President and Chief of the General Staff, and was subsequently induced by Yüan to take up his residence in Peking. This joint position he held until December, 1915, when he quietly resigned in view of Yüan's ambitions, and was succeeded as Chief of the Staff by Fêng Kwoh-chang. It may be mentioned that in May, 1913, when China was once more in the throes of rebellion, Li Yüan-hung had telegraphed to Yüan Shī-k'ai assuring him of fidelity, whilst on the other hand Yüan wired back vowing that he himself entertained no "family ambitions." Li always frankly and publicly assured foreign inquirers at Wu-ch'ang that he would faithfully support Yüan so long as the latter adhered to republican principles, and by

Christmas, 1913, his confidence in Yüan had so far advanced that he resigned his powerful and influential post as *tutuh* at Wu-ch'ang, and (as stated) voluntarily took up his residence in the Peking palace precincts, cementing, it is said, his family alliance with Yüan by marrying his daughter to one of Yüan's sons. He lived quietly, not to say obscurely, there, making no history, until Yüan, two years later, apparently incited by intriguers, in the flush of his imperial fiasco created him a Prince of the Blood—a title Li never accepted.

It is a strange story. Yüan Shī-k'ai was the man who after the "Boxer" war did most to reform China; even in his disgrace, he was found by the ungrateful Manchus to be indispensable; he then proved himself too strong for the rival Nanking Republic, succeeded in quelling two dangerous rebellions, consolidating his power, applying Pride's purge to parliaments and parties, and restoring in great measure the financial equilibrium, with the approval of all honest foreigners. His last unaccountably foolish move, which ended in his rebuff and death, was a bathos:

"Fallen from his high estate
Deserted, at his utmost need
By those his former bounty fed."

On the other hand, Li Yüan-hung, of comparatively humble origin (son of a "colonel"—but colonels were as common as [reputed] blackberries, and did not count for much in China when he was born)—had little to recommend him but his industry, scrupulousness, and honesty in working up his share of the new Wu-ch'ang army; he was (as I have said) kept back by more plausible and pushing rivals from special notice and promotion; his strict but kind discipline alone were sufficient to commend him to the troops in the critical time of the revolution. He was, in fact, invited to *be* a head or *lose* his head. He accepted, and the key-note of his policy ever since has been fidelity—staunch republicanism and conciliation of all rival parties. Perhaps in the latter department he has been a little too flush with his honours, nearly all Yüan's enemies having received decorations of some sort; but doubtless he sees his countrymen's vanities and weaknesses,

and how little mere gewgaws really cost him. At all events he neither asks nor takes any advantage for himself; he even reduces his own salary, and there seems to be, after all, a fair prospect of the Republic now settling down, and of the military wolf resting in peace and quietness with the civil lamb. The only administrative changes made so far have been nominal—that is, the *tutuh* and *tsiangkūn* of the Early and Later Republic have halved the two titles and adopted *tuhkūn* as the style for a military Governor, whilst the *min-cheng-chang* and *sūn-an-shī* have been metamorphosed into *shēng-chang* for the civil Governors. Most other things remain, so far as the provinces are concerned, as Yüan left them. As to Peking, several useless or objectionable departments have been abolished.

Fēng Kwoh-chang appears in history first in 1905, when he was an expectant *taotai* and instructor in a Peking military school; later the same in a special school for nobles and distinguished officials' sons. At the time of the destruction of Hankow in October-November, 1911, he succeeded the Manchu General Yinch'ang in command of the Imperialists, Yüan Shī-k'ai having been hurriedly appointed Viceroy. General Fēng's name as commander of the 3rd division will always be remembered in connection with the burning of that populous mart. In 1912 he was *tutuh* of Chih Li province; in 1915 Chief of the Staff in place of Li Yüan-hung, resigned. Quite recently he was given joint charge as Military Governor at Nanking of the constructive work connected with the new railway head and port of Pu-k'ou, opposite Nanking.

As to Twan K'i-jwei, a native of An Hwei province, his career practically begins towards the end of 1898, when "Judge" Yüan Shī-k'ai, then forming his fine army, recommended him to the Viceroy Jungluh for his services as artillery instructor. At the end of 1903, as an expectant *taotai*, he was given a post as *ss-chēng* in the new Peking armies then forming. In 1907 he met with censure in connection with Prince Tsai-chēn's shady doings at Tientsin. In 1910 he was sent in hot haste to replace General Lei Ch n-ch'un

as Military Governor of North Kiang Su, the latter officer having sent bribes to Peking in order to influence Princes Tsai-t'ao (brother of the Regent) and Yühsiang. Bribery and corruption were still in full swing there, and Prince K'ing himself (the Prime Minister) was accused of having a deposit of "millions" in the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank. The immaculate Grand Secretary, Luh Ch'wan-lin, was sent by the Dowager on a special mission of inquiry, but, of course, the manager explained that the bank could not disclose the affairs of any depositor. When persistently pressed, the manager, Mr. Hillier (who unhappily has long lost his eyesight), diplomatically replied: "I have never even *seen* Prince K'ing." When the Shanghai Conference was being held, Twan K'i-jwei as chief General of the Imperial Army in the North urged (in a round robin) abdication and the recognition of a Republic. In the summer of 1912 he was Yüan's War Minister. When Li Yüan-hung retired to Peking, Twan replaced him for a time as *tutuh* at Wu-ch'ang. In 1914 he was once more War Minister, and in 1915 was for a time Governor of North Manchuria.

As to Wu T'ing-fang, the Foreign Minister, I sat with him in 1875 at the feet of Sir Edward Creasy, Sir James Stephen, and other great lawyers. He was then known as Ng Choy (Cantonese for Wu Ts'ai); served as a magistrate in Hongkong; became attached as legal adviser to Li Hung-chang's Staff; and with Shên Kia-pên (who supplied the Chinese law and the literary style), after the Boxer settlement, spent some years in elaborating a new system of criminal law, which was rejected at the advice of the Canton Viceroy Chang Jên-tsün as being too crude in style and too counter to Chinese ideas of *patria potestas* and the subordination of women. "Mr. Wu's" career as Minister to the United States for two periods is known to all. He is said to be a vegetarian, a good after-dinner speaker, and a bit of a wag, but (according to the Chinese newspapers) his literary style is vulgar (so far as his own language is concerned); specifically so was his last kick to Juan Shi-K'ai, when down, in the shape of a coarse and abusive letter.

THE GRAND DUKE CONSTANTINE : IN MEMORIAM

BY OLGA NOVIKOFF (*née* KIREEFF)

WHO wants to prove that the sun shines and warms? that its rays work good on all things and on everyone? To insist upon this is unnecessary; it is evident. I also think it superfluous to insist upon praise to our never-to-be-forgotten Grand Duke Constantine. We Russians should well remember his many-sided talents, which so often have manifested themselves; his fascinating pen, his magic strength, his thoughtful kindness, can only compare with his unlimited devotion heart and soul to his country. And how deeply he realized in what consists precisely such devotion! To love Russia, to sacrifice everything to her, was his dogma.

These words contained a multiplicity of meanings; in them also entered a boundless devotion to the Orthodox Church and to the Russian Monarchy. For him, as also for us all, these sacred convictions are indissolubly bound and ought to work beneficially on our theory of life. When God sent him one of the heaviest trials—the death of his beloved son, who gave such specially brilliant hopes and who, notwithstanding his youth, had already realized them in many respects—the Grand Duke showed indeed how he knew to submit with resignation to the will of the Almighty.

Whoever has undergone a great sorrow, knows how difficult it is not to lose strength of spirit, Christian courage, and patience, in the heavy moments of such partings ! Yes, the memory of the Grand Duke ought ever to be present with us ; his example acts soothingly on the oppressed spirit ! But are there many people in this world who do not know great sorrow, and who do not need great moral support ?

I would say : Do not think of yourself, work uninterruptedly for the sake of those near to you, unfold within yourself all the problems of the faculties for work—this helps. But my advice is not sufficient. We need a practical example : our never-to-be-forgotten Grand Duke has given a more than convincing example !

I cannot help thinking that at the root of his varied activity lay the idea contained in the beautiful sacred words of the Metropolitan Filaret, when he wished to explain to our greatest poet, Poushkin, in what consisted our real duty to God. Here are the far-reaching words :

“ To perceive Him in creation,
To see with the spirit,
To honour with the heart,
That is the object of life !
That is what it means to live in God ! ”

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BRITAIN, AND RUSSIA'S DEVELOPMENT

BY BARON A. HEYKING

I HAVE been honoured by the request of the Editor of the *Asiatic Review* to comment on the paper read before the Royal Society of Arts on November 22, 1916, on "The Economic Development of Russia, and Britain's Interest therein,"* by Mr. Leslie Urquhart, and I have much pleasure in giving my opinion on it for what it is worth.

First of all it must be pointed out that Mr. Leslie Urquhart is not a novice in Russian affairs. Standing as he does at the head of several prosperous Anglo-Russian enterprises, and having a personal experience of twenty years in mining and metallurgical works in different parts of Russia, his opinion, founded on theoretical knowledge and practical experience, must have some weight. That he is a well-known friend of Russia cannot, of course, alter the value and weight of what he has to say from the point of view of impartiality, as he is, first of all, an Englishman who would not embellish the state of affairs in Russia to please Russian people. His opinion, coming from an expert and a foreigner, can therefore be regarded by Russian people as quite impartial and not influenced by optimism.

I have no hesitation whatever in saying that his paper can and must be considered as one of the best-founded appreciations of Russia which have been published during

* In the *Statist*, supplement, November 25, 1916.

the last year. After having described in a very lucid manner, and on the strength of statistical figures, the unbounded agricultural and mineral resources of Russia, he comes to the conclusion that lack of organization in modern appliances, absence of sufficient communication, and also an insufficiency of capital, has hitherto held Russia back. If these deficiencies are made good, we may expect an increase of the productive power of Russia to such an extent that Russia will be easily able to honour all the debts contracted during the war. Mr. Urquhart points out very rightly that the Russian Government takes the view that the investment of foreign capital in industrial enterprises in Russia is very welcome, and that Russia even expects to be assisted by her Allies and friends in developing her natural resources, by technical advice and assistance in organization.

On the other hand, English capitalists will do well to consider that it is to the best interests of England to assist Russia, not only from a lucrative point of view, but also in order to make Russia strong and prosperous and independent of the German middleman. The railway which has just been constructed from Petrovsk to the port of Alexandrovsk will help to export Russian produce to that ice-free port, which is nearer to British ports than the Baltic ports of Russia by one day's journey.

Russian finances have, according to Mr. Urquhart, a bright outlook, first in developing the export from Russia, and also in diminishing the importation into Russia of things which can easily be produced in Russia.

To give a summary of this important paper is not my object, as it is to the interest of Russians as well as of Englishmen that they should acquaint themselves with the paper. It is to draw the attention of the public to Mr. Urquhart's interesting and most welcome paper that I allowed myself to take advantage of the occasion given to me to express an opinion about it.

On the strength of the above, it is especially interesting to note that Mr. Urquhart recognizes that " Russia's balance

of trade can easily be adjusted after the war to cover any deficit in the financial balance, and . . . that the sound intrinsic position of the trade balance of the Russian Empire will make it possible for that Empire in future to meet any possible international financial obligations which Russia may have incurred through the war many times over."

Let me close these paragraphs with a few general remarks about the present great revival of Anglo-Russian intercourse. What is the meaning of this desire to draw the bonds of friendship between the British and Russian nations closer together? Is it a fashionable craze, a mere bubble on the surface of the life of the nation, a passing whim and wish, or the result of the frenzy to win the war by mutual support against the common enemy? No; this splendid movement has much deeper roots, and is based on a much firmer foundation. It is founded alike on the dictates of reason and intelligence as on the demands of the heart. It is also the result of a "perelom," a fundamental change in the character of this nation, which has perhaps no parallel in its history. A new and better order of things arises in such stock-taking times of great trial, when nations by the force of events part with preconceived ideas, erroneous conceptions of the past, and exploded bugbears of old. This refers especially to the impracticable idea of splendid isolation; the false conception of the unsympathetic foreigner as a whole, without making due allowances for the difference between friend and foe; and the ungrounded fear of Russia as the rival and enemy who endangers the safety of the British Empire.

We see nowadays Britannia horrified at the lawlessness of an unprecedented and uncivilized warfare, emerging from her previous proud and somewhat short-sighted insularity, trying to pierce the mists of her old prejudices against the foreigner in general, and the Russian in particular, with a more just and right appreciation of the sympathy and assistance she can rightly expect from her friends and Allies.

It is only thirty-eight years ago—a short moment in the life of a nation—since Great Britain stopped the victorious armies of Russia standing at the gates of Constantinople, laying it down as a rule that Tsargrad must not be Russian. And now what a contrast! Great Britain, conjointly with France, officially recognizes the claims of Russia to Constantinople, which is the entrance key to Russia, and at the same time her real religious metropolis. For these two reasons, the one geographical, the other religious, Constantinople, which has been estranged from Christendom for centuries through the Turkish yoke, must come under the rule of Russia.

The gratifying change in the British attitude towards Russia, in the question of the dominion of Constantinople, is simply the result of this change from the rivalry and mistrust of the past to the trust and good-will which is at present extended to the Russian friend, who must not be hindered in his doings, but rather encouraged.

The same change for the better has taken place in the domain of Anglo-Russian trade relations. Here Great Britain was made alive to her opportunities in Russia by the extraordinary success of German trade in that country. The view British merchants generally took of Russia, from a commercial point of view, was that the language difficulty, the obstacles in the way of transport in the vast dominions of the Tsar, the long credit system there, the unpalatable experiences with faulty debtors, and the slow methods of justice, made it on the whole not worth while to waste energy and money in a country where the inconveniences and risks seemed so great as to be insufficiently compensated by adequate gains. That is not the way in which British business people look upon Russian affairs at present. The enormous gains the Germans have been able to show for themselves, in their trade with Russia, have proved to Englishmen that the supposed difficulties in trading with Russia can be overcome with proper organization, forethought and energy, and that it pays well to do this.

A new and more correct idea of Russia has also arisen as a result of the study of that country's art, literature, and science. English people engaging in those studies discovered that Russian art, literature, and science could no longer be overlooked as being of small importance. The passionate love which manifests itself in this country for all the revelations of the Russian character in art, learning, and practical life, is the outcome of the tacit or open recognition by Englishmen that they can find in Russia much to enrich their own lives, and to broaden their outlook on human affairs.

But the most potent agency for bringing our two nations together, and for giving English people the right idea of Russia and Russian life, has undoubtedly been the war. This great international calamity has brought about, not merely a *rapprochement* or mutual understanding, but a real union between the two nations—which has shown itself by a constant interchange of all that the two nations had—to assist each other at this most critical moment. Must we not remember with everlasting gratitude and emotion that Great Britain was ready to risk, and unfortunately did sacrifice, such an asset as Lord Kitchener, in her desire to benefit the Russian cause? And have we in Russia not sent our soldiers to fight along with our Allies in Greece, France, Mesopotamia, and other battlefields? The meaning and significance of the friendship which binds the two nations together is, therefore, of more than a lasting nature. It can be considered as having been brought about by elementary forces of Nature, outside the volition of man. That friendship has come to stay, I hope, for ever.

SERBIA YET!

BY FRANCIS P. MARCHANT

A THRILL of encouragement was felt among the Allies when the news passed round Europe that on Sunday morning, November 19, the brave and sorely-tried forces of Serbia had entered the city of Monastir, accompanied by their French, Russian, and other comrades in the long Balkan warfare. Twelve months ago saw Monastir fall as a much-coveted prize to the Bulgarians, who inevitably felt keenest chagrin that they and their German confederates had been compelled to retreat. Their subsequent wrath with the Germans for the rapid evacuation is not our business. Sir Arthur Evans has described this "garden city," near the Greco-Roman Heraclea, but without the antiquarian associations of Ochrida or Kastoria. He writes that the Ruman residents, according to an American school principal, are distinguished from some of their fellow-inhabitants by noble traits of character. "*Monastir*," wrote Mr. Ward Price, the first Englishman to enter the city on its capture, "*is more than one of the most considerable towns in Serbia: she is a symbol. What Delhi is to India, Monastir is to Macedonia. She is the Queen City, a recognized token of dominion.*" (Readers in the East may care to work out the parallel.) French and Russians are glad to acknowledge that the achievement is due mainly to the unwearied Serbian mountain campaign on the Tchernia heights, followed by the exploit of the cavalry regiment which entered after swimming

the Tchernia River. Our Serbian friends are heartened by the prospect of coming into their own in the future, but the capture of Monastir, with its hopes and promises, is but a great initial success. The Allies came, but not to stay, as the retreating enemy had to be followed northward, where stern work lay.

Several works on Serbia* and kindred subjects before us demanding attention suggest these preliminary observations, and prompt our hearty congratulations in addition to those already bestowed on the aged and ailing King Peter and the Crown Prince Alexander. The first of these contains the result of investigations by Professor Reiss, a neutral observer, in the autumn months of 1914, of hideous perpetrations by the invading Austro-Hungarian army. According to Mr. V. M. Yovanovitch, who contributes a preface, this report is incomplete, which fact hints at additional horrors. Though submitted to the Serbian Government in April of last year, its publication was delayed until recently. The report deals with the use of explosive and dum-dum bullets; bombardment of open towns and destruction of buildings; massacres of prisoners, wounded, and civilians; pillage and destruction of house property; and the causes. Those who know Austria, if only from a hasty visit to Vienna, will agree with Professor Reiss, "having in time of peace found the Austrians, and especially the Viennese, charming to all appearance, I was greatly surprised to see that in time of

* (a) Report on the Atrocities committed by the Austro-Hungarian Army during the First Invasion of Serbia. By Professor R. A. Reiss, D.Sc., of Lausanne. (Simpkin, Marshall.)

(b) "The Soul of Serbia." Lectures by the Rev. Father N. Velimirovic. (Faith Press.)

(c) "Christianity and War." Letters of a Serbian to his friend. (Faith Press.)

(d) "The Women of Serbia." Lecture by Fanny S. Copeland. (Faith Press.)

(e) "La Liquidation de l'Autriche-Hongrie." By Professor Louis Leger. (Paris, Alcan.)

(f) "Le Régime Politique d'Autriche-Hongrie en Bosnie-Herzégovine, etc." (Imprimerie Nouvelle, Annemasse.)

war this people could be guilty of such excesses. . . . Free Serbia attracted the Austro-Hungarian subjects of Serb race, and, furthermore, she blocked the way to Salonika. But the people of the Dual Monarchy had to be trained for the execution of this inconvenient neighbour." This "training" consisted of systematic disparagement of the Serbians and accusations of unspeakable barbarity. Incidentally, Professor Reiss interviewed Austrian prisoners of war in Serbia, who—often to their surprise, after their previous "training"—were treated with humanity accompanied by reasonable restrictions. "The beauty of the part played by Serbia in this war consists precisely in this, that she has indulged in no reprisals towards the Austro-Hungarians, who have committed atrocities without name or number." We need not dwell on the terrible instances of mutilation and other crimes on Serbians of all ages: names abound, the cases are vouched for by responsible witnesses, and there are statistics and illustrations. Professor Reiss has performed an important service in exposing the proceedings of "cultured" invaders.

The Rev. Nicholas Velimirovic, Theological Professor at Belgrade, has become widely known through his lectures on Serbia in different parts of the country. Four (*b*) have been collected into a small volume, with a portrait of Kara (black) George, the liberator of Napoleonic days. We are not telling the story of Serbia, so cannot dwell on her past, but will reproduce a poetical passage:

In no other country in the world can you hear the people speaking so much about beautiful death as among the Serbian people. Even lately you may have read the message of the Serbian Premier, Mr Pashich, that the Serbs have decided to fight until the last man because, he said, "it is better to die in beauty than to live in shame" "To die in beauty"—to have a beautiful death—that is quite the Serbian spirit of old and of modern times. The Serbs in Montenegro sang with passion and envy every heroic death. Such popular songs habitually ended

Happy is he now and for ever,
For he died such a beautiful death

Father Velimirovic rejoices to see the Anglican, Roman, and other Churches working in the same patriotic and

national cause. "The dogma that divides them lies three hundred years behind them, but the love that unites them in the same labours is with them now." In Serbia the same phenomenon appears, as Orthodox and Catholic alike work for the same end. The clergy of the Southern Slavs have always preached national unity against the Turks, Germans, or Magyars—e.g., Kacic, Raic, and Valentine Vodnik, the Slovene poet. Peter II., Njegoš, Orthodox Prince-Bishop of Montenegro, and the better-known Catholic Bishop Strossmayer, were two great champions, and the name of the latter philanthropist, a household word at Agram, will ever be held in honour. Father Velimirovic is confident that the Churches, drawn together in time of war, will be drawn still closer in the future peace, and ultimately united. The declaration that the Turkish yoke is preferable to the Austrian may be considered in connection with the report of Professor Reiss (*v.s.*), but Serbia may well desire to be free of both yokes. The Serb is given to tears and melancholy, for "the Serbian democracy was born in tears," says the Father, and he insists upon a similarity of Serbia with America. In soul, but not in body, they are alike: the great country was a protest against Europe; the small one a protest against Turkey and Austria.

In the letters of an anonymous Serbian priest (*c*) to his unnamed English friend, both University fellow-students and afterwards in Holy Orders, the writer asks:

Is it not true, my friend, that Europe to-day must stand a little ashamed before Asia? Not that Asia has given all gods to humankind and Europe none, but because Europe is to-day waging a war which Asia could only *describe*, in the most imaginative form

But Asia knows what great military movements have been on many occasions since Alexander and his Greek hosts made their way to India. From Asia came Xerxes and his myriads, and later Genghis Khan, whose reappearance is even now looked for among the Mongols. India has seen a succession of conquerors from the days of Mahmoud of Ghazni. These interesting letters raise points of con-

troversy. Thus, "During many centuries Christianity has been often supported by two methods, miracles and evil—by two quite unnecessary and superfluous methods which she ought not to have need of." The writer might have added, by false miracles and pious fraud wrought by misguided zeal. Again, St. Olav of Norway and Olaf Tryggwason sought to extend the kingdom of God in the North by sheer violent persecution, as the Sagas show. He is right in saying that we do not want "the peace of yesterday . . . in which war was preached and in which nobody was content." A list is furnished of clergy, Socialists, men of letters, women, and others, who have preached patriotism and blessed the fighters. A bereaved Serbian mother issued a memorial card stating, "Glad that I could have a son to offer in this war against Austria."

Lady (Ralph) Paget, in a brief preface to (*d*), speaks as one who has seen Serbian suffering at close quarters. "Here we find heroic women, not neglecting their proper duties and services, but taking also a bold and unflinching part in the struggles of the country." Mrs. Copeland's lecture is historical, and shows that women played an important part in the old civilization from the days of Queen Helen, mother of St. Sava. Marko Kralewitch, like St. Vaclav (Wenceslas) of Bohemia, owed much to a saintly mother. Wives and daughters aided the guerilla bands who wheeled like hornets round their Turkish lords. There is a Serbian proverb, "The house does not stand upon the soil, but upon the wife," and in some South Slav lands they do hard field work. They are not treated as toys or idols, but thoroughly domesticated, though a musical voice and talent for singing is greatly valued. Mrs. Copeland expresses indebtedness to Father Velimirovic, the Professors Popovitch, and Mr. Srgan Tucic, for materials.

Professor Leger (*e*) thinks the main difficulty in the reunion of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes will consist in finding

them a name. He regrets that the term "Illyrian," associated with the movement of Dr. Ljudevit Gaj and Count Drashkovitch, has been allowed to drop. He has a poor opinion of "liberty of conscience" as interpreted by Austria-Hungary.

Un Parisien va à Bruxelles . il en rapporte la photographie de l'excellent roi de Belgique et de son aimable reine; il la met sur sa cheminée. Personne ne songera à lui en faire grief. On ne l'accusera pas de vouloir trahir la France et annexer la France à la Belgique. Il n'en est pas de même à Agram. Un malheureux a acheté une photographie du roi Pierre de Serbie, et, en outre, il a l'idée, voulant épouser une Serbe, de se convertir à la religion orthodoxe - crime de haute trahison !

Referring to Bosnia-Herzegovina, Professor Leger tells us that the Austrian Government found it difficult to find a suitable name for the inhabitants and their language. To call them Croats would mean that Croatia would claim them for her own, and to call them Serbs would have been a tactical error. The term *Landsprache* was coined to designate the language, and it appears to be still in use. If asked his language, a peasant is confused, and replies: "I speak *our* language." The problems of Bohemia, Poland, and the future of Austria, are discussed by the eminent Parisian Slavophil.

The last on our list (f) consists of short articles on the different "treason trials," administration in Bosnia, the Sokols and Pobratimstva, and education. Though the Sokol movement—which originated through the patriotic efforts of Messrs. Fugner and Tyrš at Prague in the sixties of last century—was adopted in Russia, Poland, and other Slav countries, many years ago, the first Bosnian Serb Sokol only dates from 1904 at Monastir. The development was, however, so rapid that in 1912 there were 47 societies with 1,873 members. As with the other Sokols, they were frowned upon by the Imperial Government, who saw in them potential centres of revolution. The same attitude was adopted towards the *Pobratimstva* (brotherhoods), village Sokol centres. The sanitary conditions in Bosnia-

Herzegovina being far from satisfactory and alcoholism widespread, these democratic and hygienic organizations would have been of advantage to the young people, but they were compelled to go the way of the Czech and Galician organizations. We have already dealt with the Yugoslav question in our February issue of last year, so will cite the words of Dr. Hinkowitch:

Comme autrefois, les Yougoslaves ont sauvé, des barbares du Sud, la Chrétiennté, ils protégeront, à l'avenir, avec leurs poitrines, la civilisation occidentale contre les barbares du Nord

Serbia, against whom the first trumpet-note of European hostilities was directed, has suffered severely but gloriously. The spirit that animated Marko Kralewitch, Kara George, and Miloš Obrenovitch, is still alive, and, as Dr. Seton-Watson observes, "What she has she won almost unaided." She is well aided by stalwart comrades now, and all are united and determined to persevere until the goal is reached. "Serbia yet!"

In conclusion, I quote the following lines from Dr. Pollen's "Songs and Lyrics of Russia" (p. 174), a review of which appears in this issue:

Great Serbia hears the call her foemen know,
And Stephen Dushan's fame will never yield
Sorrows will fade, the golden star on high
Will blaze new life, Freedom will rise again,
The fire of savage wars will, quenched for ever, die
Amidst the splendour of your coming reign

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

CO-OPERATION IN INDIA: ITS AIMS AND DIFFICULTIES

BY B. ABDY COLLINS, I.C.S.

It is now nearly four years since Mr. Fremantle read you a paper in which he discussed the progress and aims of co-operation in India. Since then the movement has continued to spread in a marvellous manner. In 1907 there were 843 societies, with 90,000 members and over 23 lakhs of capital. In 1912, when Mr. Fremantle addressed you, the number of societies had increased nearly tenfold to 8,177, there were 400,000 members, and the aggregate capital was well over three crores. Three years later, in June, 1915, the last statistics available show that the numbers of both societies and members had more than doubled, and now stand at 17,327 and 825,000 respectively, while the combined capital of all classes of societies was just under nine crores, or £6,000,000. If we take the average family as low as five—a very small figure for India, with its large undivided households of which as a rule only one becomes a member of the village society—still, after a little over ten years, co-operation has directly affected over 1 per cent. of the vast population of India. Those who know India will consider this result astounding for a movement which depends on the honesty, intelligence and mutual confidence of the members of its societies.

Now, I am well aware that many of the members of this association, so far from being impressed by the rapid progress

of co-operation in India, on that very account tend to view it with distrust, and are unable to believe in the soundness of its foundations. This distrust is based on various ideas. Some consider that the very system is unsuited to the Indian peasant, for whom unlimited liability must be fraught with danger; others doubt his ability or even desire to repay the relatively large sums advanced to him; while others, again, fear the stability of the higher financial organization, which must tend to make greater and greater demands on the abilities of the leaders of the movement. My object to-day is to dissolve these fears, or, if this is not possible, at any rate to show you that those who are helping to shape the course of co-operation in India are fully alive to the dangers and difficulties surrounding them. I propose, first of all, to sketch the state of affairs which co-operation was designed to remedy; then to explain why it is that the types of society adopted might be expected to prove, and have proved, successful in helping the cultivator, and, lastly, to describe our difficulties and the way in which we have met and are trying to meet them.

The situation in India cannot be better described than in the words of the Committee on Co-operation which has recently presented its report to the Government of India: "It was found in many parts of India, as in most European countries, that in spite of the rapid growth of commerce, and improvements in communications, the economic condition of the peasants had not been progressing as it should have done; that indebtedness, instead of decreasing, had tended to increase; that usury was still rampant; that agricultural methods had not improved; and that the old unsatisfactory features of a backward rural economy seem destined persistently to remain. The more obvious features of the situation presented themselves in the form of usury and land-grabbing on the part of the money-lending classes; while the agricultural classes either hoarded their savings, or, owing to thriftlessness and indebtedness, showed themselves unable to withstand bad seasons and to meet organized

trade on equal terms. The depression of the rural classes was further characterized by an underlying absence of any desire for education or advancement, and a certain resigned acceptance of oppression from those who by wealth or social status occupied a superior position—an attitude which, though often spoken of as conservative, has frequently little of intentional conservatism about it, but is due rather to ignorance, to a traditional subservience in the past, and to an absence of ideals for the future. The peculiar feature of co-operation as a remedy for stagnation is that it is intended to meet, not only the more obvious material evils, but also the underlying moral deterioration to which the poorer classes have so long been exposed."

This description of rural India towards the end of the nineteenth century will be recognized as true by all who knew it. Poets talk of the sleepy East and ascribe the raiyat's indifference to a philosophic calm. But beneath the glamour of the Orient, as beneath the outward beauty of nature, there rages the relentless struggle for existence. The gradual development of law and order under British rule has tended to place the cultivator at the mercy of a machine, the working of which he cannot understand. Illiterate, unorganized, and ignorant, he feels his utter helplessness in a world which has gone on while he and his fathers have stood still. No scheme to help him can be successful unless it provides for his moral as well as his material regeneration. As the Committee say, "The theory of co-operation is, very briefly, that an isolated and powerless individual can by association with others, and by moral development and mutual support, obtain in his own degree the material advantages available to wealthy or powerful persons, and thereby develop himself to the full extent of his natural abilities. By the union of forces material advancement is secured, and by united action self-reliance is fostered; and it is from the interaction of these influences that it is hoped to obtain the effective realization of the higher and more prosperous standard of life which has been characterized

as better business, better farming, and better living." The mere provision of cheap capital would be a curse rather than a blessing to the average raiyat, because he does not know how to use it, and even if he did, alone and unaided as he is, the middleman would soon enjoy the extra profits. This is the answer to those who advocate the foundation of large agricultural banks for the regeneration of India. The raiyat does not know how to manage his own affairs properly, and he must be taught to do so. Co-operative credit societies provide the best school for grown men, and through them alone can he be taught to stand alone. Again, the provision of credit is only a means to an end, to free him from economic domination and to provide capital to enable him to utilize the discoveries and inventions of the West. The establishment of the credit society is only the first step. Experience in more advanced countries shows that the small holder cannot stand in this age of trusts and combines unless he organizes himself and his fellows to satisfy their wants in the cheapest market, and to dispose of their products to the best advantage.

Now, the Raffeisen type of credit society, which has been chosen with various modifications for India, is suitable for these aims in more ways than one. It is simple; in fact, it is difficult to imagine a simpler form of association. It trains the members to manage their own affairs on business principles. It accustoms them to work together, and gives them a sense of the common interest. It encourages the development of moral qualities which are of the highest value both to themselves and their fellows. Its basic principle is unlimited liability; and those who have experience of co-operation in India are confident that the whole fabric depends on it. It forms the best guarantee of good management and cohesion, and the best security for the safety of the money lent. Nothing but the constant menace of irretrievable ruin would make the average raiyat bestir himself and do his best for the common good, and nothing but the possibility of recourse to the property of all the members

would procure sufficient capital on reasonable terms. It is the very danger, which to the British mind seems so great, that is the making of the movement. Really it is far greater in theory than in practice. In the first place, the whole constitution of the society is designed to minimize it. A society is nothing remotely resembling the great joint-stock companies with which we are familiar in England, whose shareholders are scattered all over the British Isles and leave the management entirely to directors, in whose selection, even, they have little say. A society is confined to the small area of a village the inhabitants of which are often all caste-fellows, and in any case have known each other for generations. A man cannot become a member merely by taking a share. He has to be elected, after due consideration of his character and assets, and he can be excluded by the adverse vote of a quarter of the members. The management of the society is indeed in the hands of a committee, but their powers are relatively small. They are elected at the annual general meeting (at which no proxies are allowed), and receive no remuneration. At this meeting the main lines of policy for the succeeding year are laid down. A maximum is fixed beyond which the committee may not borrow on the behalf of the society, and in this way the members limit their own liability. Further, the maximum credit to be allowed to each individual member during the year is settled after due consideration of his character, his assets, and his liabilities. All business is subsequently transacted in public, usually on a fixed day each month, at committee meetings at which every member has a right to be present and to hear what is going on.

It is easy to see that under these conditions unlimited liability ceases to be the bogey which so frightens the average Britisher; and, as the proof of the pudding is in the eating, it may be recorded that so far no harm has resulted. The committee on co-operation report that it has no appreciable effect in keeping out the richer peasants, nor did they meet with any demand for the substitution

of a limited responsibility. They add that, contrary to the anticipations of many, it has been unreservedly accepted by the people, and that they have evidence to show that it constitutes an important factor in the confidence reposed on societies, both by central institutions inside the movement, and by joint-stock banks outside it.

So much for the form of the societies. It will be seen that they are designed, not only to provide the people with the capital which they require, but to encourage the development of those moral and intellectual qualities without which they will have neither the desire or the ability to use it to the best advantage. It is when we begin to consider whether they will succeed in India that opinions differ most. Perhaps the most encouraging sign is the success with which co-operation has met elsewhere. One of the greatest mistakes which the Englishman makes is to consider India and the East so very different from the rest of the world. Because he lives in a country where there are few or no small holdings, where agriculture till recently was always the prosperous occupation of the capitalist, and where there is no history of usury, indebtedness, and oppression, he is apt to believe that the problems he finds in India are peculiar to it. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The conditions on the mainland of Europe in the middle of the last century, and in Ireland and Russia at an even later date, were amazingly similar to those of the India of to-day. The indebtedness, the illiteracy, the despair of the peasant of Central Europe in Raffeisen's day, were more terrible than in any part of India. There the money-lender was the Jew, an alien whose hand was against everyone, and against whom all were united, and the bond of a common race and religion, such as softens the relation between borrower and lender in India, was entirely lacking. The feudalism of the Middle Ages, too, had developed a far harsher relationship between landlord and tenant than the more patriarchal land systems of India. Hence the records of the eighteenth century show us a state of degradation and misery in Europe, for which it

would have been difficult at any time to find a parallel in any part of India. Yet in the short space of fifty years there has succeeded a prosperity and contentment in which, till the fatal July of 1914, it almost seemed that the millennium was at hand. And for this transformation no force can take greater credit than the co-operative movement. If it could succeed in the West, there is even more reason to hope that it will succeed in the East. The torrid plains of India have their special problems, both social and economic; but the example of the West no less than the present achievements in the East give every promise of their gradual solution.

Of all the difficulties in the greater part of India—that is, outside Burma, Bengal, and Madras—illiteracy is the greatest. Educational statistics seem bad enough, but even they flatter the average agricultural village of Northern India. The small percentage of literates will be found chiefly in the towns and amongst the landlord, the professional and trading classes. Brahman, Rajput and Kavasth raiyats provide most of the rest. Among the castes which really cultivate with their own hands, the man who can read and write is a *rara avis*. As a general rule, in Bihar you may take it that the interest of the literates in a village are opposed to those of the *bona fide* cultivators, who regard them with suspicion. The result is that in the average village society of, say, thirty or forty members, only two or three can read and write, and that often imperfectly. This means that most of the members do not understand the objects and rules of the society, and that it tends to fall into the hands of a clique which often abuses its power. The only real remedy is the extension of primary education. An excellent feature of the movement is that it creates a strong demand for schools, and the lower castes which were apt to regard them as a nuisance are beginning to send their sons to them. The societies also, besides giving financial aid, provide a means of local control, of which the educational department is beginning to take advantage.

In the meantime, for the present generation we have to do what we can to teach the principles of co-operation, and to help the members to control the office bearers. One promising method, originated by Mr. English in Burma, is to draw up a brief statement of the main points of co-operation in prose or verse, and to insist that all members and would-be members get them by heart. Another important aid is the presence of some responsible person at the annual general meeting who is able to explain the real situation to the illiterate members, and to see that all business is properly performed. Societies which borrow money from central banks, as nearly all do, are required to put in lists showing the amount which each member will take and the purposes to which the loan will be put; and the directors, by means of the complete statement of the assets and liabilities of each man which they maintain, are able to prevent individuals from excessive borrowing. Constant inspection by the voluntary and paid staff also tends to check abuses, and to give the members confidence. The gradual application of these remedies through the organization of the central banks, though it cannot entirely get over, is doing much to counteract the difficulties caused by illiteracy.

Another danger which was always before the eyes of the critics of the movement is the factiousness of the Indian villager, which leads to constant disputes and litigation. It is not denied that this characteristic causes frequent trouble and sometimes leads to the dissolution of a society. It is probable, too, that the danger will be greater when the novelty of the movement has worn off, and the cohesion resulting from joint action against the common oppressors has disappeared. But so far it may be claimed that the foundation of a society usually leads to the settlement in the village of those very disputes which used to go to court, partly because there is now a satisfactory tribunal close at hand, partly because the society—unlike the land-grabbing money-lender—will not advance money for litigation, and

partly because the force of public opinion is against the member who gets himself into debt unnecessarily.

Many people distrust the raiyat as being thriftless, and often dishonest. They point out that it is easy enough to start a society when all you ask of the members is to take money at what, to them, are low rates of interest. The Indian peasant, they say, will never deposit his own money, nor will he repay the loans which have been advanced to him, either because, owing to his reckless borrowing or the poverty of his land, he cannot, or in some cases because he does not choose to do so. Now, it is not denied that difficulties do sometimes occur in the recovery of money. In the beginning mistakes were made in organization: the wrong kind of member was chosen, and societies were sometimes over-financed or not properly instructed. Bad seasons, too, have caused anxiety. Then we have to reckon with the fact that the raiyat is not used to a system whereby he has to repay his loans year by year, and borrow afresh; and it requires much patience to teach him the necessity of prompt repayments. But still there are certain signs which tend to give us confidence. So far as my experience goes, actual dishonesty is rare. Where a society is properly organized, and advances are made with ordinary prudence, difficulty in recovery rarely occurs. In any case the committee on co-operation report that so far no losses have occurred, although for various reasons numerous societies have been dissolved. So long as a thorough audit is conducted year by year in accordance with the Co-operative Societies Act, under the direct supervision of the Registrar of each province, I do not myself believe that there is the least risk of widespread failure. Year by year the amount of capital owned by the members of societies increases. In 1915 the proportion of capital owned by members in the form of share capital, reserves, and deposits of members was 30 per cent. of the whole for all India, while in the Punjab it rose as high as 50 per cent. The proportion is much greater in the older societies, and there is every

ground for hoping that the raiyats of India are learning to deposit their savings in these societies, and in the course of a comparatively short period will as nearly provide their own capital as the peasants of Central Europe now do.

Here I may deal with a criticism which I often hear levelled against co-operation in India by those who ought to know better. The sceptic will say: "Your societies depend on borrowed capital, entirely at first, and to a great extent always. This is opposed to the true theory of co-operation, and must end in the demoralization of the members." This idea, and the distrust to which it gives rise, is, I am sorry to say, very prevalent in certain quarters. It is based on an entirely erroneous conception of what co-operation is, for which no support can be found in any standard works on the subject. The primary object of a co-operative credit society is to supply capital to those who need it. The principle taught by Raffeisen was that anyone, however poor and depressed, had at least his personal credit. It might not be worth much by itself, but when combined with that of a number of others it became a marketable pledge, on the strength of which money could, and should, be raised. His very starting-point was to teach the poor how they could borrow money cheaply. Unless you realize this, you do not understand what co-operation means. It is true that Raffeisen had far-reaching aims, including the development of thrift and other moral qualities. It is true, also, that Raffeisen societies in Germany are now financed almost entirely by the deposits of their members. But this only shows that he succeeded in inculcating thrift by the very measures to which our critics take exception, and gives us ground for confidence that we shall achieve like results—a confidence which the figures I have quoted above do much to reinforce.

Lastly comes the question of higher finance. There is in some quarters a lack of confidence in the ability of the educated Indian to manage prudently the central institutions which gather funds from the public and undertake the

organization and inspection of village societies. This distrust is based partly on his lack of business training, and partly on the past history of Indian-managed concerns, as shown in the collapse of many of the companies floated during the *swadeshi* boom, and the recent banking crisis in Northern India; and it cannot be said that it is not justified. It remains yet for co-operators to prove their abilities; but I, for one, am confident that they will do so. The type of banking undertaken by central banks is really very simple. The funds of the bank are only invested in one way—viz., in loans to village societies, a class of security the soundness of which the directors are specially competent to gauge. The actual amount of business transacted is relatively small, and it is easy for the directors to exercise an effective supervision over it; while little or no money is taken on current account, so that the danger of failure due to sudden panic hardly exists. The central banks as well as the village societies are open to inspection by the Registrar and his staff, and must be audited by the same agency at least once a year. In addition to his statutory duties, the Registrar acts as the guide, philosopher and friend to each central society, and takes care to see that it manages its business on sound lines. The recent committee on co-operation was appointed by the Government of India primarily in order to examine the movement in its higher stages, and in its financial aspect, and it has submitted an exhaustive analysis of present conditions with elaborate recommendations for the future. Its chief criticism is against the absence of adequate cash reserves, or what it denotes the lack of "fluid resource," a defect which, in those provinces where it exists, will, it is hoped, be remedied in the near future. The most encouraging feature of the report is that it discloses no inherent difficulties, and the committee appear to consider that if their advice is followed, the sound progress of the movement is assured.

So much for our difficulties, and the way we are meeting them. What I have given you is only a rough sketch, since no more is possible in a limited time. I have not been able

to describe the organization of our central banks and unions or the public-spirited work of their directors on which our hopes of success depend. Much of what I have said applies more particularly to my own province, since in other parts of India, such as Burma, Madras, and Bombay, conditions often are very different, and it is impossible to generalize as a whole. Co-operation, too, is a big subject, and I have confined myself more or less to one side—that of co-operative credit. This, in India at any rate, is the foundation of all other forms. It provides the funds without which agricultural co-operation could not begin, and the education and training without which more complicated organization would be impossible. The co-operative credit society frees the raiyat from economic slavery, widens his mental horizon, and creates the desire to do and the courage to achieve greater things. Agricultural co-operation will be the machinery by which agricultural improvements such as new crops, new manures and new implements, may reach the raiyat, and, by the eventual elimination of the middleman, secure for him the profits of new methods and new discoveries. These are not mere dreams. In the Central Provinces the seed farms organized by Mr. Evans, working partly through existing credit organizations and partly through special societies for the growing and distribution of seed, have introduced an improved type of cotton over a wide area. Elsewhere co-operative dairies, manure societies, cattle-breeding societies, and the like, are already in existence. Enough has been done to show that where the agricultural departments can prove to the raiyat that an improvement will pay, the latter, when organized and provided with funds, is not only ready to take it up, but capable of using it to good advantage.

What I have said will, I hope, convince you that we are not founding societies right and left, and expecting them to stand by themselves. We are well aware that what we have undertaken is nothing more nor less than the education and reformation of the peoples of India. The progress must be slow and

difficult. The figures I have quoted you would be very big in England, but they represent little more than beginnings in India. We believe we have got hold of the right end of the stick, and that patience and perseverance will do the rest. What is needed from Government is a sound agricultural and educational policy, a proper financial control, and a clear determination to befriend and to support. The rest remains with the peasants of India, and I am confident that they will show themselves not less adaptable than the cultivators of Europe.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, November 13, 1916, a paper was read by Mr. B. Abdy Collins, I.C.S., entitled "Co-operation in India." The Right Hon. Lord Islington, P.C., G.C.M.G., D.S.O., occupied the chair. The following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present. Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Harold Stuart, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., I.C.S., Sir Robert Carlyle, K.C.S.I., C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Charles Stuart Bayley, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Armstrong, K.T., Sir Murray Hammick, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Sir William Duke, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Frank C. Gates, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir J. D. Rees, K.C.I.E., C.V.O., M.P., Sir Stephen Finney, C.I.E., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Sir William Ovens Clark, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Lord Strabolgi, Lieut.-Colonel Gaultier, Colonel and Mrs. Roberts, Dr. A. A. Pranker, Dr. O. R. Pranker, Mr. T. H. S. Biddulph, C.I.E., Colonel and Mrs. Lynch, Mr. N. C. Sen, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Miss Edgecombe, Miss E. M. Privett, Mr. Gayatonde, Miss Vertue, Rev. Broadbent, Mr. Khaja Ismail, Miss Haydon, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. Nash, Mrs. Clark Kennedy, Mrs. Haigh, Mrs. B. Abdy Collins, Mrs. Carter, Mr. Neill, Mr. G. V. Utamsing, Mr. Callard, Mrs. Salwey White, Miss Burton, Miss Sorabji, Mr. E. Benedict, Mr. Wolff, Mrs. Meredith, Mr. Corbett, Rev. T. and Miss James, Mr. Kidwai, Syed Erfan Ali, Mr. F. C. Brown, Mr. F. C. Channing, Miss Prendergast, Mr. K. C. Bhandari, Mr. B. R. Ambedkar, Mr. Tabak, Mrs. Sprott, Mr. Wallace, Mr. J. A. Malcolm, Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, Mrs. Simpson, Mr. H. Kelway-Bamber, Mrs. Presgrave, Mrs. Watson, Mrs. Collis, Mr. Hassanally, Mrs. Fox, Mrs. and Miss Wilmot Corfield, Mr. Duggal, Mr. H. Wheeler, Mr. Williamson, Miss Finney, Mr. Christie, Mr. Yusuf Ali, Miss Johnstone, Miss Ashworth, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, we are assembled here this afternoon for the purpose of hearing a lecture delivered to us by Mr. Abdy Collins, who is a member of the Indian Civil Service,

and who for the past few years has specially devoted himself to the objects and aims of co-operation, and, if I may say so in his presence, with considerable success and benefit to the province where he has occupied the position of Registrar of Co-operative Societies. He will speak, therefore, to us with first-hand and up-to-date information of this most important movement in India. He has occupied that particular post in the province of Bihar and Orissa, and he will be able to tell us in the course of his paper what has taken place in that province of India, and also how the movement is progressing. I will not at this juncture, ladies and gentlemen, stand between you and Mr. Collins, and I will therefore ask him if he will be good enough to deliver his lecture.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, before we open the discussion which will follow this interesting paper, I would ask Sir Charles Bayley to say a word or two, as he has unfortunately to leave us almost immediately. It is not necessary for me to introduce him to you. He has only recently relinquished the high and responsible position of Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa, which position he occupied with honour and distinction as a culmination to a great career in India. (Hear, hear.)

Sir CHARLES BAYLEY: Lord Islington, ladies and gentlemen, I am very grateful to the Chairman for the opportunity which he has so kindly given me of saying a few words to you on this occasion. If I may, I will preface them with a short story. Some years ago a distinguished traveller from England, who was enlarging his experience by a tour in India, visited Lahore, where he was the guest of the then Lieutenant-Governor, a man who was no doubt a friend of many who are here to-day, whose loss we all deplore, and who was probably the ablest officer who has served the Government of India in the lifetime of the present generation—the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson. Sir Denzil took him about, showed him all the sights and objects of interest, and introduced him to the men of light and leading. This done, he said, "Now I am going to take you to see the most important man in India." They drove a little way till they came on a raiyat ploughing his field. "That," said the Lieutenant-Governor, "is the man in India who really matters." No one who knows India at all well will dispute Sir Denzil's dictum, and there are, I venture to think, few, if any, who will deny that the most important thing which has yet been done for the raiyat is the inauguration of the Co-operative Credit movement. If the hopes which the lecturer has expressed are fulfilled, as I believe they will be, Co-operative Credit will relieve the cultivator of the intolerable burden of debt and usury, will give him the power to apply improved methods of agriculture and cattle-breeding, will stimulate his desire for elementary education, and will generally raise the level of his well-being and prosperity. To those who have fostered the movement the thanks of future generations will be due

in overflowing measure Mr Collins has given us a brief account of the movement and its progress, and I want to say a little about the lecturer himself, because it was my privilege to be Lieutenant-Governor of the province in which his work in connection with Co-operative Credit has been done, and because what I have to say he could certainly not say for himself. When Bihar and Orissa became a separate province nearly five years ago, Mr Collins and I joined its Staff together. He was at that time an Under-Secretary to Government, and the manner in which he dealt with the numerous and often difficult problems incidental to the establishment of a new administration earned for him my thanks and those of my colleagues in council. A year later we were fortunate enough to secure his services as Registrar of Co-operative Credit Societies, an office which he has since held for about three years, and I cannot speak too highly of the way in which he has carried out his task. The task has been by no means an easy one, for it has involved touring over a large province at all seasons of the year, and very often in most uncomfortable surroundings. He has had to educate local officers and local committees; to interest in the subject those qualified by their position and character to help the movement and train others, often to persuade them to part, temporarily at least, with their money, and almost everywhere to overcome local and, not unfrequently, interested opposition. The way in which he performed his duties earned for him the high approval of Government and, what is worth a great deal more, the confidence of those for whom he laboured.

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, in opening the discussion, I should like to express my appreciation of the paper which has just been read by Mr Collins, and I am sure I am expressing the sentiments of all present in conveying to the Lecturer the best thanks of the Association for his paper, which represents the result of practical experience which has been given expression to with lucidity and ability (Hear, hear)

The movement of co-operation is one of universal importance, and one that is to be found broadcast throughout the Empire, and one that is firmly established in many foreign countries. The fact that I have been asked to preside to-day has given me great satisfaction, especially as this particular meeting deals with the subject in regard to India. I have been intimately interested in co-operation in this country for many years, and I know the supreme advantage to be derived from its practical establishment, and I know the splendid work that has been done by bands of people in establishing this movement; I know also, too well, the insuperable difficulties and obstacles they have had to face, and still have to face, in their task. It is gratifying to know the extent to which the movement has developed in India, and that it is being established and extended on such sound and practical lines. My experience of co-operation, which has been intimate in certain countries within

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The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, in opening the discussion, I should like to express my appreciation of the paper which has just been read by Mr. Collins, and I am sure I am expressing the sentiments of all present in conveying to the Lecturer the best thanks of the Association for his paper, which represents the result of practical experience which has been given expression to with lucidity and ability. (Hear, hear.)

The movement of co-operation is one of universal importance, and one that is to be found broadcast throughout the Empire, and one that is firmly established in many foreign countries. The fact that I have been asked to preside to-day has given me great satisfaction, especially as this particular meeting deals with the subject in regard to India. I have been intimately interested in co-operation in this country for many years, and I know the supreme advantage to be derived from its practical establishment, and I know the splendid work that has been done by bands of people in establishing this movement; I know also, too well, the insuperable difficulties and obstacles they have had to face, and still have to face, in their task. It is gratifying to know the extent to which the movement has developed in India, and that it is being established and extended on such sound and practical lines. My experience of co-operation, which has been intimate in certain countries within

the Empire, justifies me in saying without hesitation that it should be regarded as a vital and essential element in the successful progress of industry, and especially the industry of agriculture. Its application to the industries of India is of supreme importance, and I venture to say this with emphasis, because in my belief, and in the belief of those who are more conversant with modern India than I am, the immediate future in India should witness a wide extension of industries of many kinds throughout the length and breadth of that continent, and those responsible for the conduct of Indian affairs—those who have power and possess influence and capital—should combine together to encourage in every possible way the widest extension of native industries in that portion of our Empire. The scope and capacity for extending those industries is, I venture to say, quite limitless in India, and it only requires encouragement and facilities; and I believe that there is no direction in which with more certainty or rapidity some of these industries, and especially that of agriculture, can be profitably extended than by a close application of co-operation. If co-operation in all its methods can be scientifically introduced in regard to that aspect of it which has been dealt with to-day—Co-operative Credit—and also in regard to co-operative production, co-operative manufacture and sale, the increment to India's revenues in the years to come will be a most marked feature in India's finance, and I venture to say that it will find its most happy reflection in an added contentment and increased uplifting amongst the masses of the Indian people. (Hear, hear.)

The Lecturer confined himself to one branch of co-operation, *i.e.*, Co-operative Credit, and it is mainly in regard to that branch that the movement has developed in India up to now, and in my opinion it was quite sound to commence the movement in India by the establishment of Co-operative Credit. It provides capital to the agriculturalist, and enables him to profitably extend his work on his farm. In that connection, to no small extent, I believe the success of this movement has been due to the gentleman who until recently occupied the position of Revenue member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, Sir Robert Carlisle. During the critical years of the movement he has unostentatiously, but devotedly, guided the movement in its early days, and has seen that it should move only on the path of safety and security; and those who are interested in the movement and in the welfare of India owe a debt to him in that connection.

Now, if I may do so, what I would like to urge is this: that whilst Co-operative Credit is the essential foundation of the movement, it should not be regarded as the only foundation, but should be looked upon as the foundation upon which should be placed those other branches which are an integral part of the whole movement, without which the movement is not complete. The other essential elements are co-operative sale and co-operative purchase, and in

this connection it is instructive to compare the movement in India with the movement in this country. The movement has started at different ends; in India it started by establishing Co-operative Credit, whereas you will find that in this country in the majority of cases it has started at the other end by the establishment of co-operative purchase and co-operative sale, and there are very few instances of Co-operative Credit Banks in this country. The result of that, ladies and gentlemen, is that whilst undoubtedly the farmer, and especially the small-holder—who is becoming more and more a well-known figure in our midst every year—has benefited appreciably from the introduction of co-operative purchase and co-operative sale, he still finds himself at a great disadvantage in that he is not able to borrow at a cheap rate of interest from a Credit Bank; and I would go so far as to say that the absence of Credit Banks in many instances has not only modified the advantages of the agriculturalist, but in some instances I am afraid it has almost nullified the advantages of purchase and sale. The result is that in the absence of an agricultural Credit Bank the small farmer is too often driven to purchase where payment is easiest; and this has opened the door—and the door still remains, I am sorry to say, very wide open—to many abuses in this country, and it is only too often that the condition is imposed upon the small farmer that he must sell his produce to the same source from which he has been obliged to buy his material—and you may be perfectly certain when that condition is imposed that the unfortunate farmer is not selling in the best market. Therefore, I want to point out that the co-operative movement in this country is still seriously incomplete. I will not dwell upon the reasons why it is incomplete. All I will say is that I think the time has now arrived—and I think it should move with accelerated degree in the future—when co-operation in its complete form should be established in this country, and where necessary sympathy and assistance should be given by Government to secure the firm establishment of Credit Banks, coupled with the present system of co-operative purchase and co-operative sale. Whilst I have pointed out briefly that the co-operative movement in this country is incomplete, I want to emphasize that so also the scheme in India is still in an incomplete state. Wherever there is a Co-operative Credit Bank established in India, I would regard it as almost an essential corollary that there should be a central agency for the scheme of co-operative sale and purchase. The disposal of produce on a co-operative basis, as can be seen to an extraordinary extent in many of our dominions and also in many foreign countries, enables the small farmer in the first place to sell in a regular market, and enables him to obtain a fair uniform price for his produce throughout the year, whilst at the same time—and this is a most important factor to be considered—it relieves him as a producer of the anxieties of marketing throughout that time. He is able to pour his produce, on which he has devoted all his

energies in production, into the central agency, and it is for those who administer the central agency to take from him the anxiety and trouble of seeing it is sold in the best market. He also indirectly derives immense benefit, as the central agency imposes the salutary condition of maintaining a high standard of quality, and thereby insensibly the farmer is educated to a higher form of cultivation. My own experience has invariably shown me that the farmer who has become an ardent co-operator is the widest minded and the most susceptible to new ideas.

Then finally, from the fact that, as an individual he can rely upon a central agency, he is able to reap advantages in many of the important branches of his marketing and sale. As an individual, he is like one crying in the wilderness if he attempts to approach a railway company. In fact it is hardly to be expected that a railway company can deal with the individual. But it is a very different matter with a group of individuals sending their produce to a central agency; they can go to the railway company and say they want such and such a regulation of freight, and such conditions of regular transit, and invariably that is assured to them through this agency. All these points are very important in reducing the cost of production to the farmer, which is what we all desire to aim at.

Then I would like to say a word or two on co-operative purchase. There again, by a system of co-operation, with skilled technical officers administering the central agency, the farmer can rely on obtaining the very best seeds and material and the most up-to-date machinery at 30 to 40 per cent. less than the price he would ordinarily pay. That is a great advantage, and the introduction of co-operative purchase on those lines would have the beneficial effect of inducing the conservative mind of the ryot to employ more modern methods to enable him to get the most from his farm. Apply what I have suggested to India, and imagine well-regulated dairy agencies in the outskirts of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. I do not think it requires very much examination to see that the producer is going to get an enormous advantage, and the consumer also, both in regularity and quality as well. Dairy agencies in those districts are a crying need, and if they can be established they will be of immense advantage to both producer and consumer. Of course, it requires for its successful conduct very highly skilled technical knowledge on the part of those administering the central agencies. It has been said that there are three forms by which you can establish co-operation. You can hand it over entirely to the State; you can rely entirely on private agency; and you can combine the assistance by the State with reliance on private agency. Now, India is apt to expect to a greater degree than other countries that things should be done by the State, but I am certain that it would be a mistake for the State to exclusively undertake the management of co-operative development in India. (Hear, hear.) At the same time I do not think that co-operation can be firmly

established or developed in its early days without assistance and sympathy from the State. The State can help in many ways; it can help to strictly audit and inspect those Societies that are in existence; and it can help where necessary by grants in the early life of a Society, in order to insure credit at a low rate of interest; and it can also avoid any form of administrative embarrassment to the co-operative movement. That applies not only to the Government of India, but I would also extend it to the Government of this country. (Hear, hear.) It can also protect Societies in their youth from obstruction by those numerous enemies that hammer hard at their doors; it can be a sympathetic father to the Society to watch and nurture it, but the real foundation of the movement depends on individual enterprise and energy, and therefore the real success must come from the individual work and energy of people banded together for the same purpose. It is because I believe that agriculture in India and other industries that I need not enumerate at the moment can be greatly sustained by the application of practical co-operation, that it has been a great pleasure to me to have the advantage of hearing Mr. Collins deliver his excellent paper, and thus to associate myself, in however small a degree, with a movement which I know is going to play so immensely important a part in the future development of the industries of India. (Hear, hear, and applause)

SIR ARUNDEL T. ARUNDEL said: With regard to the co-operative movement in India, there was a little bit of history that might be of interest. Nineteen years ago Sir F. Nicholson, who had been appointed on special duty by the Madras Government to inquire into the whole question, submitted an elaborate report thereon. One conclusion was that it was impossible to carry out the Raffeisen system in its entirety, and that Government control was essential. The Madras Government reviewed that report with sympathy, and desired in the first place to start two or three Co-operative Societies as an experimental measure. In the United Provinces some experimental Societies were formed, and about 1901-2 the question was taken up by the Government of India, Sir Edward Law, the Finance member, being much interested in it. Finally the movement was established by legislation.

The speaker congratulated the Lecturer on a most interesting paper, and sought for further information on matters connected with the formation and administration of the Societies.

With regard to the general aspect of the movement it seemed to him to be full of hope, but there was a possible danger if ever there should be a succession of famine years, as in 1876-77. The feature of unlimited liability among the members of the Societies would then throw great responsibilities upon the Government which had promoted their formation.

SIR J. D. REES, M.P., said he had just arrived in time to hear the very thoughtful address by the Chairman, and there was no doubt

about his competency to deal with the subject, not simply because he happened to be Under-Secretary of State for India, but because he spoke as a practical and experienced man in England and in India, who was well accustomed to deal with such subjects. He was in full agreement with all Lord Islington said as to the Government not undertaking to create a co-operative system under State control. There were many instances which would show the unsoundness of such a policy. He would like to see co-operation as described by the Chairman established throughout India, but not under State tutelage! Let the Government be sympathetic by all means, but not in terms of cash. It was of course a subject that bristled with difficulties, and the poor cultivator himself was impressed with these difficulties—he was beset with them everywhere. He sincerely hoped that the wise words of the Chairman that it should not be entirely a State movement, supported with State funds, would not be forgotten when considering the matter.

As to the subject in general, thank Heaven there would be after the war a new world in regard to political economy. We should base our beliefs on facts, not opinions and theories. That was one of the few good things that would come out of the war. In his opinion they could not have chosen anyone better fitted to deal with the subject than the Chairman they had been fortunate enough to have that evening.

Mr. HENRY W. WOLFF said he wished to congratulate the Lecturer upon the excellence of his paper, and he also wished to pay a well-deserved tribute to the body of which he was a member—the Registrars; he knew a good deal of what they had been doing from the beginning. In reference to the last speaker's remarks, he would like to say he was proud of the fact that it was on account of his opinion that Lord Curzon had, as he himself had stated, cut down State aid to a very moderate figure, so as not to spoil co-operation, which must be essentially a movement of self-help. The progress made in India had really been wonderful. Such a rapid growth of the Co-operative Credit movement had never been seen in any country in the world. The Registrars deserved great credit, for they were applying the principle on quite new and untried ground, and the difficulties they had had to overcome were considerable. He wished that some of the "wise men from the East" would come to organize Co-operative Credit in this country!

The Chairman had spoken of Co-operative Credit as being only one feature of the movement, but of course in a country like India it was the first thing to begin with. Look what agricultural co-operation had done for Germany! That would have been impossible if the Germans had not first started with Co-operative Credit. As soon as they had Co-operative Banks in Germany the other essential features followed, and the system had now become a very flourishing feature of economics in Germany. What had happened there in that respect was likely to happen in India. Then

again, it promoted intelligence and the spread of education. Undoubtedly the hardest nut to crack for Co-operative Societies was the question of co-operative production, but he believed the Registrars in India had proceeded on the right lines, and they deserved all the success they had achieved, and in course of time co-operation would prove to be the greatest benefit India had received at the hands of her British rulers. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. CHATTERJEE said he wished to associate himself with all the distinguished speakers who preceded him in congratulating the Lecturer on his excellent paper. With regard to the questions put by Sir Arundel Arundel, he wished to say that when the movement was first introduced they did not possess Central or District Banks, but they used to go to the villages and explain the system to them, and then visit them again at a later period. If the villagers agreed to the formation of a Society, all the difficulties were pointed out to them. The officers of the Society were men of the villages themselves. With regard to the difficulty of keeping accounts, if they could not get literate men from the members, they temporarily appointed a paid accountant for a group of adjoining village Societies. As to the constant menace of unlimited liability with which the members were threatened, it was necessary to point out that Societies were mostly dissolved before they actually became bankrupt, as the Registrar kept a very careful watch over what was going on. The Act prescribed certain definite rules for the procedure of liquidation, which were supplemented by regulations in each province. With regard to the question of famine years, they had taken steps to guard against that contingency by a system resembling insurance. The financing was done mostly by district and provincial banks, and it was not likely that all parts of a province or of a district would suffer from a famine at the same time. Even if there were a widespread famine, although the district banks might suffer to a certain extent, their accumulated reserve fund and other resources would enable them to tide over the difficulty. He thoroughly endorsed Mr. Collins' views as to the necessity of primary education in India. (Hear, hear.)

Colonel YATE, M.P., in proposing a vote of thanks to the Lecturer and to the Chairman, said they were all delighted to hear of the steady increase of such Societies in India, but he did not think they would all agree with the Lecturer that agriculture till recently in England "was always the prosperous occupation of the capitalist"; and he had his doubts as to whether the British farmer would assent to that! As to the Chairman's observation as to the Government being in the position of what he called the sympathetic father to these Co-operative Societies in India, he felt that after the excellent address they had heard from him they could all feel assured that the Societies in India had indeed a sympathetic father in the Under-Secretary of State for India. (Hear, hear.) The ryot was the man they all needed to look after, and was indeed the most impor-

tant man throughout the whole of India. He entirely endorsed what the Lecturer had said as to the need of a sound agricultural and educational policy in India. When he was in India the Government had no agricultural policy, such as what the Lecturer had been telling them about—and as to the Indian educational policy, he considered that we had transferred some of the worst faults of the Home educational system to India, and he was only thankful to think that the day might be coming when Indian educationalists would eliminate cram and the rush for examinations, and teach morality, loyalty, courtesy, and utility. In conclusion, he would ask them all to join with him in a most cordial vote of thanks to the Chairman for his kindness in coming to take the chair that evening.

(The motion on being put to the meeting was carried with acclamation.)

Mr. COLLINS said with reference to Lord Islington's remarks that it must not be supposed that because he confined his paper to Co-operative Credit there was no co-operative purchase and sale in India. There were a number of industrial Societies, chiefly among weavers, which were making fair progress. But this class of Society was a much more difficult problem than the Credit Bank. Now that Directors of Industries had been and were being appointed for all provinces, he hoped for quicker development. Agricultural co-operation, as he had said in his paper, had already made a good start. In India they were especially hampered by the fact that scientific agriculture was only just beginning, and the Agricultural Departments were hardly yet able to say in many cases what implements, what manures, or what seed would really suit the ryot. Registrars had always taken the line—and most wisely—that nothing should be recommended to the ryot, at any rate through the co-operative organization, which was not thoroughly proved to be of benefit to him. A failure or two would destroy confidence and throw back the whole development of agriculture in India. On the other hand, the Registrars always recognized that without the Agricultural Departments they could do little really to help the ryot, and were only too ready to welcome well-tried improvements.

Answering Sir Arundel Arundel, he said that in the beginning money had usually been found by the residents of districts where experiments were made, or taken from the many would-be investors through the Registrar. Nowadays in Bihar and Orissa the Provincial Co-operative Bank financed new areas. The directors of central banks were drawn from all classes—zemindars, lawyers, bankers, and retired officials. These were the people who subscribed the capital, and the Societies also had gradually to pay up shares. Rates of interest, of course, varied in different provinces and localities, and were never pitched too low in comparison with the prevailing local rates for fear of encouraging rash borrowing.

In some places the members paid as much as 15 per cent. or even more. But in considering such a rate it must be borne in mind that the depositors in the central banks did not get more than 7 to 7½ per cent. even for long periods. The difference went partly in building up the reserve fund of the central bank and village Society; partly in paying the managing and inspecting Staff, without which the Societies could not exist; and partly in a moderate dividend, in which the Societies participated, on the capital of the central banks. In conclusion, Mr. Collins thanked Lord Islington for presiding, and the audience for their kind reception of his paper.

DEATH OF MR. BIHARI LAL GUPTA, C.S.I., I.C.S.

At the meeting of the Council of the East India Association held on Monday, December 18, Dr. John Pollen drew attention to the death of his lifelong friend, Mr. Bihari Lal Gupta, C.S.I., and dwelt on his noble character and eminent service; and on the motion of Dr. Pollen, seconded by Mr. N. C. Sen, the following resolution was unanimously passed :

“This Council has heard with deep regret of the death of Mr. Bihari Lal Gupta, C.S.I.—a Member of this Association—and desires to convey to his family its sincere sympathy.”

Mr. Gupta had a long and successful career in the Indian Civil Service, became a Puisne Judge of the Calcutta High Court, and after his retirement was appointed (by H.H. the Gaekwar) Dewan of Baroda. He was throughout his career distinguished by uprightness of life and character, by marked administrative ability, and unswerving loyalty to his King Emperor and India.



WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME,
BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

UNDER the title of "The Ordeal of Empire," Sir Walter Raleigh, Professor of English Literature at the University of Oxford, gave a most illuminating and able comparison, full of the saving grace of humour, between the British and German idea of world empire before the December meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, over which the Earl of Selborne presided. We now know Germany's creed, said Sir Walter: that the law for the whole people is absolute belief in the State, that war is the highest activity of the State, and that the State has the right to enslave the subject, body and soul. Germans have been lured, drilled, and bribed into war; there was truth in the observation of a British soldier: "You see, sir, the Germans are not a military people as we are!" They are not warlike; a first-class army could not have been fashioned out of volunteers in Germany. The Prussian is a natural brute to himself and to others; the more emotional peoples of the German Empire have given the Prussian extravagant adoration, even though he has acted on the belief that peoples can be frightened into subjection. The Briton, on the other hand, does not like to hear himself described; he has the lonely temper of a man independent to the verge of melancholy; he claims his right to go to Heaven his own way; he is almost morbid in his dislike of anything showy and dramatic in expression. The Frenchman, added Sir Walter, goes over the top of the parapet with a prayer for his country on his lips; the British Tommy says: "This way for the early door, 6d. extra!" But the spirit and temper is the same as in bygone days. In the air a new element has been found; the airman depends upon his own brain and skill; he cannot fall back on orders; he is a true successor to Drake. By painstaking organization Germans want to make themselves perfect. The German nation is like a carefully built, smooth-

running machine, it has only one fault any fool can drive it We have learned much through the war, declared Sir Walter. We have discovered ourselves and our friends The Overseas Dominions sprang to our aid, they say "We are fighting with you, not for you!" The outcome must be co-operation and mutual support; Ministers of State must travel We must do a lot of things, said the Professor, and regularize them afterwards by legislation The Crown Colonies, India and the Overseas Dominions must share our burden The process of governing alien people has been a great education The Indian Civil Service was described by Sir Walter as a great college If India were really governed by young novices, it would indeed be a distressful country but the novice is taken in hand by a man of experience, his prejudices and follies peel off, and he becomes a tolerant and wise civil servant The success to be credited to the service will not interfere with the duty of giving to selected Indians a larger share in the government of their country In the conflict between British and German ideas of world government, it is not an accident, according to Sir Walter Raleigh, that the chief colonizing nation was without an army, adventurers do not wait for orders German government is impossible where we have pitched our tents Their forethought provides for everything, and would regulate fun and freedom Sir Walter told how Germany cut down the time allotted to German Rhodes scholars, and how one of these scholars was intensely surprised when, consulting Sir Walter about research work he wished to do in English literature, it was suggested that he should make his own choice "But in Germany the Professor tells us exactly what to do, gives us our subjects, names our books for study, you follow his advice, write a thesis, and become a Doctor of Letters!" "He thought me an incompetent Professor, and I thought him an unprofitable scholar," was Sir Walter's comment No one knows how the war will end, we may make peace with the Germans, but never with German ideas They are not the ideas of Goethe or Kant This newly-established doctrine must be fought in war and in peace, in the end it will not prevail

In the discussion which followed, Sir Joseph Waid, supporting the idea that Ministers of State should travel, suggested that there should be two to each great office one travelling throughout the Empire, the other ready to start as soon as the first returns Dr Parkyn said that war's ordeal had shown us that we must burn up the rubbish of life and see and retain the great realities Mr Young, of South Australia, called the attention of the home country to the fact that a million men were passing through for the first time "Let them take back to the Dominions Overseas the best, not the worst, impression of your public life and private actions" Lord Selborne, from the chair, declared that what had struck him most with regard to the world-wide response to the need of the Motherland was the stream of solitary men trickling home from the

outposts—north of the Zambesi, from the Arctic Circle, from inland China, from Africa—drawn by an irresistible impulse, with an entire absence of self-consciousness, not expecting to be sent off with demonstrations or welcomed with bands, not even analyzing why they came, but realizing that it was the only thing to do. "This is the most wonderful thing which has happened to our race in the war!"

The question of "The World's Cotton Supply and India's Share In It" was emphatically stated to be "one that will not wait till after the war" by Professor John Aiton Todd, Professor of Economics, University College, Nottingham, in his lecture before the Indian Section of the Society of Arts on December 14. An immediate increase of one million bales per annum of new cotton is imperative, and "India is the only country," he maintained, "from which there is any hope of obtaining them. . . . There is every reason to believe that India could maintain such an increase cumulatively till her present crop is at least doubled." Apart from any increase in the area, 25,000,000 acres in 1913-14, there could easily be increased by means of improvement of the yield per acre, which would pay India handsomely, and without interfering at all seriously with her essential supplies of other crops, especially food. Time and money are necessary, but less time and money than anywhere else; as much money as we are spending for two or more days of war, but "every pound spent now will be worth a hundred a few years hence." Professor Todd paid tribute to the work done by the Government of India in the development of agricultural colleges and on experimental and demonstration work of various kinds in agriculture, but he declared that something more was necessary. He suggested a system of licensing and control of ginneries, giving the Government power to stop such practices as damping and mixing cotton and allowing dirt to find its way into the bales. Similar steps have been taken in Egypt, with satisfactory results, and in the Soudan, where pence per pound have been added to the value of the cotton. The Government, too, should show how a cotton seed farm and plantation should be worked on a considerable commercial scale. Another point was the question of selling. Professor Todd dissociated himself from the narrow idea that Indian cotton should be retained for manufacture in India, or that it should all go to Lancashire; he maintained that there should be no discrimination in favour of or against one customer or another; he thought that in the long-run the cotton would come to Liverpool because Lancashire is the best market, especially for good cotton. "The basis of the whole situation to-day," he added, "is a world shortage of cotton, and every bale of cotton produced anywhere is so much to the good, whether it be consumed in the country in which it is grown or exported elsewhere." In the course of a very long paper much valuable information was given, as well as a series

of important statistical tables. Lantern-slides of the conditions and work done in the cotton areas of India, especially in the Punjab, were shown, and specimens were on view. Among those who took part in the discussion were Sir Louis Dane, who, as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, was closely associated with many of the remarkable modern developments in that Province; Mr. D. T. Chadwick, Director of Agriculture for Madras; Mr. Wadia, of Bombay; and Mr. Seklatvala. Sir William Duke presided in the unavoidable absence of Lord Emmott.

Botany and geography met in the person of the Lecturer, Mr. Reginald Farrer, at the December meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, and the story he told of his experiences, with his friend, Mr. William Purdon, in the Kansu Marches of Tibet, was one of the most thrilling and romantic of the thrilling and romantic stories given to the world under the ægis of the Society. In addition to difficulties, expected and unexpected, of travel, there were insurrections, narrow escapes from murder, and other perils to life and limb, and the continuous struggle against incredulity and opposition, which made every day "a great adventure," to be "negotiated"; but so full of irrepressible humour was Mr. Farrer's narrative that ripples of laughter frequently grew into outbursts of infectious merriment—an unusual feature at the gatherings of learned societies. The White Wolf insurrectionists, the Black Tepos raiders, the all-powerful Buddhist monks, and other more or less important personages, of course laughed to scorn the idea that travellers from far countries had no deeper or more subtle interest in the Kansu Marches than to hunt for flowers and plants; gold was a much more likely objective, and as gold is a church monopoly, the Abbot of the Buddhist monks of the town of Chago, after a ceremonious visit to the strangers, gave instructions to his followers that their throats should be cut, provided it could be done without indecent fuss. However, the botanists lived to tell the tale, and a remarkably interesting tale it was, illustrated by wonderfully fine lantern-slides showing romantic as well as rugged beauty—and some of the much-desired botanical specimens! The Marches were described as an absolutely lawless and independent chaos of Alpine kingdoms and peoples, owing as little allegiance to Lhasa as to Peking, not properly to be called part of China, and only vaguely and for the sake of a name to be included in Tibet.

One of the annual gatherings of Indian interest which never fails to attract Indians of all creeds and many British friends is the celebration on November 19 of the birthday of Keshub Chunder Sen. "Perhaps the greatest Indian of the nineteenth century," was the tribute of an Englishman at the last celebration; "the Brahmo Somaj is a link between all religions, and furnishes a platform on which we can all meet with absolute goodwill," was the tribute of

an Indian—a Moslem. Mr. Charles Roberts, M.P., presided in the absence of the President of the London Brahmo Somaj, Sir Krishna Gupta, now on a visit to India. He referred with warm appreciation to the work of the distinguished Bengali in strengthening the links of common understanding between India and Britain; this work was still going on, and the events of the past two years have deeply impressed the better mind of Britain. "Nothing can absolve British statesmen from the original task of meeting India's just aspirations at the proper time," said Mr. Roberts. "Strong underlying forces are at work to win in the end a right-minded recognition of India's distinctive civilization, and to secure a just place and partnership for India within the great and free commonwealth of the Empire." Sir M. M. Bhownaggee emphasized the importance of Mr. Roberts' pronouncement, and regretted that there was no Keshub Chunder Sen to-day. The eminent Brahmo Somaj leader had bridged the gulf of orthodoxy on the one side among Indians, and apathy on the other; he had led them into paths of wider thought and moral achievement, and included political knowledge and activity among the objects to be attained. Bishop Copleston, in an interesting and appreciative speech, which included personal recollections of Keshub Chunder Sen, declared that had he lived fifty years later, he could not have held more enthusiastically the two principles of Indian nationality and loyalty to the British throne. To him his beloved India was one nation, with character and capacity of her own; and nowhere is warmer recognition expressed of what India owes to Britain than in his writings. He was a champion of the emancipation of woman; he advocated the abolition of child marriages, and was in favour of the re-marriage of widows and intercaste marriages. Miss Rosanna Powell also gave personal recollections of Keshub Chunder Sen during his visit to England, and the formation of the National Indian Association, with the co-operation of Miss Mary Carpenter, as an outcome of his desire to bring East and West into closer touch in this country. Other speakers were Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, Kwaja Kamal-ud-Din, Mr. Saint Nihal Singh, and Mr. F. H. Brown, and good wishes were expressed to the son of the reformer, Mr. N. C. Sen, for the development of his work on behalf of Indians in this country.

It is not often that a Western audience has the advantage of hearing a Bengali lady interpret the great Bengali poet, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, but the appreciation shown by the Putney Branch of the Poetry Society should encourage Mrs. N. C. Sen, herself a poet, to give others the pleasure of hearing her lecture. She showed how the earlier workers in the field prepared the way for a remarkable development of Bengali literature; Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Romesh Chunder Dutt, Hem C. Chatterjee, and Nabin C. Sen were among those mentioned, but Rabindranath Tagore is both the master-sower and master-harvester. He is almost a

second Shri Krishna in Bengal, playing a wonderful flute, stirring the heart of the people, lifting their thoughts, ennobling their ideas. An enthusiastic lover of her own Bengali tongue, Mrs. Sen told how much it owes to Sir Rabindranath, and only regretted that those who did not understand it missed so much of the beauty of word and sound by being obliged to read his poems in translations. She charmed her audience by reciting some of them in the original, and Mr. Sen's rendering of several of the poet's songs was keenly enjoyed.

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In order to promote greater understanding and sympathy between Great Britain and Russia, a loan exhibition of reproductions of Russian pictures will be opened at King's College, Strand, London, on January 1, 1917, at 3 p.m., by His Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Michael Michailovitch, under the patronage of Her Majesty Queen Alexandra, and under the auspices of the Russian Society of King's College (London University). The exhibition has been organized by Mrs. Sonia F. Howe, and will consist of prints and other reproductions of pictures illustrating Russian life, including photographs of sacred and historical subjects, illustrations of fairy tales, artistic war loan posters, etc. The exhibition will be open from January 1 to 6, from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.; entrance fee, 1s. Every day at 3 p.m. Mrs. Howe will give a short explanatory talk about the exhibits; at 3.30 p.m. each day there will be a concert of Russian music, organized by Madame Marie Levinskaja, the famous Russian pianist, assisted by well-known artists, among them Messrs. Benno Moisevitch, Daniel Melsa, and Felix Salmond. At 4.30 p.m. each day there will be short lectures alternately on Russian art and fairy tales. During the concert a collection will be taken for the Russian Prisoners of War Help Committee, to which the whole of the proceeds of the exhibition will be given.

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"The Women of the Near East" was the subject of Miss Zabelle Boyajian's lecture to the Women's Freedom League on November 30, and Mrs. Despard, the President, was in the chair. She dealt with the harem life of many women under Turkish rule; and with the freer, if harder, life of the Kurdish women, who are unveiled, and, when their husbands are out on marauding expeditions, tend the sheep and cows, make cheese and butter, and weave carpets; but are the beasts of burden when it is necessary to change pasture; also with the Armenian women, who hold an honoured position, and one of practical equality with men. She pointed out that, although women in the harems are rarely educated in the Western sense, yet cramping restrictions, thought often leading to intrigue and deception, cannot entirely quench natural intelligence; with the slower educational progress in the East, "we often see," said Miss Boyajian, "Shakespeare's women—*Mistress Page* and *Mistress Ford*, *Juliet* and *Ophelia*, even *Beatrice* and *Katherine*—in the

Turkish harems or amongst the Armenians." The only way in which the Armenian people have any political representation is through the elected Catholicos, who lives in Russia, but directs the civil as well as religious affairs of the nation. A Catholicos, who died ten years ago, decreed that women should have the right to vote as well as men, and this equalization of power was obtained without any difficulty, owing to the fact that Armenian men respect the women and do not regard them as inferiors. Armenian women have been hymn-writers, illuminators, and artists, and in the tenth century beautiful buildings, including the noble cathedral of the capital, were erected under the superintendence of Queen Katranideh; the latter bears an inscription saying that it was completed by her. Armenia to-day has shown appreciation of the work of a gifted daughter of the race by purchasing the originals of Miss Boyajian's beautiful illustrations to the exquisite book (reviewed in the last issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*) "*Legends and Poetry of Armenia*," of which she is also the editor, and in most cases the poet-translator.

Dr. Flinders Petrie's lecture on the "Formation of the Nile Valley," given before the Geographical Circle of the Lyceum Club on December 6, was fascinating in its interest, even though bewildering in the millions of years required for the various changes, when the water-level sank or rose 800 feet. He showed pictures of valleys in the high desert ploughed out by rainfall, and of cliffs facing the Nile with straight lines left by the last retirement of the water-level; also others showing slanting lines, indicating submergence of caves or caverns below the surface and carrying down the line of the cliffs. Maps were thrown on to the screen showing the Mediterranean as a chain of lakes similar to the North American lakes, with Sicily joined to Africa, and Britain forming part of the continent of Europe. The present level of the Nile Valley is an intermediate one, and it is fertile because the whole bed is river-wash renewed every year. As it gets its moisture from below, not from above, Egypt has cloudless sunshine. Where there are palm groves to afford necessary shade from the powerful rays of the sun, three crops of wheat a year can be grown; when the palm groves are young, and not so tall or shady, excellent crops for animal food can be obtained. Dr. Petrie indicated that, with proper working, the wonderful fertility of Egypt might be enormously increased.

An interesting lecture, illustrated with capital slides, on "Russian Painting and Ikonography," was given by Mrs. Rosa Newmarch before the King's College Russian Society on Thursday evening, November 23. Mrs. Sonia E. Howe presided for part of the time, and explained her scheme for an exhibition of Russian pictures, to be held at the College during the Christmas vacation. Similar exhibitions have been arranged for several provincial towns. The

Lecturer opened with the old ecclesiastical "wooden" architecture, of which the Church of St. Basil on the Red Square at Moscow is a development. Next the Byzantine, Novgorod, and "Tsarial" schools of ikon painting were described in succession. Passing to modern painters, examples of the art of Perov, Vaznetsov, Vereshagin, Riepin, Aivazovsky, Shishkin, and Rörich were shown. Mr. F. P. Marchant, who took the chair after Mrs. Howe had left, said that the Society was greatly indebted to Mrs. Newmarch, and that all hoped that she would see her way to lecture on Russian music, on which she is a recognized authority. He was glad to hear about his old friend, the archæological painter, Rörich. A hearty vote of thanks to Mrs. Newmarch was proposed by Mr. Hardwicke, of the Committee, seconded by the Rev. Mr. Rogers, and carried unanimously.

Before the Liverpool Geographical Society on Monday, December 11, Mr. Charles Woods lectured on the subject of "Balkan Communications." Mr. Woods said that military operations conducted in the Near East must be entirely unlike, and in most ways far more arduous than, those taking place elsewhere in Europe. The existing communications were quite inadequate for the movement and supply of large armies. In the Roumanian and Salonika theatres of war the railways available to the enemy were much more effective than those possessed by the Allies. Practically the whole area was mountainous, and the mountains for the most part consisted, not of regular ranges, but of disjointed rocky masses. The winding valleys, which often narrowed down to mere gorges, were shut in by sloping hills so forbidding that an advance across them seemed to be well-nigh impossible. The roads, except those in Bulgaria and a few main routes in other parts of the peninsula, consisted of the merest paths or tracks, strewn with rocky stones so enormous that one had to ride, stumble, or clamber along them as best one might. The existing bridges were either so narrow or so shaky that one crossed them only at the greatest risk. These conditions, together with the effect of the winter rains and snows, meant that motor vehicles, transport waggons, and big guns, upon which a modern army depended, were often useless; and special transport and mountain guns had to be provided for service on the numerous tracks which were not passable for wheeled traffic. Thus, if the Allies intended to further their cause in the Balkans—and the Balkans could not be abandoned—they must either inaugurate a new and more systematic diplomatic campaign, or prepare to send an army much larger than that possessed by the enemy who, so far, had accomplished practically everything he had attempted in the Near East.

COMMERCIAL NOTES

INDIA AND GERMAN TRADE

II.

THERE are, however, certain dangers and difficulties besetting the task of more completely extinguishing enemy trade which is now before the Indian Government. By far the most important of these difficulties is the economic one, which arises from the uncertainty as to the consequences of stopping some of the numerous channels in which Indian trade has hitherto flowed. This is an extremely complex problem; and it is not possible, within the limits of a brief article, to do more than indicate, by a few concrete instances, the diversity of the points that must be taken into consideration before any general conclusions can be reached, and the inadequacy of the information at present available for dealing with the question.

But before proceeding to deal with the economic aspect of the subject, a brief reference may be permitted to a somewhat insidious danger besetting official intervention in trade practices. This is the personal aspect of the case, involving, as it does, enquiry into the names, nationality, and the business antecedents of individual members of the community. There is a risk of such enquiries degenerating into an obnoxious form of inquisition, and affording scope for irresponsible assertions and malicious misrepresentations. These may lead to misguided official action and to a good deal of unnecessary hardship. So far as enquiries into the constitution and origin of particular trading firms may be

really necessary to give effect to a policy of exclusion of aliens, the safest plan seems to be to adopt some form of legislation, like that contained in the Registration of Business Names Bill at present before Parliament, or some other measure of compulsory registration, which will be of general application, without any invidious discriminations, and upon the results of which it may be possible to base further enactments in restraint of enemies' liberty to trade.

To turn now to the economic difficulty. The problem of the liberation of Indian trade from foreign control or participation has two aspects. The aim may be to prevent Germans from personally trading in India, or it may be to keep Indian commodities or their value from getting into foreign hands. The latter aim may be dismissed at once as impracticable, even if it were desirable. Overseas' trade must remain cosmopolitan in character. The British Empire cannot absorb all the merchandise which is exported from India, and foreign markets must be retained. It is true that the extent to which foreign markets are necessary may vary, and in some important directions endeavours are being made to create new British markets for Indian exports; while the developments of Indian industries, upon which so many hopes are at present fixed, should have the effect of diminishing the bulk of India's exports, though it seems likely that, as her industrial development advances, she will have more manufactured products, for the export of which she will depend more than ever upon foreign markets. Whatever temporary diversions in the course of her foreign trade may occur, it can hardly be doubted that India (for the support of whose exchange a large excess of exports over imports is necessary) will remain permanently dependent to a large extent upon foreign markets, and the displacement even of markets in enemy countries can only be very gradually effected.

But foreign participation in India's trade may, as indicated above, be interfered with in another way—viz., by preventing foreigners from settling in the country for pur-

poses of trade. The question of keeping them out of the country altogether is a political question which is beyond the scope of the present article. But precedents for preventing foreigners from engaging freely in trade are to be found in the laws of some Continental countries—not in first-class States, but in the smaller countries where the native commercial community is less able to protect itself against foreign exploitation. It will be necessary for the Indian Government to examine these precedents to see whether they furnish an example which may advantageously be followed in India, where there is at present practically nothing to prevent foreigners generally (as distinct from enemy subjects who are under temporary disabilities) from engaging in any trade they please.

It is not easy to estimate what might be the effect of such restrictions, but the present war measures in restraint of enemy trade may furnish some clue to the problem. There are two or three important classes of Indian trade which before the war were very much in German hands—*e.g.*, the raw-hide trade and the trade in mineral ores. It is worth while to look a little more closely at the conditions under which these trades have been carried on hitherto, and to see what has been the result of the temporary exclusion of German participation. We will take first the trade in raw-hides. The average annual value of this trade during the five years before the war was about £4,000,000. Of this, about £2,500,000 worth went to Germany and Austria-Hungary, the rest going chiefly to the United States, Italy, and the United Kingdom. The centre of the export trade is Calcutta, and it was, before the war, for the most part in the hands of some half-dozen or so German firms. How this state of things arose is not quite clear. Apparently the bulk of Indian hides are of a quality not usually taken by British tanners, but largely imported into Germany, where the special attention paid to the tanning of inferior kinds, combined with a fiscal policy designed to assist local manufacturers, led to the creation of an important and lucrative

trade in classes of leathers not dealt in, to any large extent, elsewhere. A cardinal feature of this fiscal policy was the free admission of raw materials. Another important feature was the provision of special banking facilities in the countries from which the raw material was drawn. These facilities were more readily available where the buyers of the raw materials were themselves Germans. The above facts furnish some explanation of the way in which the Indian raw-hide trade has fallen so completely under German domination. Whether British merchants could now successfully take up this established trade, supplanting its German founders, is the practical question to be faced. There appear to be two main difficulties. In the first place, it is alleged that the actual methods employed in buying and selling hides are repugnant to British ideas of business in India. The trade, it is said, involves standing in the bazaar all the morning, haggling with the native dealers, paying cash down, and carrying away the goods, if not on one's back, at any rate under vigilant personal supervision, to guard against the fraudulent substitution of some similar but inferior articles. All this, it is urged, make the trade uncongenial to British business habits. It would be a mistake to underrate the importance of these objections, which will be readily recognized by those who are familiar with the circumstances of commercial intercourse between the different races in India. On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that they would not be overcome if some clear advantage were to accrue to British merchants taking up this trade. Whether such advantage may be expected or not depends on the capacity of British merchants to sell in German markets, unless some other adequate market is found—*e.g.*, in the United Kingdom or in India itself. The last-mentioned possibility will no doubt be investigated by the recently appointed Industries Commission. The capacity of the British leather industry for absorbing Indian raw-hides is a subject for further enquiry, and there may be some difficulty in finding a complete substitute for the German

market after the war. The tanners themselves are in the best position to gauge the commercial possibilities of the import of Indian raw-hides into the United Kingdom, and the Indian authorities are dependent upon them for information as to the prospects of that trade. It would be of great assistance if the trade federation in the United Kingdom were to take up the question warmly, and advise the Indian Government as to the possibilities of success. This would enable the latter to judge how far the trade might be made independent of foreign (and particularly German) markets. Assuming that a sufficient demand arose in the United Kingdom for Indian raw-hides, it would then be for consideration how to divert the trade into this new channel, whether by direct prohibition of future export to Germany, or by the imposition of export duties, or by the operation of unassisted competition.

The uncertainties besetting the question are at present so numerous that it would be unwise to approve unreservedly a policy of exclusion of German markets until adequate substitutes can be found. If, on the other hand, no suitable markets can be found outside Germany, the question arises whether British merchants will ever be able to enter into the business of selling Indian hides to Germany. Apart from the possibility of trade relations between Germany and the British Empire being expressly prohibited for some time after the war, there will probably be financial difficulties. It has been shown above that German merchants were enabled to make a profit out of an apparently unprofitable trade, owing to the artificial assistance given by Germany's fiscal policy. It is doubtful whether that assistance would be equally available for British merchants. There is thus a considerable element of suspense about the whole future of the hide trade, and this makes it impossible for the Indian Government to declare at once for a full-blooded policy of extinction of the German trade.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

RUSSIAN POETS

(Reviewed by OLGA NOVIKOFF)

RUSSIAN SONGS AND LYRICS. By John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D. (*East and West, Ltd.*) 3s. 6d. net.

No doubt the great men of the day are not those of the century. But to play a good part, even for a short time, should be the aim of everybody.

May I relate something that I am not likely to forget soon? I heard, some years ago, about a Right Honourable gentleman who, at the age of eighty-two, suddenly showed such a keen interest about Russian poetry and other Russian literature, that he actually began learning Russian himself. He decided to do it very thoroughly, securing huge dictionaries and various grammars. And true enough, I found him surrounded with all these philological guides, and our great Pushkin's poem, "To our Enemies," before him. I could not help congratulating him on his love for studies—fortunately I did not add what crossed my mind: at such an antique age! He seemed, however, to guess a little portion of my thoughts.

"Well," said he, "I do not see why people, the moment they become Right Honourables or have some grey hairs or are bent, should give up reading books or trying to understand the real nature of foreign countries."

"Oh!" said I, "as a rule, people give up studying and reading long before they become Right Honourables. To some people, many things have more attractions than a book after they have left their Universities."

"I am trying to understand," he said, "what your Pushkin meant by:

'Will the Slav streams unite in the Russian Sea,
Or will their waters run dry?'

That is the question!"

"But that is simply the doctrine of the Slavophil party," said I.
"Russia, according to us, must feel her moral link with all the Slavs, and

care for them not in words but in deeds, never forgetting their interests and their helplessness. That is all. The problem will be easily understood by all who know the Russian language, Russian history, and Russian poetry."

Had this conversation taken place now, I could have helped the old gentleman in recommending him excellent Russian translations by Mr. Stephen Graham, Mr. Brayley Hodgetts, and others. But I consider every translation, even the very best, a great concession to the difficult study of languages.

"I like the sight of your grammars, big dictionaries, and Pushkin," said I, "which you were evidently studying—but my feelings in that respect have not an imperative character, and since I have to choose between translation and ignorance, I emphatically say: 'Study translations.'"

Amongst these, I should like to recommend some from Russian poets by Dr. Pollen, just published by East and West, Ltd. I confess I am rather partial for this book. Till now, I obstinately preached to everybody: "Learn Russian, and read our best literature, represented by our greatest writers, in its original." As a rule, I am a little like the fox with the green grapes, and inclined to calumniating every translation, simply because it is so superior to anything I could do myself. You write an article. Well, why not write an article? Everybody is supposed to have some impressions and even ideas. To put them together is quite simple. In our Novo Alexandrovka schools, boys and young girls write sometimes articles so fresh, original, and interesting, that every newspaper editor might accept them, not only "with compliments," but with sincere gratitude.

But oh! To make a translation! *That* I would not entrust to them! And, indeed, how on earth could I ever do it myself? It has been well said: "Traductore—traditore" (*i.e.*, a *bad* translator). And can anything be worse than a traitor? Perhaps only those who induce others to become so. But this would carry us straight to Berlin, which is too far!

Now, Dr. Pollen's book has my sympathies, and I wish I could add my support, as the profits from the sales are generously offered to the fund for poor Russian prisoners, whose condition, according to Countess Benckendorff's reports, is obviously becoming more and more deplorable. All the help sent directly to them from Russia seems to be lost, and Countess Benckendorff's committee is the best medium of help from London. Every half-crown prolongs the life of a poor starving prisoner for several days. Is all this not worthy of serious consideration? Thus, in supporting the sale of a very charming collection of Russian poetry, people are actually combining pleasure with utility. A detail ought to be added. The majority of Russian prisoners is composed of wounded invalids. English people who know this fact, and are trying to come to the rescue, probably care very little for our gratitude. They know that the Russians, as allies, are fighting now not only for the defence of their country, but also for our united glorious victory and duty. To serve that cause is even pleasant when you have to contribute to it in reading Dr. Pollen's charming Russian poetry. His book brings you in contact with the best representatives of our literature, and names of such poets as Chomiakoff, Tutscheff, and Count

Alexis Tolstoi, very little known in England, have no doubt had a great influence on Russia's moral development. We must be grateful to Dr. Pollen for having shown his tact and sympathy in introducing them to English readers.

When Dr. Pollen publishes his second edition, which I hope will be very soon, he would do well to make two or three slight alterations. Thus, our charming wit and poet, Theodore Tutcheff, whom I knew very well, always wrote his family name as I have just done. Some of his poems are really first-rate, such as "Silencium" and many others. Some of them are political, pro-Slav, and should be introduced in Dr. Pollen's book.

In reproducing Count Tolstoi's verses, I should have advised giving his entire name: Count *Alexis* Tolstoi. There are many Tolstois, Counts and not Counts: I am afraid in England Count Leon Tolstoi, the great novelist, is the only one really popular. But Count Alexis Tolstoi belongs to those refined minds and talents who are more and more appreciated after their death.

Then again, Lomonosoff ought to be written just as it is pronounced. I have not known him personally, as he died in 1765, a little before my time!

Now that people undoubtedly take genuine interest in Russian literature—a friend of mine was discussing with me quite lately the urgent necessity of establishing in London a Russian Library—the difficulty to get Russian books, even in time of peace, is quite tremendous. In war time it is quite hopeless.

How unfortunate it was for me in the year 1891 that I never discovered an ally who could have helped our cause so well. Could anybody better than Dr. Pollen realize not only the importance of an Anglo-Russian Alliance, but the terrible danger which existed already at that time and made that alliance indispensable? "Those who dreamt of an Anglo-Russian Alliance" would be sincerely pleased with Dr. Pollen's poem. In the year 1891, and even later, such views and ideas were, unfortunately, very scarce. As to his penetrating understanding of Germany's diabolic plot against Christian civilization and humanity, his words of warning to the world would have failed to be appreciated even some four or five years ago. But he seems to have been discussing colour with people born stone blind. . . . However, Dr. Pollen had the courage of his conviction and the call of duty. . . . A good example to all of us! Here are the very prophetic words which can be appreciated now more than ever before. I could not have a better conclusion for my efforts than Dr. Pollen's lines (p. 190):

"In truth the 'Teuton' is thy foe!
Thy rival he in every field.

* * * * *

But why should England cross the Russ?
We both have kindred work to do!

Asia is wide; for him, for us,

There's space to spare, with high aims, too.

Let 'great White Czar,' let 'great White Queen,'
Stretch forth o'er Asia healing hands,
Touching the sere leaf into green,
Blessing with bloom the barren lands."

These words ought to have been hailed already at the time, in England as well as in Russia, as a great clarion call and obeyed.

AN HISTORIC OUTPOST OF SLAVISM

THE TORCH-BEARERS OF BOHEMIA. By V. I. Kryshanovskaya. Translated from the Russian by Juliet M. Soskice. (*Chatto and Windus*) 5s. net.

In this story of Bohemia in the days of Jan (John) Hus, the authoress has endeavoured, and successfully, to describe the life of the Čechs in the early fifteenth century, preceding the Council of Constance. The Petrograd Academy of Science has awarded honourable mention to an enthralling and enthrilling narrative, with all its lurid details of disorderly ecclesiastical and private life. A contributory cause of the decline from the proper standards of clerical living was probably the great prosperity of Bohemia in the days of the Emperor Charles IV. As Count Lutzwow writes ("History of Bohemia"):

Warfare, tournaments, hunting, and gambling, were widely spread among the clergy, and immorality was almost universal, the law of celibacy having fallen into complete neglect. This degraded condition of the clergy produced an agitation during Charles's reign, which was to develop, under that of his son, into the Hussite movement, when Bohemia for a time attracted the attention of all Europe.

The names of Waldhauser and Milic are less known than that of *Mistr* (*Magister*) Jan Hus, who continued their labours for the Church's real welfare. The earlier reformers had been encouraged by Charles himself—a true son of the Church. Wycliffe's doctrines had spread to Bohemia and Prague University, and Hus was strongly in favour of them. Some Russian historians have considered the Hussite movement as one in the direction of the Eastern Orthodox Church, but the weighty authority of Palacky is against this theory. The great Schism, when Rome and Avignon thundered rival Bulls, with at one time three rival claimants to the throne of St. Peter, urgently called for settlement, and King Sigismund persuaded Pope John XXIII. (Baldassare Cossa) to call the Council of Constance. Hus was summoned to appear before the Council to answer fictitious charges of heresy, and, in spite of a safe-conduct from Sigismund, was condemned and burnt. Jerome of Prague, the travelled scholar, who professed "heretical" opinions, and temporarily recanted, afterwards suffered the same fate. The protest of Bohemian nobles and peasants alike against the Council ultimately led to the Hussite wars, of which the three main causes were Bohemian antagonism to Rome, revival of Slav national feeling against Teutonic rivalry, and the rise of a democratic spirit in Europe generally.

Describing Constance at the tune, Mme. Kryzhanovskaya says: "A great deal was talked about reform in the Church, but the lusty cardinals, bishops, and prelates had not the slightest notion of reforming their own loose style of living." We encounter the good-natured, irresolute King Wenceslas, whose character suffered deterioration; his consort, Sophia, a Queen of sorrows; the splendid figure of Hus; the future peasant leader and great strategist, in spite of partial and then total blindness, Jan Žižka; Jerome, cultured and popular, more the polished man of the world than the devotee; the unprincipled Emperor Sigismund, who did not secure respect for his own safe-conduct for Hus; a rascally Italian Bishop, Brancaccio, with the soul of a Borgia and skill at administering secret poisons; and a staunch, typical Hussite warrior, Broda. The old and famous Waldstein, or Waldstyn, family—this is really the name of the later enigmatic figure Wallenstein—is represented by old Count Ginek and young Count Vok, the latter with his long-suffering wife Ružena being leading characters in the story, after Hus and Jerome. (Visitors to Prague will remember the Waldstein Palace in the Mala Strana, and the writer has seen the castle in the *Cesky Raj*—Bohemian paradise—to the north.) We have stories of apparitions—one of the Apostle of Bohemia to comfort Hus before his death, one of an angel to convey his soul from the stake; and one of Hus to his friend, the dying Countess Ružena. Following the death of Hus came the storming of the Town Hall and *defenestration* by the Hussites of obnoxious councillors.

It is tempting to enlarge on this fascinating novel, which gives so life-like a picture of those stormy days, but we must reluctantly lay the volume down. The translation is good, with trifling errors in adapting proper names (e.g., Podesbrag for Podeshrad), but these are few. The reader will gather from this work some idea of the feeling which animates the Čechy against the Teutons and the reasons, and will be repaid by its study.

F. P. M.

INTELLECTUAL POLAND. A Lecture at Cambridge by Dr. Leon Litwinski, with Preface by the Right Hon. Viscount Bryce, O.M. (Polish Information Committee: *George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.*) Price 6d.

Students of history cannot but regard with a sympathetic eye the fate of the high-spirited, intellectual people of Poland. The country has suffered severely before and since the partitions, and both London and Paris have afforded asylums for distinguished representatives. There was a time when Poland had the upper hand over her neighbours, and more than one of them are in her debt for enlightenment. Earlier than some other branches of the great Slav race, Poland enjoyed a high civilization, and was a champion of medieval Roman Catholicism and Latin traditions. As Lord Bryce observes—

We know how much they have accomplished in poetry and music, as well as in science and letters. The names of Copernicus and Mickiewicz and Chopin are those most familiar to us out of a long and brilliant list. But we need to know much else.

Dr. Litwinski complains that one who desires to give foreigners an idea of Polish intellectual life must always appear in the rôle of accuser. To a race of book-lovers—Polish ladies are omnivorous readers—the loss of libraries is a serious deprivation. But “the creative genius of the Polish nation is not atrophied, and Poland has succeeded in preserving her spiritual integrity, her native language, her artistic and literary taste.” Like Belgium and Serbia, Poland is for the time under the heel of a ruthless, extortionate enemy, whose recent offer of a “kingdom” will appeal to but few. Germany and Austria, again, are not in unison over the destiny of Poland. It is premature to forecast the future of Poland after the hoped-for victory shall crown the efforts of the Allies, but all will wish her better days. The new Premier, M. Trepoff, has declared to the Duma that the task of Russia is to recover from the enemy the territories of the old Polish kingdom, with a view to reconstitution. Meanwhile, until the Teutonic bear is killed, it is unwise to bargain over his skin, and though wounded he is still dangerous.

F. P. M.

SOME RUSSIAN HEROES, SAINTS AND SINNERS. By Sonia E. Howe, Author of “A Thousand Years of Russian History.” (London: *Williams and Norgate*, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, W.C.) 1916.

Mrs. Howe always strikes the right note when she tells of the deeds of daring of her fellow-countrymen of long ago; and in telling these tales of Russia's past she gracefully dedicates them to the honour of “the patient, greatly-daring Russian soldier of to-day.”

Macaulay has declared that the national existence of the Spaniard was one long crusade, and the same might be said with even greater truth of the national existence of the Russian. Western Europe owes a deep debt of gratitude to the Russian soldier, for it was he who first rolled back the waves and rushing tide of Mongolian barbarism, and from that day onwards Russia has always stood forth as the warden of the marshes and the hope of Christendom in the Near East! The Russian soldiers have undertaken crusade after crusade against the Turk, and have rescued time after time oppressed Christian races and redeemed Christian nationalities.

Mrs. Howe tells in stirring prose the story of Oleg the Wise (who planted his shield on the gates of Byzantium), just as it has been celebrated by Pushkin in poetry, and describes how Olga, the widow of Oleg's successor (Prince Igor), avenged her husband's death, destroyed the Drevlyans' city of Koresten, and finally became a Christian, taking the name of Helena! Her grandson, Vladimir, was at first a veritable heathen. He not only carried off his brother's bride—the beautiful Rogneda—and married his brother's widow, a fair and lovely Greek lady (formerly a nun), with two other regular wives, a Bohemian and a Bulgarian, but he also espoused some eight hundred secondary wives, and set them up in three different parts of the country.

Later on, however, he made up his mind to become a Christian; and, before marrying Anna, the sister of the two Emperors of Byzantium, he

managed to get rid of his regular wives, and gave the other eight hundred in marriage to his vassals and boyars. He then wedded the fair Anna, got his people baptized wholesale, built many churches in Kiev, spread Christianity far and wide all over the country, and two and a half centuries after his death was solemnly canonized and made a Saint of the Greek Church.

Mrs. Howe then gives a vivid description of the Mongol invasion and the lives of the Grand Duke Alexander Nevski and Dmitri Donskoi, and passes on to tell the terrible tale of "Ivan the Terrible," whose whole career might be depicted as "a study in black and red."

An account of the conquest of Siberia follows, and a just tribute is paid to Yermak the Conqueror.

The story of the "false Dmitri" (who after all was apparently more of the true than the false) is thrillingly told, and the presentation of the crown to Michael Romanov and its acceptance are graphically described.

The book is well written throughout, and brings the history of the early days of Russia vividly before the reader, giving a true picture of the individuals portrayed and the character of the people of the time. The illustrations are excellent, and the get-up of the work reflects credit on the printers.

JOHN POLLEN.

MORE TALES BY POLISH AUTHORS. Translated by Else C. Benecke and Marie Busch. (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell.)

It is perhaps natural that while Russian writers are fairly well known in England through some excellent translations, Polish authors have until recently not been even so much as names to English readers. To most of them the great history of Poland is a blank, and they are ignorant of the achievements of her sons in art and literature. The Polish language has attracted few English students, although it is the purest of all Slav tongues and has an orthography which can challenge comparison with that of the best period of Latin. We are glad to notice another effort to repair this neglect. Miss Benecke, this time in collaboration with Miss Busch, has published a second volume of translations of short stories by well-known Polish writers. Her translation compares very favourably with that of Sienkiewicz's masterpieces which appeared in America some years ago. The style indeed is such that it is not wonderful that Sienkiewicz has never been properly appreciated here. That author, whose death at Vevey in November robbed Poland of the greatest figure in her modern literature, is not represented in this volume, but Szmanski and Żeromski have both been drawn upon, and "Maciej the Mazur" and "The Stronger Sex," being thoroughly characteristic of Poland's national genius, ought to give English readers some idea of the literary talent which flourishes among the Poles, in spite of the efforts of their despoilers to rob them of their language. A light shines behind the cloud. In all these stories we notice, too, a paternal love for the children of the soil, a passionate love for the soil itself—the inheritance of a race which had democratic institutions and sympathies centuries before the French Revolution transformed Europe. There is no sentimental idealism of the

Polish character; the peasant folk drawn in such living outline by Adam Szmanski excite compassion rather than admiration, but we love them as the author does, and rejoice that realism in his case leads us to think nobly of poor human clay. The stories which occupy the largest space in these pages is "The Returning Wave," by Alexander Clowacki, a dreadful yet beautiful picture of the exploiter and the exploited, of life in a cotton-mill, owned by a German business-man, no better and no worse than most men of his type. The retribution which overtakes him is the "returning wave" of the title. We hope that this volume will be followed by others, for the Polish writers, with an art that conceals itself in simplicity, have the gift of bringing their country and its people before our eyes, and without any direct propaganda teach us that even the worst among human beings are often better than we suppose.

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the time of Abraham—who had left his flocks and the cenoby and had gone to preach the baptism of repentance unto men. These exquisite first glimpses by hearsay and echo prepare us for the fuller Galilean picture which awaits Joseph on his return to Magdala. Dan, the fishmonger, is distressed, not by the year's trade, nor with the Roman governor's slackness in encouraging it, but with a prophet that is troubling the neighbourhood—a dangerous prophet who came up from Jordan about a year ago.

"Simon Peter, thou rememberest him? Well, he's the prophet's right hand man, and now casts a net but seldom. And thou hast not forgotten James and John, sons of Zebedee? They come next in the prophet's favour. And there are plenty of others walking about the village, neglecting their work and telling of the judgment and the great share of the world that'll come to them when the prophet returns from heaven in a chariot . . . a more ignorant lot of fellows thou'd be puzzled to find, if the world were travelled over in search of them. The prophet himself comes from the most ignorant village in Galilee—Nazareth. But why look like that, Joseph? What ails thee? Go on, father, with thy telling of the prophet of Nazareth. He started in Nazareth, Dan answered, but none paid any heed to him, but made a mock of him, for he'd have us believe that he is the Messiah that the Jews have been expecting for many a year. But it was predicted that the Messiah will be born in Bethlehem; and everybody knows that Jesus was born in Nazareth. There's some talk, too, that he comes from the line of David, but everybody knows that Jesus is the son of Joseph the Carpenter. . . . A good, quiet woman his mother. I know her well, and am sorry for her; but she has better sons in James and Jude. Joseph, her husband, I knew him in days gone by—a God-fearing honest man, whom one could always entrust with a day's work. He doted on his eldest son, though he never could teach him to handle a saw with any skill, for his thoughts were always wandering, and when an Essene came up to Galilee in search of neophytes, Jesus took his fancy, and they went away together."

How vivid all this is, how alive with contemporary familiarity, contemporary feeling! Here, as throughout the book, we are being told a story, not in reverential, time-honoured retrospect, but as it moved then and was shaped by living tendencies, the religious ferment of the times, its reaction upon political circumstances, sophist and Rabbinical contempt as ever for the fanatic, simple popular response, as ever, to the half crazy, half divine teaching of those whom the sophists and Rabbis will always persecute and crucify. Among that band of ignorant followers, baffled as to how to reconcile their discipleship with their everyday occupations and their home ties, clamouring for explanation from their master, disputing among themselves for the material honours of his kingdom, we see Jesus, the Essene shepherd, apart and mysterious, sunk in visions and dreams that he could not be roused from or could scarcely interpret, moved to savage denunciations and violent actions, losing his first sweetness and speaking, as he neared his death, with strange bitter energy of his mission and of his Father in Heaven. And, after the Crucifixion, when he was nursed back to life by Joseph, we see a changed Jesus—a man for whom life holds

no more but disillusionment and longings for the old shepherd life again. A madman ! A madman ! cried Paul at that strange meeting in the Essene cenoby years afterwards. "Thou hast asked me to look into thy hands and feet, but what testimony may be a few ancient scars to me that heard our Lord Jesus Christ speak out of the clouds ? Were I to persuade him that there was no miracle, his mind would snap, Jesus said to himself, and he figured Paul wandering demented through the hills." They walked over the hills together, and Jesus put Paul in the right way for Cæsarea, where he was going to meet Timothy, and though Jesus talked of the truths that during the last twenty years he had learnt in the wilderness, all Paul cared to know was the assurance which Jesus gave him that he should not return to Jerusalem. They parted. "Whither goest thou ?" Paul cried, looking back. "But Jesus made no answer, and Paul, with a flutter of exaltation in his heart, turned towards Cæsarea, knowing now for certain that Jesus would not go to Jerusalem to provoke the Jews against him. Italy would now hear of the life and death of our Lord Jesus Christ, that had brought salvation for all, and Spain afterwards. Spain, Spain, Spain, he repeated as he walked, filled with visions of salvation."

I. C. W.

CURRENT PERIODICALS

REVIEWS REVIEWED

THE RUSSIAN REVIEW, November, 1916. (*Russian Review Publishing Company*, New York.) 25 cents.

This number opens with a letter in September from President Wilson to the Editor (Mr. Leo Pasvolksy), in which the President—now re-elected—expresses his desire for a new commercial treaty between Russia and the United States. Such an understanding would be watched with keen interest by the Allies and the Central Powers. Mr. P. A. Tverskoy writes a charming paper on the rather overlooked man of letters, Vladimir G. Korolonko, "the greatest living artist in *belles lettres* in Russia, as he is also the tacitly recognized guardian of the country's public conscience upon all grave social problems of the time." It should be more widely known that this writer unofficially organized extensive famine relief twenty-five years ago, and that he conducted a defence of some obscure northern tribes accused of heathen practices, as well as aiding justice in a prominent "ritual murder" case. Though Korolenko's literary output is small, he is considered an artist in language, destined to survive more widely known contemporaries. His story, "The Last Ray," of hamlet life on the distant Lena, follows this study. Mr. Alexis Rienzi writes on Russian opera, confessing that he is not a lover of that form of music, and says that if it should survive Russian opera should be the model, being free from Western artificiality. Musical critics must decide as to the sphere of opera as an expression of national life. Alexander Kuprin's meditation, "An Evening Guest," is in the true spirit of Slavonic pessimism and self-depreciation. The inevitable conflict is introduced in "On the Road," by

V. Ladyzhensky, an officer's meditations on the march in Poland. The war has emphasized the inadequacy of the Russian railroad system, the subject of a brief article. The Ministry of Ways of Communication has been anxiously considering the congestion on several systems, and grants for development have been arranged. "It has been calculated that if we figure the population of European Russia at 155 millions in 1918, the mileage of its railroads will have to be increased at least tenfold to come up to that of the United States railroads." Other practical articles appear on the regulation of flour distribution industry and *Austar* production in the weaving industry. The latter is largely carried on at home, but conditions are changing. Poetry is represented by translations of Constantine Balmont's "Hymn to Fire," and short poems of Tiutshhev and Nadson. We like the reproductions of Verezhagin's impressive "Blessing the Dead," and M. I. Ignatiev's homely "Newspaper in the Village."

EXTRACTS FROM LEADING ARTICLES

LORD SYDENHAM IN DECEMBER "NINETEENTH CENTURY" ON "THE DANGER IN INDIA"

The Princes and Chiefs who govern one-third of the country and one-fourth of the population have come forward with loyal offers of personal service and splendid gifts of men and treasure in our hour of need. The Empire will never forget their instant rally to the Imperial cause. . . . The fighting races of India have given nearly 200,000 of their best men, who have fought gallantly in four theatres of war. . . . Subscriptions have flowed freely to the various war-funds, and Indian women have shared with their British sisters in working to supply the needs of the wounded.

Unfortunately there is another side to the picture. During the War there have been three dangerous conspiracies and too many disturbing military incidents, of which the mutiny of an Indian regiment at Singapore was the most serious. . . .

I am firmly convinced that we do not sufficiently recognize the solid good sense which is to be found among the best of the educated classes, and their ability to reason. By hints of concessions and by a form of sympathy which has little relation to the divine attribute, a short-lived popularity may be attained; but the party which, under the guise of democratic principles, aims at making British rule impossible is not thus conciliated, and our natural supporters are alarmed and alienated. Our system of government in India is in need of changes which I hope to deal with in another article; but the iconoclastic proposals of the nineteen memorialists must be promptly and finally rejected if serious trouble is to be averted.

Miss Constance Maude writes as follows (in the same issue) on "The Mother of the Navy":

"The Great War has caused a new value to be put on service of every kind, and more especially on that form of service which comes under the

head of Imperial. For forty years it was possible for a work of this character to live and grow, year by year, exerting incalculable influence in our Navy without attracting any special attention, further than that of hearty approval and support from officers of the Royal Navy and gratitude and love on the part of the bluejackets.

"Among individuals, of course, including three English sovereigns in succession, Agnes Weston has found warm supporters and friends; but of national and official recognition there has been none, unless one may except the degree of LL.D. conferred on Miss Weston by Glasgow University in 1901, she and two others being the first women to be admitted to this honour."

NOTEWORTHY ARTICLES IN THE REVIEWS

"Some Forces in Modern China," by Rev. Dr. Timothy Richard, LITT.D.;

"A Day at Babylon," by Lewis R. Freeman (*Contemporary Review*, December).

"Routes in Kan-Sin," by Eric Trickman, B.D. (*Geographical Journal*, December).

"Women Warriors in India," by Col. R. G. Burton (*The United Service Magazine*, December).

OFFICIAL NOTIFICATION

THE King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. Walter Maude, C.S.I., Indian Civil Service, to be a Member of the Executive Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa, in succession to Sir William Vincent.

NOTES

IN our November issue we published an article entitled "The Jute Contract," dealing with this important question in India, wherein it was not made clear that neither the authorities in India nor at the India Office here had anything to do with the granting of the monopoly which was subsequently cancelled. It is, of course, now well known that neither of these bodies were consulted.

In our November issue the following errata unfortunately occurred in Mrs. Salwey's single-verse poems :

Line 4, *for* Tauka, *read* Tanka.

Line 13, *for* Haikais, *read* Haikai.

In "The Artist Lovers":

End of line 1, *for* he, *read* we.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

FEBRUARY 15, 1917



THE JUBILEE OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

(FOUNDED 1866)

CHAPTER II

IN the previous chapter has been told the story of the activities of the Association during the first seven years of its existence up to the year 1874.

Lord Lyveden, its first President, died in 1873, and was succeeded by the Right Hon. Sir Laurence Peel—a member of Her Majesty's Privy Council—who had had a distinguished career as Chief Justice of Bengal.

One of the first steps taken by the Association in January, 1874, was to issue on behalf of India an appeal to the Electors of the United Kingdom.

The appeal ran as follows :

"The East India Association, in the discharge of their duty to India, appeal to the Electors of the United Kingdom to impress on the Member they return to Parliament the necessity of their taking a deeper interest and bestowing more time on subjects affecting their interests in India which underlie and are indissolubly bound up with the honour and welfare of the British Empire itself."

After the election was over this appeal was followed by a circular addressed individually to Members of the newly-elected House of Commons, urging them to give their earnest attention to questions affecting India which might

from time to time be brought forward for discussion, and offering the services of the East India Association in this connection.

The services which the Association rendered regarding the threatened famine in Bengal have already been noticed in the previous chapter, but Mr. S. P. Low, a member of this Association (who had been one of the Hon. Secretaries of the Orissa Famine Fund) gave further assistance by drawing attention to a balance of the £110,000 transmitted to India in 1861 on this account, and suggested that this balance should be made available for the famine of 1874. The Marquis of Salisbury (who was then Secretary of State for India) thanked the Association for this suggestion, and stated that a reference had been made on the subject to the Government of India. It was found that this balance had been paid to orphans left destitute by the famine of 1860-61.

During this year the Council also memorialized the Secretary of State, urging the connection of the Northern Provinces with the Port of Bombay by the direct line of railway which had formed part of Lord Dalhousie's scheme for railways in India, and the construction of which had been steadily advocated by Sir Bartle Frere, of the Bombay Government.

On January 27, 1875, an important paper was read before the Association by Dr. Leitner, Principal of the Government College, Lahore, on "Native Self-Government in Matters of Education." Dr. Leitner said he found "the Natives of India had every capacity for Self-Government, as was shown by the vitality of the village communities which were preserved to the present day—an institution emphatically Republican in its nature." He contended that in dealing with the Natives of India enough care had not been taken to utilize and constitute into a basis of good Government their adherence to custom and tradition, as evidenced in the religious veneration paid to those in authority, to the aged, to parents and to priests.

Instead of this a system of Government had been adopted which, although suited to England with English love of literal truth and verbal accuracy, was ill-fitted to impress the Natives of India, whose minds were still acted upon by the sayings of their Sages. Everyone in India who wished to see British Rule on a permanent basis must desire the concession of fellow-citizenship to the Indians. He urged the abolition of the distinction between the Covenanted and Uncovenanted Services, and suggested a Civil Service to which might be admitted by examination all graduates and all barristers of three years' standing, (their possession of such accomplishments as riding, swimming, shooting, fencing, etc., being insisted upon), and that the competitive examinations should be reserved for Oriental languages and Law ; that all appointments should be thrown open, half to Indians (to be competed for in India), and half to Europeans in England. He declared that the whole course of his experience (and that was considerable) pointed to this one conclusion, that if Education was to become general in India, it would only be by allowing Self-Government in Educational Matters. If this were adopted, the rise in intelligence would (he thought), *inter alia*, put a stop to murders, robberies, and kidnapping, which caused so much trouble on our frontiers, as the rising generation would be trained to civilization ; and, being well grounded in morality, would be prevented from conniving at the raids which were now made. Without a moral basis of Education enjoining reverence to their leaders, their teachers, their parents, their Government and their God, no satisfactory kind of civilization could be developed in India.

The Rev. S. Long pointed out that Sir George Campbell's scheme for associating Indians on Municipal Bodies for Educational purposes in Bengal had proved unsuccessful, and that at present men of high caste too commonly looked down with scorn upon those of a lower caste, and did not scruple to say that a cow might as well be taught to dance

as that the people of the inferior grades should be educated.

Sir Alexander Arbuthnot said that in the Presidency of Madras a great deal had been done to associate the Natives of the country with the administration of affairs, and asserted that "among all the official and unofficial persons with whom he had come into contact during his long service there were none more useful and valuable than some of the Native Members of Council."

Mr. Lepel Griffin regretted that he was obliged to differ from Dr. Leitner, for he was perfectly aware that Dr. Leitner was a man who had thoroughly devoted himself to the work of Education, and that to his zealous efforts was due the establishment of the Punjab University, but he (Mr. Lepel Griffin) did not see how the frontier raids would cease by reason of the universality of Education to which Dr. Leitner so confidently pointed, because the raiders, being from beyond the frontier, were not amenable to the instruction of the Indian Schools. He had also the strongest objection to introducing religious education into the schools, as educated men in England itself were only just escaping from the trammels and chains of theology. He declared that England had proved her capacity for government by the logic of facts: of other nations, some had no colonies, and others had failed in governing therein, whereas Englishmen had governed wherever they had gone.

Mr. W. Tayler spoke of his experiences in educational matters when Commissioner in Patna, and described how he had organized a central Institution in which, instead of teaching children to spout ridiculous verses about "Chloe's Bosom," "Lover's Sighs," etc., he adopted means to qualify them in the useful sciences, farming, agriculture, carpentering, gardening, etc., combined with the three R's, and how he had been helped in this undertaking by respectable Indian gentlemen co-operating with the officials.

In April, 1875, a paper was read before the Association on "The Wants of India, and how we are to obtain a

hearing for them," by Lieut.-Colonel F. Tyrrell. He declared he was not an Irish Home Ruler, but that the case of India was far different, and that as regards India he was for more Home Rule there, and desired to obtain for her an Indian National Council. He pointed out that the wants of India were : extension of irrigation, development of manufactures and mines, and the construction of canals and railways. These, he declared, we could not hope to see undertaken as they should be unless we could, first of all, instil some more Native thought into our Indian Councils, and, in fact, make the Government of India far more an Indian matter than it is now. We want a far more powerful and national Government ruling India for the Indians.

The Chairman, Mr. E. B. Eastwick, C.B., in closing the debate on this paper, said he saw nothing impossible in the construction of a National Council, and considered it very undesirable that the people of England should suppose that there was no nationality in India. Even at the time when India was divided into a vast number of independent States, at variance with one another, there was still a national character in India, and since then, by the aid of the English people, India had been advancing with railway speed towards nationality. He thought it was a most pernicious idea to suppose that England did not desire that India should become amalgamated and welded into one nationality. India, strong and with a civilization equal to our own, would not, and could not, be dangerous to England. India's strength would never be our weakness.

On the contrary, when the people of India feel that we feel for them as for ourselves the Government will be supported by the whole voice of the Country. He did not see any objection to the Indians sending Representatives to a sort of Grand Council, which should point out to the Viceroy what are the real wants of the people of India.

During 1875 Mr. E. B. Eastwick, the Chairman of Council, went out to India "to study the wants and claims

of the people of India as subjects of the great British Empire, and to endeavour to diffuse a wider and fuller appreciation of the catholic and progressive spirit in which the East India Association seeks to promote the welfare of Her Majesty's Eastern dominions."

Mr. Eastwick had formerly been Professor of Oriental Languages in the East India College of Haileybury. He had gone out to India in 1836, and in the course of three or four years had passed not only in Hindustani and Marathi, but also in Persian; and he was, like his brother, a most distinguished scholar. He edited important works in Persian and Hindustani, became Chargé d'Affaires in Persia, and had been engaged on responsible duties connected with Central Asia. Thence he found his way to the western world, and published an important work on some provinces of South America. To the gathering which welcomed him in Bombay Mr. Eastwick described the East India Association as "doing good work for India." He declared that it was "neither aggressive nor unduly submissive—neither factious nor fawning," and explained that its aim was the public good, and the means by which it sought to attain that end was "fair and open discussion." "It combined with feelings of profound loyalty a natural and instinctive desire for constitutional progress."

• Mr. Eastwick then dwelt on the importance of India to England and on the debt due to India. Thousands of English families, he said, had their coffers enriched from Hindustan. On the other hand, he thought the people of India sometimes overlooked the balance on the other side of the account. If England drew wealth from India, she caused a corresponding stream to replace what was drawn out. He instanced the indigo farms and the tea and coffee plantations founded by Englishmen with English capital.

He dwelt also on the Opium Trade, and, without going into the question of how much of the twelve millions sent home to meet what was called the English Account was

really interest on money lent, he drew attention to the fact that two-thirds of this Account² was balanced by the Opium Trade, which drew a stream of eight millions annually from China, besides keeping a million Opium Cultivators in comfort on the land in India. He pointed with pride to the flourishing City of Bombay as a proof that the bond that bound England to India was a bond for the benefit of both.

The Council early recognized the importance of deciding that England should pay its fair share of the expenses of the Prince of Wales's visit to India, and Mr. S. Farley Leith, M.P., one of its members, interrogated the Prime Minister on the subject. The reply was at first indefinite, but ultimately the Prime Minister announced a satisfactory settlement as to the proportion of the expenses to be paid by the two countries.

The Council further memorialized the Secretary of State for India praying for facilities for the admission of qualified Natives of India to the higher grade of the Engineering Service, and also with reference to the delay which had taken place in affording admission of Natives of India into the Indian Civil Service by reason of the omission of the Government of India to frame the necessary regulations under the Act of Parliament.

The position of Turkey in relation to British interests in India was discussed by the Rev. J. Long in a paper read before the Association on December 21, 1875, and the view was then expressed that if "with the concurrence of England, France and the other Powers, Constantinople and Asia Minor came under Russian rule, it would be a blessing to the millions in those regions so long desolated by Turkish barbarism." "What a field is presented in 673,000 square miles of some of the finest land in the world, with harbours on three seas, mighty rivers and ports both on Eastern and Western waters, mines of lead, iron, copper, and silver in abundance; and a soil capable of providing any quantity of grain and cotton!"

These fair regions, renowned in story, are now given over under the Turks to Miasma and wild beasts, and the peasantry are abandoned to starvation! It was urged that when the fall of the Sultan comes it would have as little effect in India as the fall of the Pope's temporal power had had in America.

At a meeting held on May 12, 1876, under the chairmanship of the Right Hon. the Lord Stanley of Alderley, a paper was read by Major Evans Bell on a "Privy Council for India," and the noble Chairman, in opening the proceedings, expressed deep regret at the news of the death that day of Colonel Meadows Taylor, whose connection with India had extended over so long a period and whose novels upon Indian subjects were so well known.

Major Evans Bell advocated the establishment of a Privy Council for the Indian Empire on the lines of the Privy Council in Ireland, to advise the Viceroy when he required its aid. The Privy Councillors would only attend when formally sent for.

A severe famine having once again appeared through the length and breadth of large provinces in India, two public meetings were held by the Association, and papers were read with a view to eliciting suggestions for the amelioration of the condition of the people and of lessening the effects of such visitations in future.

The first was by Mr. R. H. Elliot on "The Indian Problem and Indian Famines," and the second by Mr. J. B. Phear, late Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, on "Indian Famines and Indian Organization." Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji also read papers before the Bombay Branch on "The Poverty of India."

Communications having been received by Council from India with regard to endeavours made by a very influential body in England to induce Government to abolish the five per cent. *ad valorem* duty levied in India on the importation of cotton goods, a memorial on the subject was presented to the Secretary of State pointing out the

objections to the withdrawal of the duty; and it was suggested that Government should institute a full and searching inquiry into the whole subject, and take evidence from the Natives of India as well as from the representatives of the great Manchester Houses in India. The result of the information so obtained would enable the Secretary of State to arrive at a conclusion beyond all cavil or question on either side.

The employment of Indian troops in Europe was discussed at a meeting presided over by General Sir Fred I. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I., by the Hon. Mr. George Foggo, formerly a Member of the Bombay Legislative Council. The paper and discussion had special reference to the summoning of 7,000 Indian troops to Malta by the Government of Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield.

Sir George Campbell at first doubted the wisdom of the step. He warned the Government that the terms on which we were served by our Indian Sepoy troops were such that we dare not order them off on foreign service as we would an English regiment, and that we must, in one shape or another, "bribe" them to go. He said "they were good enough troops in some ways, but would be unable to cope with Europeans." He also contended we had no right to use the Suez Canal for hostile purposes, and that the expense of transporting and maintaining the Native troops would be very considerable. He therefore objected to the policy; and Mr. Laing, too, supporting his views, thought that the step of bringing Indian troops to Malta was fraught with the greatest danger to our Indian Empire. But Sir George subsequently modified these views, and, in the end, strongly approved of the bringing over of the Indian troops to Malta as a successful experiment.

Mr. Foggo set forth the supposed advantages and disadvantages of the step. The advantages were that bringing Indian troops over relieved part of the strain on our own people, cemented the bonds of union between

India and England, called forth and demonstrated the loyal spirit of the Indian Native Army, increased the military power of the United Kingdom, and allowed Native troops to see the greatness and power of England.

The disadvantages were the smallness of the Indian force summoned, doubts as to its efficiency and fitness, the great expense attendant on transporting even this small force of Indians to Europe, the recruiting difficulties in India, and the difficulty of disbanding the troops when done with, supposing larger forces to be raised and sent, misuse of the Canal, and objections on the ground of expense generally.

Major-General Sir G. Le Grand Jacob gave it as his own opinion that it was good policy to have called Indian troops to Malta. Not only was the effect on Europe beneficial, but its effect on India was more so. "When we see in the newspaper and in private letters," he said, "that the troops marched to their troopships shouting 'Victory to their Empress,' and were cheered by sympathizing thousands on the roads, it is impossible to doubt the earnest zeal which the Indian people threw into the cause, and the evidence it afforded of the determination to support the Government"; and General Jacob's view was the one most favoured by the Association.

One of the best attended meetings of the Association was held at the "Pall Mall" on April 23, 1879, under the presidency of the Duke of Manchester, when Mr. Robert Elliot read an interesting paper on the "Impending Bankruptcy of the Soil of India."

In the course of this paper he spoke of the great difference between the conditions of farming in England and in India. The problem was not how to introduce into India an improved system of agriculture, but what could be done to provide conditions which did not at present exist, and without which improvement in agriculture was simply impossible. He advocated the prevention of the ploughing up of grazing lands, the planting of trees, the

improvement of manorial resources, the removal of duty from salt used for agricultural purposes, improved landed tenures, and amendment of the Ursury laws. He also foretold that, unless remedial measures were taken, a time was fast approaching when the Indian farmer would not be able to pay rent.

Later on in the same year, under the presidency of Lord Stanley of Alderley, a paper was read on "Indian Army Reform" by General Cavenagh, late Governor of the Straits Settlement. The Lecturer enlarged upon the well-known evils of the system of Military Administration and the supplying of officers by means of a Staff Corps. The Lecturer pointed out that under this new system officers no longer belonged to any particular regiment, but were moved about from one corps to another to suit the interests of the service, or possibly even their own, and that the tie of attachment of the Sepoy to his European officers—a most essential bond—had thus become materially weakened.

General Cavenagh advocated a return to the old organization, subject to certain modifications. He spoke of the necessity of making proper provision for the legitimate ambition of the representatives of the small landed gentry and yeomanry of India who joined the Army.

During 1880 Sir David Wedderburn, Bart., M.P., advocated popular representation in India by strengthening the non-official element in the Indian Legislation Councils, and by the extension of Municipal Government, and by granting to Municipalities the privilege of electing representative Members for the Legislative Councils.

Lord Stanley of Alderley urged that a Council or Commission of Appeal should be appointed in India, to be composed of five members (some of whom should be Judges), to hear appeals against the acts of the Indian Government; and Lieut.-Colonel James Browne, R.E., C.S.I., dealt later on with the question of the retention of Kandahar and the Defence of the North-East Frontier.

Colonel Browne was opposed to the retention of

Kandahar ; but in its place he advocated the selection of the Pishin Valley, retaining Pishin, Bori and the Peiwar.

On May 5, 1881, at a well-attended meeting of the Association, under the chairmanship of Sir William Hill, K.C.S.I., the Rev. James Johnston read a paper on "Education in India," and made out a strong case for inquiry.

He showed how Lord Halifax's Education despatch of 1854 had been disregarded or ignored, with the deplorable result that the elementary education of the humbler classes had been neglected, and that of the twenty-seven million persons of school age in British India there were not more than one million and a half on the roll of the Government and aided schools ; and little more than a million in regular attendance. There were thus three and a half millions more uneducated children in 1880 than there were in 1854, the higher culture having obtained the lion's share of the provision made by the Imperial Treasury for educational purposes throughout India.

On December 21, 1881, Mr. Alexander Rogers explained the various ancient and modern land tenures current in Bombay ; and thus closed the last year of the activities of the Association under the Right Hon. Sir Laurence Peel as President.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

INDIAN WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND MONEY

BY SIR GUILFORD L. MOLESWORTH, K.C.L.E.

THE condition of the weights, measures, and money in India is a disgrace to civilization. To quote the words of the Weights and Measures Committee of 1913-14 :

"The great diversity in weights and measures in different districts, even in different parts of the same town and of the same district, tends to create an element of uncertainty in trade, and renders fraud on the part of retailers as easy as it is profitable ; and it exposes the poorer and silent classes to the constant liability of being cheated."

Grover, in his "Indian Weights and Measures," quotes the following remark of one of the chief traders of Madras :

"I can never tell what I am buying or what I am selling ; my agent informs me that rice is at so much the ser, while in another quarter it is double that price. I take advantage of the opportunity, and invest largely, and expect great profits. When the transaction is closed I find that I have lost greatly."

The following table shows what great variations there are in the different Presidencies :

	Bengal	Bombay.	Madras.
Weight -	Ser, 2'047 pounds	Ser, 7 pounds	Via, 3'086 pounds
Length -	Guz, 33 ins.	Guz, 33 ins.	Double cubit, 36 ins.
Area -	Biga, 3,000 sq. yds.	Biga, 3,993 sq. yds.	Kani, 6,389 sq. yds.
Capacity	Ser, 1'96 pints	Ser, 1'44 pints	Morcal, 2'67 pints

The variations from the above are innumerable, even in the same district. For example, in the United Provinces the maund of sugar is 40 sers in Agra, $43\frac{1}{4}$ in Saharunpur, 46 in Fyzabad, $48\frac{1}{2}$ in Shahjahanpur, 50 in Bareilly. There are no recognized measures in general use for liquids, which are either sold by weight, or measured from wine bottles or kerosene tins.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES ACT OF 1871.

Many attempts have been made to remedy this evil. In 1868 a committee appointed to consider the question of Indian weights and measures recommended the adoption of the cumbrous and unscientific British weights and measures; but Colonel Strachey and other members of the committee, in a strong minute of dissent, urged that, in order to obtain uniformity, it was necessary to set aside all existing weights and measures, and to adopt the rational and scientific metric system. On this the Governor-General in Council decided that a reform in the weights and measures of India was urgently required, but that the adoption of British weights and measures was undesirable, and that a new metric ser that would not differ materially from the ser of North India should be adopted as the basis of measurement for India.

In accordance with this decision the Indian Weights and Measures Act of 1871 was passed, practically adopting the metric system based on a new ser of 2·2046 pounds (the kilogramme) as the primary standard of weight, and a measure of capacity containing a ser of water (the metric litre), both of these standards being derived from the metre. The Act further specified that all multiples of these standards were to be in decimals, and that the Governor-General in Council should notify in the Gazette a day, after which it was to come into force, and thereupon "it would have the force of law."

In anticipation of this notification several of the Indian railway companies had their weighing machines and weigh-

bridges altered to suit the new kilogramme ser. The metric system was adopted by me on all State railways, and I issued to the State railway officers printed tables that I had prepared for the conversion of measures previously used into metric terms. No difficulty was experienced, for the native overseers readily fell in with the change. Unfortunately Lord Mayo, who strongly favoured the Act, was assassinated, and he was succeeded by Lord Northbrook, whose well-known indecision and dread of responsibility was opposed to strenuous action. I urged him personally to make the necessary notification, but in vain; and as a result of his neglect, the millions of India have, for more than forty years, been condemned to suffer the evils consequent on a want of organized system of weights and measures.

In 1877 the Bengal Chamber of Commerce petitioned the Indian Government to enforce the Act of 1871, but without result.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES COMMITTEE OF 1913-14.

The most recent action in the direction of reform was made by the appointment of a small committee to consider the question of Indian weights and measures. This committee consisted of:

Mr. A. Silberrad, I.C.S.,	<i>President.</i>	
Mr. A. Campbell, I.C.S.		} <i>Members.</i>
Mr. Rustomji Faridoonji, U.C.S.		

The conclusions of this committee were neither unanimous nor practical. The President issued a report subject to minutes of dissent from the two members.

The following table of weights recommended for adoption by the President speaks for itself:

8 Kashkas = 1 Chawal	4 Tanks = 1 Tola
8 Chawals = 1 Ratti	5 Tolas = 1 Chatak
8 Rattis = 1 Masha	16 Chataks = 1 Seer
3 Mashas = 1 Tank	40 Seers = 1 Maund

The variations from the above are innumerable, even in the same district. For example, in the United Provinces the maund of sugar is 40 sers in Agra, $43\frac{1}{4}$ in Saharunpur, 46 in Fyzabad, $48\frac{1}{2}$ in Shahjahanpur, 50 in Bareilly. There are no recognized measures in general use for liquids, which are either sold by weight, or measured from wine bottles or kerosene tins.

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In 1877 the Bengal Chamber of Commerce petitioned the Indian Government to enforce the Act of 1871, but without result.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES COMMITTEE OF 1913-14.

The most recent action in the direction of reform was made by the appointment of a small committee to consider the question of Indian weights and measures. This committee consisted of:

Mr. A. Silberrad, I.C.S., <i>President</i> .	
Mr. A. Campbell, I.C.S.	}
Mr. Rustomji Faridoonji, U.C.S.	
	<i>Members.</i>

The conclusions of this committee were neither unanimous nor practical. The President issued a report subject to minutes of dissent from the two members.

The following table of weights recommended for adoption by the President speaks for itself:

8 Kashkas = 1 Chawal	4 Tanks = 1 Tola
8 Chawals = 1 Ratti	5 Tolas = 1 Chatak
8 Rattis = 1 Masha	16 Chataks = 1 Seer
3 Mashas = 1 Tank	40 Seers = 1 Maund

It is difficult to conceive anyone seriously recommending the adoption of this 'octo-tertio-quinto-sexto-decimo-quadragesimal' jumble while rejecting the simple decimal metric weights.

The report further recommended an entirely different system for Burma, though there is no apparent reason why uniformity in weights and measures should not prevail throughout the Indian Empire.

The selection of the tola (or rupee of 180 grains troy) as the unit of weight in this table seems to have been influenced by the desire to fall in with the practice prevalent in some parts of India of weighing silver ornaments with rupees. But the rupee being subject to wear is unfit for a standard; some worn rupees that I have weighed have lost as much as 11 per cent. of their original weight.

The other recommendations in the report are :

Length.—The British yard; a chain of 66 feet divided decimally; a mile of 1,760 yards.

Area.—The British acre divided decimally.

Capacity (dry or liquid).—A measure to hold $1\frac{1}{4}$ ser of water.

Volume.—British cubic measures.

MINUTE OF DISSENT.

Mr. Campbell, in a very able minute of dissent, completely demolished the conclusions and recommendations of the President, pointing out that the proposed measures were complicated, unintelligible, and unsuited to the classes who formed the bulk of the population; that they would be of no assistance in foreign trade, either Eastern or Western, or in the industrial development of the country. He deprecated a separate system for Burma, and strongly advocated the adoption of the metric system.

The reason for appointing the committee of 1913-14 is not clear; the whole question had been thoroughly thrashed out before the passing of the Act of 1871. The need of a uniform system of weights and measures had been

established beyond all dispute. The metric system had been adopted, and was the legal system in India, only waiting the notification of the Governor-General in Council to fix a date on which it would have the power of law. The resolution appointing the committee stated that :

“ Although the Act had been on the Statute Book for more than forty-one years, no notification had yet been issued under it, as it was hoped that weights and measures based on the statutory unit would be gradually and generally adopted without further intervention on the part of Government. This hope has not, however, been realized.”

It is difficult to conceive how such a hope could possibly be realized without giving the Act the force of law. In the numerous countries where the metric system has been successfully adopted it has been made compulsory, and in the few cases in which it has not been satisfactory the want of success can be traced to the failure of the Government to enforce the law.

COUNTRIES IN WHICH THE METRIC SYSTEM HAS BEEN
ADOPTED.

The metric system has been adopted in the following countries : Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Holland, Java, Belgium, France and its Colonies, Portugal, Azores, Madeira, Spain and its Colonies, Canary Islands, Italy and its Dependencies, Austria, Roumania, Bulgaria, Mexico, Central America, Hayti, Columbia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Brazil, Uruguay, Argentine Republic, Chile, Peru, Switzerland, Finland, Servia, Bolivia, and San Domingo.

The metric system is alone used in the United States departments of the army and navy and public health.

The British Medical Association passed a resolution in favour of the metric system. The whole of the British electric system is based on metric weights and measures. The British educational code requires that the scholars in

Standards V., VI., and VII., shall be instructed in the metric system. In July, 1891, a Bill was passed in the House of Commons legalizing the use of the metric system. In July, 1904, the House of Lords passed a Bill to make the metric system compulsory; but when it was introduced into the House of Commons it was defeated by a small Government majority on erroneous grounds. On the whole there is a growing feeling in favour of the metric system, and it only awaits the adhesion of Great Britain to become the universal system of the weights and measures of the world.

ADVANTAGES OF THE METRIC SYSTEM.

Professor de Morgan has stated that one-twentieth of the time spent in primary education and one-fourth of the time spent in learning arithmetic is thrown away by the non-adoption of a decimal system. The metric system is the most perfect decimal system of weights and measures; it is easily understood, and readily applicable in practice. It requires no compound arithmetic, and affords great facilities for calculation and commerce. It not only abolishes compound arithmetic, but renders vulgar fractions almost unnecessary. The English system has no unit of length smaller than the smallest unit, consequently vulgar fractions must be used; but the metric system has the great advantage of dealing with infinitely small quantities without the need of division.

In English workshops, where decimals are not used, it is common to find on drawings such dimensions as " $\frac{1}{16}$ th inch bare" or " $\frac{1}{16}$ th inch full" where the nearest fraction does not give the exact size; but infinitely smaller variations can be given with absolute accuracy by decimals.

Common fractions, such as $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, and $\frac{3}{4}$, can of course be used with the decimal system when convenient; for, as Professor de Morgan has said:

"The mere halving of the lowest unit is no disadvantage; it can be done in a decimal system, and will be done when convenient. But it is the abiding

delusion of the opponent of decimals that he will suppose the decimalist to be under a contract never to use a common fraction."

OPPOSITION TO DECIMALS.

Opposition to decimals is sometimes based on the erroneous idea that it will be necessary for those who have not kept up the decimal arithmetic, taught in their school-days, to learn it afresh in order to use decimal weights and measures; but those who have to use decimal weights and measures acquire unconsciously, and without effort, all the arithmetic they practically need.

It has often been asserted by anti-decimalists that the metric system has broken down, and in support of this assertion they state that the French peasant still speaks of "sous" instead of "centimes"; but this proves nothing beyond the natural desire to use the simple terms to which they have been accustomed. In fact the original commission of weights and measures, appointed by the French Academy to frame the metric system, decided that the following simple names, already familiar to the people, might be allowed to represent some parts or multiples of the metric system :

Length	Area.	Capacity.	Weight.
Millimetre - - Trait	Hectare - - Arpent	Decilitre - - Verre	Gramme - - Grain
Centimetre - Dougt	- - - - -	Litre - - - Pinte	Centigramme - Once
Decimetre - Palme	Money	Decalitre - - Velle	Kilogramme - Livre
Kilometre - - Mille	Centime - - Denier		
	Decime - - Sol		

These names were made permissive by the Decree of November 3, 1800; but although the metric system was not made compulsory in France until January 1, 1840, many of the Greek and Latin terms are in common use in preference to the more simple permissible terms. The numerous official reports that have been received from foreign countries concur generally in the statement that

the system has been found to work satisfactorily, to be an improvement on other previously existing forms, and that there is no desire to return to the old system; but notwithstanding repeated exposures of this fallacy, Mr. Lloyd George, in the Metric Debate of 1907, stated that the metric system had broken down in France—a statement that was subsequently officially refuted in a Report of the Standards Department of the Board of Trade.

If the metric system be adopted in India, it is probable that the term “guz” will be used for the metre, and the “ser” used for the kilogramme; but this would in no way indicate the breakdown of the system—in fact, the Indian Weights and Measures Act of 1871 specifies that the word “ser” is to be used for the kilogramme, which differs slightly from the “ser” of North India.

Another fallacy has been advanced in the statement that the Eastern mind is averse to decimals; but this is not the case. The decimal notation of ten originated with the Hindus, and was transmitted by them to Europe. The “sau,” the “lakh,” and the “crore” are all Indian terms, and are decimal multiples of the rupee. In the native bazaars of India produce is bought and sold by the hundred and the thousand. Firewood is sold by the 100 bundles; fruits, yams, nuts, cocoanuts, dried fish by the 100; sawyers measure their work by the 100 foot run; masons and carpenters are paid at so much per 1,000 bricks laid, or by the 100 feet of timber wrought; brickmakers sell their bricks and tiles at so much per 1,000. In dealing with retail articles in bazaars the practice is to take them up in tens, each ten being counted as the unit, and ten such units are made into a heap of a hundred. In Bombay, and in a large portion of West India, native dealers use the “docra,” or the one-hundredth of a rupee, in their calculations, although they have no coin to represent it.

When Director of Public Works in Ceylon I abolished the medley of measures previously used in the Public Works Department, such as yards, cubic yards, gallons,

heaped bushels, struck bushels, etc., and substituted for them measures based on the foot and its decimal multiples—the “line” of 100 lineal feet, the “square” of 100 square feet, and the “cube” of 100 cubic feet. No difficulty was experienced in making this change; the native workmen and overseers, chiefly natives of South India, readily adopted it, and in a very short time preferred it to the old system.

Those who have visited China cannot fail to have been astonished at the rapidity and ease with which a Chinese trader or shopkeeper makes mental calculation with the aid of the decimal “abacus” or “suam pan.”

METRIC PREFIXES.

Objections have been raised to the metric system on the ground that the numerous prefixes “deca, deci, milli, myria, hecto,” etc., are perplexing to the masses, and difficult to remember; but in those countries in which the metric system has been adopted it is found that very few of these are in general use. They are practically reduced to a minimum, and many of the old terms are retained to express the new, but slightly altered, value. The only denominations really needed are comprised in the following table :

METRIC SYSTEM : TERMS ACTUALLY NEEDED IN PRACTICE.

Length.		Area.		Capacity.		Weight.	
	Metre.		Are.		Litre.		Kilog.
Kilometre	= 1000'00	Hectare	= 100'00	Kilolitre	= 1000'00	Tonne	= 1000'00
Metre	= 1'00	Are	= 1'00	Litre	= 1'00	Kilogramme	= 1'00
Centimetre	= '01	Centiare	= '01	Decilitre	= '10	Centigramme	= '01

The centiare equals 1 square metre; the kilolitre equals 1 cubic metre; the kilogramme equals 1,000 grammes.

The cubic measure, whether used for liquid or dry measure as a litre, or for volume as a millistere, is the same in all cases, being a cube, of which each edge measures one-tenth of a metre.

A few convenient multiples or subdivisions might be

added to the above table after the system has been well established, but they are not really necessary at first. If the Act of 1871 had been put in force, the table might be still further simplified by the use of the "ser" instead of the "litre" and "kilogramme," the same word being used either for weight or capacity or volume as it is at present used in India. The term "guz" might also be substituted for the metre, and other familiar convenient terms adopted for the multiples and subdivisions of the metric system, and the weights and measures of India might stand as follows :

METRIC SYSTEM PROPOSED FOR INDIA.

Length.	Area.	Capacity.	Weight
<i>Guz</i>	<i>Are.</i>	<i>Ser.</i>	<i>Ser.</i>
<i>Hazaras</i> = 1000'00	<i>Sauwari</i> = 100'00	<i>Hazaras</i> = 1000'00	<i>Hazaras</i> = 1000'00
<i>Guz</i> = 1'00	<i>Are</i> = 1'00	<i>Ser</i> = 1'00	<i>Ser</i> = 1'00
<i>Sauwas</i> = '01	<i>Sauwasari</i> = '01	<i>Daswasari</i> = '10	<i>Sauwasari</i> = '01

MONEY OF INDIA.

In 1871 I submitted to the Government of India a scheme for the decimalization of the rupee similar to that which I had previously originated and carried to a successful issue in Ceylon. Indian currency at that time was in a most unsatisfactory condition. The nominal currency in which all private and public accounts were kept was rupees, annas, and pie (a duo-decimo-sexdecimal currency), the pie being the $\frac{1}{12}$ th of a rupee ; but the value of the Government pie fluctuated in the native bazaars from 192 to 204 for the rupee, causing inconvenience and loss to the poor. Moreover, native coins and "dubs" (misshapen lumps of copper) were largely used, the "dub" fluctuating from $2\frac{1}{4}$ to 3 pie in value, while weighing about 5 pie.

An attempt at reform was made by Resolution No. 207 of January, 1873, in which provision was made for the withdrawal of old or obsolete coins so that the copper currency might be uniform ; but the result does not appear to have been satisfactory, for Mr. R. B. Chapman, the

Financial Secretary to the Government of India, in a minute dated August 10, 1880, wrote :

“ Our copper currency is not yet used in large parts of India. In many parts the copper ‘dub’ defies competition with our currency, and the lower strata of the population has not yet abandoned the use of cowries, or even here and there at rural markets of barter.”

Copies of my scheme for a decimal coinage were circulated by the Government of India to the Governors of the Presidencies, to the Chief Commissioners of the Provinces, to Collectors, Revenue Officers, Chambers of Commerce, Municipalities, Bankers, Merchants, and others, for opinion, with the result that out of 100 replies, 49 were opposed to, and 51 in favour of it.

Curiously enough nearly all the educated natives favoured it, and the chief opposition came from the covenanted civilians who had no occasion to keep up the decimal arithmetic taught to them in their school-days, and were really ignorant of what decimalization meant. This was evident from the replies of some who spoke of the decimal system as being complicated and intricate, only suited to the scientist or dilettante, but beyond the comprehension of the masses, who would be exposed to imposition and fraud by the change.

DECIMAL COINAGE IN CEYLON.

That these fears were groundless, and that the difficulties of the change were exaggerated, has been proved by the complete success that has attended the introduction of the decimal coinage in Ceylon, where the population is Singalese, with a large mixture of Tamils from South India.

When I first proposed the scheme the usual time-honoured and often-exposed fallacies were brought to bear against it. At the outset everyone was against it, from the Governor downwards, who wrote to me that he had

"carefully considered the question, but the difficulties were insuperable," and it was only after a fight of five years that I gained my point. I formed a decimal association, consisting at first of the editor of the *Ceylon Times* and myself, and in a short time this was joined by many of the leading men in the colony, including several members of the Legislative Council. The Governor then asked me to submit my original scheme in greater detail, and in 1870 he requested me to confer with the Treasury officials in London in order to overcome their objections to the change. In 1871 the measure was sanctioned by the Home Government, and the new copper tokens were minted at Calcutta in accordance with my scheme and from my designs.

The change was effected without the slightest difficulty, and in a very short time it was hailed as a boon even by those who had bitterly opposed it. Six weeks after its introduction, when I had left Ceylon, my financial secretary wrote to me that the change had been so little felt that "people had ceased to talk about it." After four years experience a census of opinion was obtained from the principal merchants, bankers, planters' associations, English native traders, shopkeepers, and others, which elicited an almost unanimous expression that few difficulties or drawbacks had been experienced, and that the measure was popular and satisfactory. The Manager of the Chartered Mercantile Bank in reply wrote :

"I sat on the Commission appointed by Sir Hercules Robinson to consider the currency question, and it was my opinion at the time that we ought to follow India in the smaller denominations. However, I have a long time since changed my views on this point, as practical experience has proved to me the advantage of the decimal subdivision of the rupee in the facility with which calculations are made, and the increased simplicity of book-keeping; and, I will add, this I think is the general view of the case."

The experience of forty-three years has shown that the adoption of decimal coinage in Ceylon has been an unqualified success.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion it may be asserted that, even if the very worst anticipations of the opponents of the metric system could have been realized in carrying out the Weights and Measures Act of 1871, the temporary difficulties would have been insignificant compared with the permanent evils under which the people of India have suffered for the past forty-four years by the neglect of the Government of India to give the Act the force of law.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S. W., on Monday, December 18, 1916, at which a paper was read by Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, K.C.I.E., entitled "Indian Weights, Measures and Money." In the absence of Sir Albert K. Rollit, D.C.L., LL.D., Sir Stephen Finney occupied the chair. The following ladies and gentlemen were present: Sir Frederick William Duke, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Frederick S. P. Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Colonel M. J. Meade, C.I.E., Mr. Biddulph, C.I.E., Lord Strabolgi, Colonel and Mrs. Roberts, Colonel Boughiey, R.E., General Chamier, Lady Katharine Stuart, Miss Marvin, Mr. D. L. Patvardhan, Dr. Standly, Mr. Montague A. Phillips, Mr. Oliver Bainbridge, Mrs. A. Y. G. Campbell, Miss H. Molesworth, Rev. W. L. Broadbent, Mrs. Collis, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. and Mrs. E. A. Dennys, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Mr. Haji, Mr. B. R. Amhedkar, Mr. J. G. Kanga, Mr. G. V. Utamsing, Miss Pivet, Dr. O. R. Pranker, Miss Edgecombe, Mr. E. Benedict, Mr. Davison, Mr. Clark, Mr. Roechland, Mr. and Mrs. Almad, Mr. Carkeet James, Mr. Blaise, Mr. Atthill, Mr. Molesworth, Miss E. Merry, Mr. Tabak, Mr. Charles Bright, Mr. F. D. Fowler, Mr. Feathers, Mr. and Mrs. Naughton, Mr. H. Kelway-Bamber, M.V.O., Mr. F. H. Brown, Miss Ashworth, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mr. R. C. Sen, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The Hon. Secretary read a telegram just received from Sir Albert Rollit regretting his inability to preside owing to an attack of neuritis, and announced that in these circumstances he (the Hon. Secretary) had at the last moment to find a Chairman. Fortunately he had found one who always readily came to the rescue—namely, Sir Stephen Finney, who had most kindly consented to preside.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, it is a matter of great regret to me that Sir Albert Rollit was not able to come, particularly so, as, had he been here, his knowledge of the subject would have enabled him to deal with it in an adequate manner. I hope to learn something from the lecture, and I will now simply content myself by introducing Sir Guilford Molesworth, and asking him to read his paper.

The Lecturer, who was received with applause, said that he was extremely sorry Sir Albert Rollit had been unable to attend, and especially sorry for the reason which had prevented his attendance. They had, however, the good fortune to have in his place such an excellent and able chairman as Sir Stephen Finney.

The lecture was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: We have again to thank Sir Guilford for a very interesting and informing lecture, and I am afraid I can add but little to the statements he has made and the arguments he has put forward. I once had an uncle who was Warden of the Standards, in the sixties and early seventies, and who was associated in 1871 with General Strachey in considering the introduction of the metric system in India; but I am afraid I did not pay very much attention to his teachings on the subject. Those of us who have been in India, as merchants, travellers or officials, have frequently experienced great inconvenience from the variations in the weights and measures in different parts of the country; and, no doubt, many of us have often regretted that the Act of 1871 did not come into force. When I came here this evening Sir Guilford gave me a copy of the table he had prepared long ago for the conversion of cubic feet into cubic metres, and kilogrammes into pounds. I was very familiar with the tables in the early seventies, when I first went to India, as we all expected then that the metric system would be introduced, and Sir Guilford was preparing the way. In fact, the weighing-machines which came to the railway on which I was employed at that time showed kilogrammes and pounds. When I came here just now I met a friend who had been engaged in survey work in Rajputana in the commencement of that railway, and a visit of Sir Guilford's was looked forward to with great apprehension. They were afraid that he would insist on their using levelling staves on the metric system, and they were in doubt whether they would be able to read them correctly. I think we have had the views on both sides of the question dispassionately and efficiently put forward, and I had now better invite discussion on them.

Sir FREDERICK LELY said that Sir Guilford's most informing address seemed so obviously common sense that one wondered why it was necessary, at this late day, to advocate it, and why it had not been introduced years ago, if it were not for the knowledge of how little common sense entered into our administration of affairs. He would like to remark that many of the diversities which the Lecturer had pointed out had historic origin. For instance, the "biga" which he referred to was a very varying quantity. He believed that the fundamental idea of the biga was that it was such an area of land as could be ploughed by two average oxen in a day. Consequently it varied considerably in different districts, according to the nature of the soil and the strength of the local oxen. If the soil was light and the local oxen were strong, the biga would be more extensive in that part of the country than in another, where the

soil was stiff and the oxen poor. Readers of Macaulay's "Horatius" will remember how that hero was rewarded out of the public land with "as much as two strong oxen could plough from morn to night." That was the Roman "bigha." In the same way with regard to the kos, the measure of length: that, he believed, indicated the length of road along which a pair of average oxen might draw a loaded cart within an hour, so that that naturally also varied according to the country. The main reason probably for this great diversity in India was the enormous number of territories which, before we went there, were practically separated from each other, each with its own system of weights and measures. In that respect he was of opinion there was very good ground for the use of compulsion. It was not a thing to leave to individual will, because that always inevitably became mere caprice. He did not know whether any of those who had been in India had had a similar experience to his own. More than once he had felt himself egregiously diddled by buying what he took to be, and what he was told was, a dozen of such and such an article, or a score of such and such an article, and he was afterwards told that, according to the custom of the trade, instead of twelve he ought to have had fourteen or sixteen or eighteen. It was impossible to leave matters of that sort to individual caprice, and the change which the Lecturer had so ably advocated ought to be carried out immediately, and in his opinion it ought to be done by compulsory legislation.

MR. EDWARD BARTON said that, unfortunately, he arrived too late to hear the whole of the paper, but he would like to express his appreciation of the author's work, especially that done in Ceylon. As an Australian, he was frequently in Colombo, as being on the highroad to this country, and every time he called there he felt more delighted with the Ceylon coinage. It was not only a decimal coinage, but every coin had been well thought out; and when he heard that Sir Guilford was the designer of those coins, he felt quite a thrill of interest. The smaller coins were nickel, and were made of a square design, with the corners rounded just to the right extent—that is to say, they were sufficiently round to be comfortable in handling and harmless to the pocket, and yet sufficiently square for recognition of each coin in the dark. One never lost 2s. 5d. in paying a bus-fare, through having silver and copper coins of identical size like our half-crown and our penny. Instead of our large, clumsy, dirty copper coins, they had a beautiful nickel coin until they got right down to the smallest coins. He did not know any coinage which was better. Other countries, such as Belgium and China, had coins with a hole in the middle for the low values, but the hole was necessarily small and of little use in the dark.

As to the question of measures, the use of existing names, as suggested by the author, certainly appears, at first sight, to be reasonable, but he would draw attention to the fact of all such use

of local names having eventually died out, every metric country eventually coming to use the original metric expressions. In India, as the Lecturer had pointed out, they had a set of weights and measures which lacked the first element of a system—*i.e.*, uniformity throughout the land. They were, apparently, as varied and unsatisfactory as they had been in the German Empire prior to the adoption of the metric system, but the interesting fact mentioned by Sir Frederick Lely concerning the lack of uniformity, even in the meaning of the word "dozen," made one rather hopeless as to standardization in the East. The variations in the weight of the "seer" (from 2047 pounds in Bengal up to 7 pounds in Bombay) seemed amazing, but India may rest consoled by the existence in this country of similar variations in the "holl," used in our price quotations for hay. Regarding the difficulty of prejudice and conservatism in the matter of weights and measures, he would point out that the most conservative element in this country—the agricultural—met some years ago, in the shape of a Congress of Chambers of Agriculture, and decided unanimously in favour of the immediate and compulsory introduction of a set of decimal measures. They did not specify the metric system, but demanded a decimal system, and their reasons were interesting. They said that, although our present system allowed of the middleman trading with them honestly, in the eyes of the Law it did not allow of the former joining intelligently in the bargaining, because the weights and measures, particularly those used in making market quotations, in the press, were so lacking in uniformity, that only experts could compare the prices prevailing in different towns in the same county.

When it came to checking invoices or sale notes for farm produce the difficulty was enhanced by the bargain being generally based upon a price per bushel or quarter, whereas deliveries were made in tons, hundredweights and quarters. Although delivered by weight, the produce was really sold by volume, and it was necessary to remember that a bushel of oats weighed 42 pounds, but maize weighed 56 and wheat 72 pounds. Every line of the invoice would involve eight or ten minutes of heavy arithmetic. A long invoice would run into the better part of an hour.

The agricultural men asked, Why should they have such things? It was felt that they might suit the trader who spends his life amongst them and has developed mnemonics and dodges for quickly arriving at his results. He can *think* in these measures, and when he comes between the two ignoramuses, the farmer and the consumer, the temptation to hoodwink them both, without exposing himself to any danger from the laws of his country, becomes irresistible.

Regarding the most valuable part of the paper he felt rather at a loss to say much on account of his ignorance of India. The paper was too thorough for superficial discussion and he would like to go home and think about it. To-morrow he might be able

to make some very clever remarks, like the man who, on his way home, thinks out brilliant things which might have secured him a reputation as an after-dinner speaker.

Mr. BLAISE said he was delighted with the lecture, because, as a Belgian, he had always been interested in the metric system, and he would like to see that system adopted, not only in India, but in England. He had been here a good many years, but he did not know the measures yet. They had had practically similar experiences in Belgium, where the measures varied from place to place, so that no one ever knew exactly where he stood. For instance, when a peasant wanted to buy a piece of land he used to buy so many arpents, but as the arpent varied from province to province, and even, sometimes, from village to village, the buyer of a piece of land never knew how much he would get for his money. Then, again, if one wanted a piece of cloth one had to know where it was coming from first of all, before being able to know the value. The shopkeepers had so much difficulty in their various transactions that they appealed to the Government to make compulsory the use of the metre and its subdivisions instead of the "aune"; and after a lengthy discussion it was decided that from a certain date the aune was to be suppressed. This resulted in seeing in the shops all over the country the various differences in value: In Liège it would be three times 79 centimetres for a franc, in Brussels three times 69 centimetres for a franc, and in Louvain three times 77 centimetres for a franc, etc.; but the people were so annoyed at such lengthy marks that they eventually dropped the aune altogether and used the metre instead.

With reference to the Lecturer's use of the terms "trait," "doigt," "palme," and "mille," he would like to say that they were no longer in use. One might perhaps find an old countryman of eighty years of age still using these terms, but even this was rare; everybody spoke of metres, centimetres, millimetres, and so on, and there was no difficulty in that respect. The same remarks applied to the measures of capacity. About one hundred years ago the demi-litre was called "verre," but now the verre was only half that quantity. In the shops one seldom asked for a pint of vinegar or a pint of anything. In Belgium or in France they would ask for a demi-litre, quart de litre, decilitre, etc. The old names were no longer used.

Then with regard to the "sou," that was 5 centimes; in Belgium and in France a "gros sou" was 10 centimes, but in making up accounts they would not write in their books so many sous. It was just a common expression which was never used in book-keeping. In the Flemish parts of Belgium the only people still using the sou (called in Flemish "stuiver," and worth 9 centimes) were the peasants, and they used it so as to try and cheat people who, as a rule, did not understand anything about the sou. If they charged you a franc for something they would call it 11 sous, which was exactly 99 centimes. As a result they did not give the change

you were entitled to, 1 centime. Again, 16½ sous was 1.50 francs, but those figures were only used in the market-places when dealing with people who did not understand them, and as a result they occasionally got a few pence more than the actual price.

It might be interesting to know that the Esperantists the world over, who are doing a good deal of business with one another, had found so much difficulty with the various coins that they had had to invent a special paper unit of their own, the "spesmilo," which had made it possible for anyone using it to know exactly and at once how much he would have to pay in any country of the world. It would be a great boon for all countries if the metric system could be adopted. In conclusion, he would say that, instead of the metric system having failed on the Continent, it had been a real success, and he hoped that Sir Guilford's proposition would be adopted sooner or later—the sooner the better, as it would profit everyone.

Mr DAVIDSON said that it had been a great pleasure to hear the lecture and the discussion upon it. There was no doubt if the metric system were adopted it would be of great use to engineers, but he would like to point out that if this country adopted the system it would be very liable, in his opinion, to lose one of its principal trades, at any rate to a great extent. This country had supplied great quantities of machinery to manufacturers throughout the world on the "foot" system, and that machinery had, of course, at times to be renewed and duplicated, and the owner of it generally took care to have duplicates, and they had to send to England for those parts. If this country adopted the metric system the measurements would naturally be in metres and centimetres, instead of feet, and he was of opinion that by adopting the French system we should lose an enormous amount of trade, notwithstanding the fact that it would be easier to reckon by the metre. It would have been a great advantage if we had started with the other nations, but as it stood the matter required a great deal of consideration before we adopted the metric system. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. KELWAY-BAMBER said he hoped the Lecturer would live long to add to his many good works. He himself was a whole-hearted advocate for the general adoption of the metric system of weights and measures, not only in India, but also in other countries. He had experienced some of the great disadvantages attending the English system of measurements when comparing Russian with English designs for rolling-stock in Petrograd last year. The labour involved in converting Russian dimensions on the metric to English measurements, and the reconversion of the dimensions of proposed waggons from English to metric measurement so as to make them intelligible to the Russian officials had been very great. The speed and ease with which calculations of quantities, areas and lengths had been effected on the metric system in Russian drawing offices had impressed him very much.

The War would be responsible for many changes, and amongst others would, he hoped, be the introduction of the metric system in our workshops, which, in the manufacture of munitions of war, were already becoming accustomed to a decimal system of measurement, micrometer and other gauges being so calibrated

MR NAUGHTON said the lecture had come at a most opportune moment, now that the movement for decimalization was being earnestly taken up at home. Mr Barton had given them a very lucid idea of the difficulties they had to contend with with regard to weights and measures, and reform in that direction was absolutely necessary. The farmer in this country was dependent largely on the millers and middleman: he never knew how many pounds to the bushel he was going to be credited with until the transaction was practically concluded. For wheat they might vary between 60 pounds and 63 pounds, and that might make a very big difference to the farmer. On the other hand, foreign countries got infinitely better prices for their wheat, which was always sold at the definite figure of 60 pounds to the bushel, or 480 pounds to the quarter. He had that great advantage, and if ever there was a much needed reform it was in respect of the decimalization of our weights and measures which would be generally welcomed in this country. Agriculturalists in particular favoured the change, and he wished Sir Guilford every success with his very admirable scheme.

MR PENNINGTON said that in the early seventies they made attempts to reform the weights and measures in Madras, and he had written to Sir Henry Stokes, who was a great authority on the subject, to ask him to take part in the discussion, but he replied that when they tried to improve matters they only made things worse in Madras. These things could not be patched up—they must have a real radical reform. He was not generally in favour of compulsion, but in regard to this change in weights and measures and coinage it was indispensable.

SIR FRIDRICK LELY asked if it would be possible to adapt existing machines to the metric system, or would they have to be scrapped altogether?

MR ATTBILL said there would be very little difficulty in altering the existing machinery, at any rate with regard to weighing machines. In that connection that was already occasionally being done. Some years ago a number of weighing-machines were sent to the railway companies in India, graduated in both English and the metric systems, and he could never understand why it had been stopped, in his opinion the metric system ought to be generally adopted.

MR BENEDICT said he would like to ask just one question—namely, as to how the Lecturer proposed to decimalize time? In his opinion that would be a very awkward matter, and also very complicated—for instance, in the measurements of the flow of liquids and gases—unless the degrees of latitude and longitude were

decimalized. As he had had a good deal to do with the theodolite in connection with questions of measurement, he felt that it would be very interesting to know how the Lecturer proposed to deal with matters of that kind.

THE LECTURER: I have very little to say. In fact, I feel sorry that I have not been attacked more, as it leaves me practically little to deal with in addition to what I have already said.

With regard to the question of the "cu-sec," that is merely a technical term in the Public Works Department, and not generally throughout India. It is only very locally used, chiefly by irrigation officers. I don't think we can very well decimalize the time element in it; but that is of no consequence. As I have already said, it is the abiding delusion of the opponent of decimals that he *will* suppose the decimalist to be under a contract never to use a common fraction; he can and will use them when it is convenient to do so. Moreover, the "cu-sec" as an integer can be expressed in decimal terms, as 10 000 or 1,000 cu-secs.

One measure of length with which I have not dealt is the "hoo," or the length of which one could hear a man call out "hoo-oo-oo." I have not mentioned it, but it varies very much. As a matter of fact, it varies according to the strength of a man's lungs.

The "cos" varies from about a mile in the plains to two miles in the hills. With regard to engineers dealing with duplicate parts of machinery, previously supplied to their customers, I cannot see that there is any great difficulty. The adoption of the metric system would not render it necessary to scrap any machinery they have already got; and there is no reason why they should not supply to their customers duplicates as they did before. I can see no difficulty in that.

In conclusion, I must thank you very much for the kind way in which you have received such a dry subject as this has been; and I feel I owe a debt of gratitude to Sir Stephen Finney for coming forward and acting as Chairman.

Dr. POLLEN proposed a very hearty vote of thanks to both the Chairman and the Lecturer. They were deeply indebted to the Chairman for so kindly taking the chair at a moment's notice, and all must admit the admirable manner in which he had filled it.

The Lecturer had dealt with a subject of the gravest importance to India, in a most convincing manner, and it must be gratifying to him to find that the majority of the audience were satisfied as to the desirability of the reforms he had so long and so earnestly advocated.

At the same time, Dr. Pollen suspected that Sir Guilford had been a little disappointed at finding so little opposition, for Sir Guilford was a good fighter and enjoyed an argument. He could trace his descent from Edward I. and Edward III. of England, and in debate he displayed the "go and force" and "the spark of the Plantagenet."

He might mention that Sir Guilford was a neighbour of his (Dr Pollen's) down in Kent, and when the War broke out Sir Guilford had set a splendid example to the countryside (in spite of his age) in coming forward to serve as a volunteer in Vickers' ammunition workshops (Applause)

He had great pleasure in moving a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and Lecturer, and felt sure that his friend Colonel Meade, a new Member of Council, would second the proposition

Colonel MEADE said it gave him very great pleasure to second the proposal of a vote of thanks He had listened with deep interest and appreciation to Sir Guilford's paper, and to the remarks of the Chairman thereupon

The vote was carried unanimously, and the Lecturer and Chairman having suitably replied, the proceedings terminated

TO-MORROW IN INDIA

BY LADY KATHARINE STUART

DESTINY has decreed that two great peoples, who appear to be at opposite poles of human experience, should be brought into the close contact of living in the same land and even in the same dwellings. There are some who resent this close proximity and feel it to be painful; but upon the whole the best of both peoples believe that the interests of the Indian and the Englishman are in the main identical, and that the development and prosperity of India is the ultimate goal towards which both are pressing with as much speed as is consistent with the insuring of a safe arrival.

It cannot conceivably be to the interests of anyone—be he ruler or ruled, soldier or civilian, merchant or trader, teacher or student—that India should be poor, starved, downtrodden and neglected. Persons desiring such a state of things never existed except in over-excited imaginations. No European can be so blind to his own interests as not to see that whatever is good for India must in the end be best for everybody. Common-sense has been defined as the “sense of the common interest,” and when friction arises, as it so frequently does, it can often be allayed by an appeal to its tribunal. In the case of British India, common-sense would appear to indicate that India, in claiming independence, and Great Britain, when insisting upon her dependence, have both a little overlooked the real state of things, which is their *interdependence*.

It is a well-known fact that two notes of a chord being sounded together may only make a discord, until the third

is struck with them and creates a harmony. Possibly sounding this note of interdependence might harmonize the discords we sincerely deplore amongst us. Let us inquire, therefore, how this interdependence has arisen, and in what it consists.

It has arisen because the Indian and the Englishman are to an extraordinary extent complementary and supplementary each to the other. Where one ends the other begins, what one lacks the other supplies, where one falls short the other excels, and so on. So much is this the case that they might almost be two halves of one whole. The average Englishman thinks in straight lines—if one may somewhat clumsily attempt to express in language his fine quality of directness. He has a great respect for concrete fact, and he expresses himself best in action; not exclusively in action, of course, but it is undoubtedly upon the field of action, more especially of action in emergency, that he shines, that he is *at his best*.

Turning now to the Indian, you will find the antithesis of all this. The Indian thinks in graceful curves—if one may venture to thus describe the natural beauty and felicity of his expressions. He has a great reverence for abstract truth, and he expresses himself most perfectly upon the field of thought. Short-sighted people who fail to grasp this fundamental distinction are for ever finding fault with one or other. One set of these fault-finders regard the Indian as a sort of half-baked Britisher. The other set seem incapable of seeing an Englishman in any light but that of a barbarian.

Even by merely accepting this distinction, rough though it may be, we shall have already cleared the ground for a little more mutual forbearance and mutual appreciation. But let us not stop here; let us proceed farther and inquire the source of this distinction. We find it arising from a totally different attitude towards life. The English mind is objective; the Englishman looks *at* things, he takes them at their face value, so to speak. The garland, for example,

that some jubilant procession has brought to the station is to him—well, just a garland and no more ; the accompaniment of what he would describe as “fuss” is rather more embarrassing than gratifying. Now, the Indian does not look *at* things, he looks *through* them. As the Chinese philosopher put it :

“ The true sage, taking his stand upon the beauty of the universe, pierces the principle of things.”

What is this “principle of things” ? Is it not the assumption that “everything in being what it is is symbolic of something more” ? Therefore that garland, to a mind that looks through things, becomes the very regalia of the royal spirit of welcome that has come to greet you. Looking *at* a thing is not always quite synonymous with seeing it—at least in its entirety.

There appears to exist among Europeans a certain amount of superstition with regard to what they call the Oriental mind, and plainly suppose to be something dark and dreadful and by no means to be probed. Without pretending for an instant to have fathomed this abyss, one may perhaps point out certain aspects of it—as simple as they are beautiful :

A Hindu child, some ten or twelve years of age, showed a remarkable aptitude for Sanscrit. Help was afforded him in his studies by a European lady. Upon the road up to the hills, the boy contrived to lose a warm garment, with which his parents had provided him, so it was proposed to supply him with another. The child steadily refused “Mother,” he said solemnly—“mother, do not give me *material* comforts, give me *wisdom* ; then I shall not lose it by the way.”

A simple utterance, but eloquent of the Oriental attitude to life. In the West we look upon education as a means to an end, that end being a livelihood to be earned ; but in the East, where a man can make do with a mat, a garment, and one meal a day, a means of livelihood becomes a secondary consideration, and education becomes the end and not the

means. You do not learn to live, you live to learn, and you continue learning till you arrive at the burning-ghat, at the feet of a succession of spiritual gurus.

True culture! This is the goal of life to an Oriental, not fame or fortune. He aspires to *be* rather than to *do*. The Indian believes firmly that ideas govern the world, and that the greatest thing a man can do for his day and generation is to enrich it with fresh thought. Others may be figureheads, but the real leaders of men are those people who have ideas. India would say with Spenser that

"Deeds do die, however nobly done,
And thoughts of men do as themselves decay ;
But wise words, taught in numbers for to run,
Recorded by the Muses live for aye."

In the West there is a tendency to belittle everything except deeds, and to count as deeds only those wrought on the battle-field or market-place. This conception leaves out of count the toil of thinker and poet, but the Empire has need of both—the man of thought as well as the man of action ; Kipling as well as Kitchener.

"The song that nerves a nation's heart
Is in itself a deed."

The Englishman, however, believes emphatically in deeds in the strictest sense of the word. He expresses himself in acts of benevolence, and he puts a very real love of India into his bridges, his railways, his irrigation works, his schools, hospitals, and asylums. This done, he prides himself on being the promoter of that masterpiece of human ingenuity, the "British institution," and not unnaturally turns round to his Indian fellow-Councillor to inquire what he has been about. Finding him less enamoured of such things, he over-hastily assumes a lack of patriotism and want of feeling for his fellows to be the sole cause. There is, however, another. The Indian, like the masses in England, has an inborn horror of institutions. To him there is but one sacred institution—the family. Every family in the East is a holy family, in the sense that it is regarded as a Divine institu-

tion, and therefore by no means to be tampered with by man without grave reason. After all, as Sister Nivedita pointed out, *we* cannot be quite sure whether our method of collecting all the aged, diseased, insane, and poor, together, and dumping them down into "institutions," is really the most humane way of dealing with the afflicted, or whether it's only the most convenient.

Workhouses, for example, have greatly improved, but that system of relief has never met with enthusiasm in any quarter. To be old and poor is already misfortune enough, without treating it as if it were crime. An old woman needs an armchair in an ingle-nook in which to rest her bones, a home not a barracks. Attempts have been made to make the lives of children under the Poor Law more normal by placing them in cottage homes under foster-mothers. It was discovered to be a mistake to place children of the same age together, as all development then came to a standstill. Placing children of different ages together soon showed that a child learns more from another child, a little older than itself, than from adults. A triumph again for family life, as against the institution. Indians, not unjustifiably, fear lest too many institutions should endanger their priceless treasure, the "family spirit."

By far the most important distinction, however, lies in the attitude of the two peoples towards religion. That each in his own way is religious we cannot doubt. In England, when the ordinary man awards one-seventh of his time and one-tenth of his money to religion, he feels he has done all that is expected of him, and more than most men. He keeps his religion and his daily existence strictly separate, in water-tight compartments. In a word, in England *religion is for man*, in India *man is for religion*; and if man, how much more woman! For the masses of India, religion enters into their bathing, their dress, their meals, their sleeping, their conversation. It is to them the very breath of life. Their salutation is a benediction. Every wayfarer is a priest who invokes upon you the blessing of peace. If

at some railway station you casually entered a carriage full of students, you would in England expect to hear discussions on cricket, football, sport, theatres, racing, and the like ; but in India at that age they are all discussing *The Absolute*, or *Liberation*, or the rival merits of two systems of philosophy. And all this is no parade of knowledge, but because these are the most engrossing topics which they know of.

What attitude do the British adopt to this all-pervading religion, which confronts them upon their landing in the Peninsula, which is never out of sight or hearing during the forty years or more of their sojourn in the land ? They ignore it. There is something almost sublime in a strength of mind that can persistently ignore a thing so patent and potent for good and evil. It argues strength, but it suggests rigidity which may prove a very fatal handicap in dealing with a hot-blooded and imaginative people, passionately devoted to their gods. Sympathy is far more of an intellectual endowment than most people suppose ; lack of sympathy in general, and of religious sympathy in particular, is responsible for the widening gulf between the two peoples.

For generations Indian officials, military authorities, missionaries, and their women-folk, have been "going out to India." How few of them have ever really reached that destination ! It has been remarked that the Englishman is born on an island, and takes it with him wherever he goes. Perhaps that is why so few of these passengers to India ever arrived there—in the sense that the Good Samaritan *arrived* when, espying the wounded man, he "*came where he was.*" Scarcely anybody came where India *was* ; all passed by on the other side. And where was India ? Standing sentinel over the garnered lore, handed down to her from antiquity by generations. With amazement she realized the Sahib's indifference to this sort of treasure. She hid her feelings behind a stately reserve, and heard the missionaries' kindly meant suggestions to come across to them without much response. At last, however, came a

Good Samaritan, and he was an American—Colonel Olcott ; but in his footsteps came a British woman, Mrs. Besant [to say nothing of the members of the East India Association, who have laboured during half a century to bring about a better understanding between Europe and Asia and to create and maintain harmony between the hemispheres]. They came to learn and not to teach. They did not expect India to come to them. *They went to India.* The effect was electrical ; it was epoch-making ! But there still remain people who imagine they are living in India. Not they ! They are living in little Englands dotted all over the Peninsula.

It was a long time before India thoroughly grasped the idea of a religion that was hostile to all other faiths. But she thoroughly understands now ; and she has retired upon ways that are not our ways, to thoughts that are not our thoughts. Is this surprising ? Ignore a man's religion, assume that you are in the confidence of the Almighty and that he is not, and you slam the door on all possibility of Divine fellowship for evermore. But if, instead of looking *at* idols, the European and Muhammadan also would only look *through* those mysterious symbols, with their multiple members, he would find in them the hieroglyphics of a lofty religion.

What does the British mind require in a religion worthy of its attention ? Is it sublimity of thought ? “ Having established this whole universe with one fragment of Myself, I remain.” Surely here the Bhagavad Gita expresses the immanence and the transcendence of the Deity even as clearly as the Christian creed. There is no equivalent to the vicarious atonement, it is urged, no hallowed ground like the “ green hill far away ” ; but do we not read that “ there is no place on earth where the Buddha has *not* sacrificed himself for the good of creatures ” ? And if Allah be all-pervading, are not all hills his altars ?

But what more conclusive evidence can we have in

favour of any religion than the fact that it is capable of producing saints? A tree is known by its *fruit*, not by its rotten boughs. If you inquire the secret of the courage, the devotion, the self-abnegation of the Hindu mother, her son will tell you it is *her religion*. What says Dadabhai Naoroji, who comes of *Parsi* parentage? The Grand Old Man of India, speaking of his mother, says: "*She* made me what I am." A good son and a great patriot she made of the founder of the East India Association. But let us not omit to inquire what made *her* what *she* was. What but her great religion? Take Rama-Krishna, who passed years in living the devout life of each religion in turn, in order to be able to see God from his neighbours' angle of vision, and finally observed all the restrictions of womanhood that he might the better play a brother's part to all women-folk, saying with real fellow-feeling: "*I know* their sorrows." How he appeals to humanity, this Indian sage, with his grand mind and his great heart! The Christian saint is the flower of the Christian faith; the Hindu avatara is the ripened fruit of the tree of knowledge.

Too much stress cannot be laid on the religious question in India, for to the masses religion is life. Some city-bred babus may follow Haeckel's phosfer-philosophy to the conclusion that "Science has conducted God to its boundaries, thanking him for his provisional guidance"; but an irreligious India is unthinkable.

If "Shakespeare's countrymen," and more especially the generation of Stephen Phillips and Francis Thompson, want to win the Indian people to an appreciation of his and their religion, let them call in the assistance of the poet rather than of the primer. India cannot resist beauty. Beauty of form, beauty of expression, beauty of movement above all; for India stands for the soul side of things more than the form. May we not by sharing it double the joy given us by "a thing of beauty"? This fragment, for example, from the last volume of the late Stephen Phillips's poems:

"When Jesus greeted Joan in the after-twilight,
When the crucified kissed the burned,

Then softly they spoke together, solemnly, sweetly,
They two so branded with life.
But they spake not at all of the Cross or of up-piled flaming
Or the going from them of God ;
But He was tender over the soul of the Roman
Who yielded Him up to the priest,
And she was whist with pity for him that lighted
The faggot in Rouen town."

There is no pulpit like the grave ; and out of his grave the poet now speaks, bidding us all forgive and forget, and join hands to the outstretching of new heavens and the up-building of a new earth—the only fitting memorial to him and to all those dear ones lost alike to England and to India through the war. None of us will have suffered in vain if the fruit of that prolonged agony prove to be a *fellow-feeling* for one another.

The countrymen of Rama-Krishna, Vivekananda, and Rabindra Nath Tagore have what amounts to a national genius for religion, and they recognize and respond to the Divine fire manifested, no matter how, when, or where. How much of the Christian Scriptures is Oriental poetry, and as such a delight to be shared by both hemispheres, if only its advocates in their zeal would not demand for it an exclusive monopoly of all Divine wisdom !

There must surely be as many paths to the Supreme as there are people in the world. God never permits a replica. Every soul is unique. The angels receiving it have never looked upon its like before, nor shall hereafter. The more the paths ascend the heavenly mount, the more they must converge. They meet at His feet who said : " By whatever road a man approacheth Me, on that road do I welcome him, for all roads are Mine."

Criticism is valueless unless it is constructive. Let us therefore consider some practical suggestions :

If English ladies would open up avenues of friendship with Indian ladies much might be safely accomplished. A true incident may not be out of place here :

An Indian gentleman tried to coax his wife to a European

compound to meet some English ladies. Terrified lest she should be affronted by a masculine eye and lose her self-respect and that of her neighbours, the little lady refused. Her husband, however, was a person of resource; he offered her that the whole compound should be cleared of men-folk, and it was done! The whole staff of men-servants were locked into the power-house. The European men gave themselves into custody, and then—then only did the little lady come amongst us. Attended by her fluttered women-folk and her triumphant husband, she suffered herself to be coaxed along the garden-path as one might entice a timid bird. She, with her vivid sari, her sparkling jewels, and her little silver sandals that would keep coming off up the steps! To what end was all this? The husband informed us, with superb but quite unconscious flattery: "*I brought her that she should hear the English ladies laugh.*"

How infinitely touching is that simple explanation! But why have they never heard us laugh before? Can it be that we have ignored their existence or treated them only, as we have so often the Indian student in England, to "the contempts which turn the heart to stone"? English Society perhaps hardly realizes its own exclusiveness; but how much it might gain from contact with women whose lives are inspired by a Spartan sense of duty! Cannot our Indian sister teach us the sublime art of simplification and thereby save us from the rapids of vulgarity towards which we are tending? What would an Indian purdah lady think of our modern ways? Our landscapes, lavishly adorned with advertisements of pills and ointments; our dress, our dances, our amusements and deportment generally? It can only be faintly conjectured. Taste is the true index of what a nation has become, however. "Mamma, is that wrong?" inquired a child. "Wrong, my dear? It's worse than wrong—it's *vulgar*." Such, alas! one fears, would have to be her verdict; but by her art, and still more by her literature, India is doing her best to save us from our-

selves. India herself can never be vulgar: she is too natural and spontaneous. Her women have an inborn sense of *savoir-faire* which leads them unerringly to strike the right note. Even on public occasions, to which, naturally, the purdah lady is least accustomed, she always rises to what is expected of her. Some European ladies had addressed a large mixed gathering upon a roof-top, and the Indians, determined that the proceedings should be carried through in European fashion, called upon a Hindu lady to make a speech as a vote of thanks. Of course she had not understood a word. Quite unembarrassed by a situation which might well have perplexed a diplomatist of experience, she came forward gracefully and explained to us how she and her friends had enjoyed the meeting. "We did not understand the words," she explained, "but we understood the spirit."

Hampered by shyness, so often misconstrued as *hanteur* by Continental nations, how glad is the English-woman to find a kindred spirit who can overleap the barriers of language and "understand the spirit" of her efforts to make known her good-will!

Might not English lessons sometimes take the pleasant form of social gatherings based on the idea of the French salon, where conversation was the staple refreshment provided, and where it became an art to the speaker and an education to the listener. Mutual hospitality is a great link. The attitude of India, rich as she is in emotional life, is that "she would like to be allowed to love you." So often she is *not* allowed. There is nothing a sister European can do that she cannot also undertake and carry through; witness the pluck and perseverance of Indian lady doctors. These are among the most dire necessities of the Motherland.

Swami Vivekananda once observed that "Things do not grow better, things remain as they are; but we grow better by the changes we make in them." It may be only illusion, and yet it seems as though even things did grow better, very, very slowly; but probably it is the things that have

to be done *in* us, rather than *by* us, which have to be considered in our interrelations. Broadly speaking, if we ask ourselves, Who is to teach England to be spiritual? we must answer: "India." And, again, if we ask, Who is to teach India to be practical? we must reply: "England." May we not mutually accept this as the ultimate aim of the "Divinity that shapes our ends" in bringing us together? Since, as Pope puts it,

" All nature is but art, unknown to thee ;
All chance direction which thou canst not see ;
All discord harmony, not understood ;
All partial evil, universal good."

To-day Indian students are growing up, worshipping this great Motherland of theirs with its simplicity, its dignity, its culture and spirituality. The child of the soil is growing up, and he needs as a fatherly guide the man who can show him how to live harmoniously, and, if need be, die gloriously; who can appreciate the fine qualities of the Indian while himself exhibiting the great British virtues of courage, manliness, self-control, tolerance, and magnanimity, which have built up an Empire worthy of the adhesion even of *young* India! The ruler in India has to stand the severest test that can be given to man—the test of power. He can become the oppressor or the protector. He can make the Indian feel there is a stranger in the land, or he can participate in the "family spirit." "*He is one of us*," remarked a shrewd observer of a British Member of Council. Appreciation could no farther go. *Fellow-feeling* is the whole secret.

Take down the scaffolding of the British Raj too soon, and you will have a repetition of the tower of Babel. Allow the Divine Artificer to complete His work, wait till India has abolished child-marriage, educated her women, broken down the walls of racial, social, and religious intolerance, and welded a mass of separate peoples into one great nation, and the day of her independence will be a proud day in the annals of history.

Even now, when the voices of England's best and bravest are being hushed in blood and tears, there are young souls—heroes to be—thrilling with the records of their glorious valour; and shall not unparalleled advantages pave the way to unparalleled achievement? If it be true that practical mystics are the best equipped of mankind, and that, as Emerson tells us, the genius of Shakespeare was the "*combination* of Saxon precision with Oriental soaring," what may we not expect of a people tutored on the one hand by a practical sagacity that has never been excelled, and on the other by a spiritual insight that has never been surpassed? We may confidently assume that under this double tutelage the coming people will do honour alike to India and to England, and show themselves worthy of all that is best in both.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, January 22, 1917, a paper was read by Lady Katharine Stuart, entitled "To-morrow in India." The Earl of Ronaldshay, M.P. (Governor-Designate of Bengal), occupied the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Lancelot Hare, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagree, K.C.I.F., Sir J. D. Rees, K.C.I.E., M.P., Colonel C. E. Yates, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Colonel M. J. Meade, C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., M.I.C.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.F., Sir Henry Kimber, Bart., Baron de Bethune, Lord Strabolgie, Mr. Kelsall, I.C.S., Colonel and Mrs. Roberts, Sir Frederick and Lady Robertson, Lady Muir-Mackenzie, the Hon. Mrs. G. Ryan, Sir William Owens Clark, Sir Roland Wilson, Bart., General Chamier, Sir Charles Armstrong, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen, Miss Sorabji, Mrs. Drury, Mrs. Bonner, Mr. and Mrs. St. Nihal Singh, Mr. and Mrs. H. C. West, Mr. and Mrs. Duncan Irvine, Mr. Phillipowsky, the Misses Phillipowsky, Mr. G. Singh, Mr. DeMonte, Mrs. Patrick Villiers-Stuart, Mrs. Vettell, Mrs. Kerr, Mr. G. V. Utamsing, Rev. W. Broadbent, Miss Martin, Miss Payne, Mrs. Porter-Burrall, Mr. H. R. Cook, Miss Dunderdale, Mr. A. M. Ahmad, Miss Julia Smith, Mrs. Osborne Allen, Mr. Khaja Ismail, Miss Haddon, Mr. Carkeet James, Mrs. Beauchamp, Mrs. Joshi, Mrs. Honside, Mrs. Farquharson, Miss Pearson, Mr. Harrington, Mr. S. K. Engineer, Mr. B. M. Lal, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. E. D. Carollo, Mr. Patvardhan, Mr. Oliver Bainbridge, Mrs. Lowe, Mr. Abbas Ali Baig, C.S.I., and Mrs. Ali Baig, Miss MacAllister, Miss Ward, Miss Enid Ward, Miss Leachman, Mrs. Moore, Mr. Galloway Kyle, Mrs. Norie, Mr. Robert Marsh, Mr. S. I. Roberts, Mr. and Mrs. Blaise, Mr. B. R. Amhedkar, Miss Stebbing, Mrs. Handcock, Mrs. Gould, Mr. K. C. Bhandari, Miss Ward, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. E. H. Tabak, Mr. J. Canning, Dr. Pranker, Mr. Ryan, Mrs. Kinneir-Tarte, Miss Scatcherd, Miss M. Ashworth, Mrs. Wilson, Mr. Khanna, Mr. Dubé, Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. S. Digby, Mrs. Charles R. Taylor, Mrs. Bowlby,

Miss Levell, Mr. Whitbread, Miss Phipps, Mr. Sugauddin, Mr. Rao, Mrs. Andrews, Mrs. Speed, Rev. H. U. Weitbrecht, Mrs. Couchman, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary. Lord Reay, President of the Association, was unable to be present on account of the accident that had befallen him in the Park; and Lord Hardinge, of Penshurst, wrote regretting that his duties at the Foreign Office prevented his accepting the invitation to attend and support the Earl of Ronaldshay.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, my first duty, and a very pleasant one, is to introduce to you the lady who has so kindly consented to read a paper before us this afternoon. Lady Katharine Stuart knows India well, and I have no doubt that India knows her well, too. She is recognized as a lady who takes a deep and sympathetic interest in Indians, and in everything appertaining to their country. I think Madras is the part of India she knows best, and she will no doubt have much to tell us to-day about the Indians of that Presidency and their characteristics. She is not only a lady who has great sympathy with India, but she also comes of a family which has been inspired by the great wave of patriotism which is sweeping over the country and the Empire to-day. She, of course, has suffered, as a great many of us have, as a result of the conflagration in Europe, and we thank her all the more, therefore, for setting aside the time and taking the trouble to give us a paper to-day. She will, I know, receive from you an attentive and sympathetic listening, and I have great pleasure now in calling upon her to read her paper.

(The paper was then read, the Lecturer being received with applause.)

The CHAIRMAN. Ladies and gentlemen, according to the programme which has been submitted to me, I see the Chairman now addresses the meeting. Well, we have listened with great interest to a paper which has been characterized, if I may say so, by a very wide sympathy and a deep insight. (Hear, hear.) Lady Katharine Stuart has touched delicately, but at the same time firmly, upon a topic which has been a good deal discussed in recent years—namely, that of the relations between the East and West, and between Englishmen and Indians. The angle from which East and West look out upon life is, as the Lecturer has pointed out, a somewhat different one. Each has characteristics which are very largely lacking in the other, and each ought, therefore, as the Lecturer told us, to find himself complementary and supplementary to the other. What is it, then, that so often causes the contact between East and West to produce discord instead of harmony and friction instead of smooth working? The answer which the Lecturer gave us to that question may be summed up in the words, "a lack of understanding." Perhaps the Englishman does not always take quite as much trouble as he might to understand the Indian. It has always been a charge against us as a nation that we are somewhat intolerant of other manners and customs and other religions and modes of

thought, and I am afraid that the charge is not altogether without justification. I dare say we have all heard of the English lady who, when travelling on the Continent and hearing herself described by the inhabitants of the land in which she was travelling as a foreigner, indignantly repudiated the suggestion. She said, "No, I am not a foreigner; it is these people who are the foreigners." She was travelling in another land, but she had taken her island with her, and that is what a large number of English people do when they go to India. As the Lecturer says, they are living in little islands dotted all over the Peninsula. I dare say there is something to be said in defence of this particular form of insularity. After all, we must remember that the English community in India is but a very small drop in a very large ocean, the Englishman is living in exile, amidst strange surroundings and amongst people who are strangers to him when he goes out there, and I have no doubt that somewhere away back in his subconscious mind the instinct of self-preservation is unconsciously at work, but I am not considering at the moment whether that insularity is justified or is not justified. I am only following the Lecturer in trying to consider what are the obstacles to a closer understanding between the peoples of the two races—*re*, the peoples of England and of India—and undoubtedly this national characteristic of ours, this insularity, is one obstacle. But is that the only obstacle, ladies and gentlemen? I am afraid it is not. My own personal experience has proved to me that the peoples of India are endowed to an unusual degree with an instinctive hospitality and with great warmth of heart, they respond readily to any real desire on the part of others to secure their friendship. I am quite certain—and I am now speaking from my own personal experience—that any little act of courtesy or kindness shown to an Indian will always be returned in full measure, and with interest (Hear, hear). But however anxious the Indian may be to fraternize with the stranger within his gates, he is undoubtedly hampered by the rules and restrictions of ancient social custom and tradition. Nobody can deny that the strict rules of caste are as much an obstacle to closer social relations between East and West as is the insularity of the Englishman. Any Englishman who can speak from personal experience will, I am sure, testify to the fact that, however much he may wish to get into closer social touch with Indians, of whatever caste they may be, he will find it infinitely easier to do so with an Indian who is a member of the Brahmo Samaj, let us say, than he would with an Indian who was hampered and hedged in by rigid caste rules and regulations. Here, then, are two obstacles—the insularity of the Englishman on the one side, and the caste rules of the Indian on the other side. Of course, I know these caste rules do not apply to all Indians. I see amongst us here to-day Sir John Rees, and no doubt he will tell me I am talking nonsense, that there is no such thing as a people of India, but that you must talk about the peoples of India, with a very big "s"

at the end of it. I know that, but I am talking for the moment about Indians who belong to that community in which caste is an important matter.

Now, to what are we to look to get over these two obstacles? That is the great and burning question which interests us all who desire to see more cordial relations between the peoples of this country and the peoples of India. I think we must look very largely to time, but we can also look to sympathy. A great deal can be done even now, provided that there is determined goodwill on each side. (Hear, hear.)

I remember receiving with feelings of the liveliest gratification an invitation from some Brahmin gentlemen, whose position in their own caste was irreproachable, to go and dine with them at the same table as their guest. That particular gathering, ladies and gentlemen, including as it did amongst its members Brahmins, Muhammadans, and Christians from Europe, was sufficient to prove to me the lengths to which the high-caste Indian will go in his endeavour to stretch out the hand of friendship to his fellow Europeans. (Hear, hear.) Much, therefore, can be done even now, provided there is determined goodwill on both sides, but that goodwill, happily, is being aided and abetted to-day by other factors, factors arising out of external circumstances. For some years past Indian gentlemen have worked side by side in close co-operation with Englishmen in the highest positions of government in the country—to the very great advantage of both. There is nothing like the sharing of common responsibilities, and the bearing of common burdens, to assist a man to an understanding of his fellow men. (Hear, hear.) I am quite sure of that. The doubts of the cautious Britisher have unquestionably been dispelled by experience. I am thinking now of the members of the Executive Councils, and so on. On the other hand, I am quite sure that those Indians who have been working in these positions will have realized, as perhaps they did not quite do before, that the motives which actuate Englishmen are something more than a mere desire to grasp and hold place and power. There may be a legitimate difference of opinion as to the rate of progress which we ought to maintain along the path upon which we have deliberately set our foot, but there can be no doubt whatever that we shall continue steadily and conscientiously to pursue the policy we have deliberately adopted of associating the best intellect and ability of India with us in the government and administration of the country. (Hear, hear.) Those who most desire to see ordered progress made along those lines will, I am sure, whether they be Europeans or Indians, regret most the fact that there is a small section of the peoples of India who have been foolish enough to adopt methods of terrorism and violence; for they will realize best that nothing could do more to act as a drag upon the advance of India than the adoption of methods of that kind. (Hear, hear.)

Now let me suggest one other external circumstance which is working, and will work in the future, towards a better understanding between East and West. That circumstance arises out of the great conflagration in Europe. Men who have fought side by side, and whose blood has mingled in common sacrifice upon the battlefield, are likely to find that they have created ties of comradeship and fellowship which will be infinitely more potent than any obstacle which can be raised by any social custom or tradition. (Hear, hear.)

Then there is one word I would like to say about another portion of the Lecturer's paper. Lady Katharine Stuart has given us most excellent advice. She has told us that we should study and try to understand something of the spirit of the religions of India, and that in my humble opinion is most excellent and admirable advice. The whole life of the Indian is bathed in an atmosphere of religion, and it is all the more necessary that we should try to understand something of the spirit of Indian religious thought by reason of the fact that the religious practices of the greater number of the religions of India are characterized by much symbolism, and are consequently open to much misunderstanding. (Hear, hear.) How often, for instance, do we talk about the Parsees being fire-worshippers. Surely we say that because we are ignorant of or have forgotten the symbolic meaning of fire to the members of that community. Take, again, the case of the Jains, some of whose practices may very easily prove disgusting to Europeans—the preservation of vermin, for example—unless the European knows the beautiful spirit of the doctrine of *ahimsa*, or harmlessness, which is one of the cardinal articles of belief of the Jain faith. Then, again, to the ignorant the religious practices of the Hindu may appear to be nothing but idolatry and superstition. An ignorant person sees an Indian go to a Hindu temple, and sees him pour out the sacred water upon the lingam, and he merely regards him as a superstitious idol-worshipper. Of course, the fact is that he does not see the symbolism. Is not that in itself sufficient to show how necessary it is that those who go to India should take the advice given by the lecturer and endeavour to study and understand something of the spirit of the religions of India? (Hear, hear.) I am sure once a man begins to study the religions of India he will very soon find himself absorbed in the intellectual delights of Indian philosophy; for in no country I know of do religion and philosophy go hand in hand so harmoniously as they do in that great continent; one cannot help being fascinated by the intellectual heights which are revealed by the speculations of that great commentator Sankara in his severely monistic interpretation of the Vedanta philosophy, or indeed of the pluralistic interpretation of the same system adopted by Ramanuja.

But, ladies and gentlemen, I am afraid I am allowing myself to be carried away from the subject-matter of the paper before us, and I see that I have already exceeded the time which a thoughtful

Secretary allows for the observations of those who follow the lecturers at these meetings. (The SECRETARY: There is no time limit for the Chairman.) Well, even if that be so, I feel quite sure that I have exceeded the limits which any well-regulated Chairman ought to impose upon his own loquacity, and I do not propose, therefore, to accept the kind invitation of the Secretary to proceed longer; and I would say in conclusion that, in common with everyone else in this room, I have been delighted with the tone, the matter and style of the lecture which has been read to us to-day by Lady Katharine Stuart. I am convinced that nothing but good can come of papers of this kind and of the discussions which may take place upon them. I have much pleasure, therefore, in inviting any member of the audience to take part in the discussion. (Applause.)

Mr. F. C. CHANNING said that although his experience of India was now somewhat remote he would like to say a very few words upon the subject of the lecture. The Sanskrit poem quoted by the Lecturer taught that there was a religion of action as well as a religion of thought; there were men whose business it was to think, and there were other men whose business it was to act; and the people with whom he was chiefly brought into contact with in India were the men of the Delli territory and of the Central Punjab. It seemed to him that their religion was more like that of the religion of Englishmen, a religion of action, and he had not felt that great division between those men and Englishmen which was often stated to exist in other parts of India. At the bottom of all there was undoubtedly a difference between the English and the Hindu outlook upon the universe, and a different view of the relation of the Deity to the world. With that part of the lecture he entirely agreed. It was extremely advisable that those who were going out to India, whether as missionaries or in the Civil Service, should know something of Indian thought. Before he had gone out to India he had studied Sanskrit, and he always felt that if he had not had that opportunity before he went he would never have understood the peoples with whom he was brought into contact as well as he had been able to. It seemed to him to be comparatively easy to enter into the feeling and ideas of the Muhammadans, because Muhammadanism was not so remote from the English view of religion; both took the same general view of the relation of the Deity to the world. Then, again, he thought that those who had studied Sanskrit would more readily and more sympathetically understand Hindus; it was very difficult for those who had not studied Sanskrit literature and philosophy to do this, and further it was desirable that these studies should be entered upon in England, for civilians would find very little time for study after getting out to India. He personally found that soon after getting to work out there his duties occupied him from morn till night, and left him with no opportunity for study. In conclusion, he would say that he felt convinced that there was not that impassable separation of thought and feeling between

Englishmen and Indians which many understood there was, and he wished to urge as much as he could the very strong advisability of men who were going out to India doing all they could to get some insight into Hindu thought, which could best be done through the study of the best works of Sanskrit literature.

Sir J. D. REES, K.C.I.E., M.P., said that he had known the Chairman too long, and had followed his career too closely, ever to think that he talked nonsense, and he certainly had not done so on that occasion; but if he could do him a good turn in the high office he was destined to occupy in India, (and they all wished him the utmost success on his uneasy throne), by publicly relieving him of a reproach which he had read in a Bengali newspaper, where they reviewed his qualifications, he would do so. It was said there were some little defects in him, one of which was that he had been known to be associated with that notorious reactionary, Sir J. D. Rees! He would like to take the opportunity of denying that. It was true the Chairman and himself had sometimes agreed in the House of Commons, but never while they sat in the House of Commons together had they ever acted in concert upon any Indian question. The Chairman had every qualification for his new high office, without the defect he had just mentioned; and that he had courage was proved by his accepting that office and by the manner in which he had given expression to his opinions in public in London. He had every belief that he would prove to be anything but a reactionary. On the contrary, he believed that he would sympathize to the utmost with Indian political, social and economic aspirations, and he believed, and wished with all his heart, that he would have a most successful and prosperous Governorship, and do great good in the office he had been so worthily called upon to fulfil.

To return to the lecture, he had listened to it with great interest, and he recognized in it something of the spirit of the Lecturer's father, with whom he had had the honour to be associated in a subordinate capacity many years ago. The Lecturer was full of that imagination and sympathy which we were said to lack in dealing with Indian subjects. Criticism, however, was of no value if it was mere eulogy. The Lecturer said that education with us was the means to an end, and not the end itself, and that with the Oriental education was itself the end. That was a statement which must be taken with a great deal of salt. Greatly as he admired his Indian friends, he could not say that they regarded education in that light; and he believed they were not blind to the material advantages resulting from it, nor would they be wise if they were. Then she spoke of them as being passionately devoted to their gods. He believed they were, but at the same time he did not agree with the remarks about the attitude of the unsympathetic Britisher towards the gods of India. It would be remembered that the British Government took upon themselves the duty of administering the previously existing religious endowments, and they were prepared to carry on

the whole administration, but it was the missionary spirit in England which stopped it, and the feeling amongst the British electorate that the British administration should not be connected with idolatry—that was their word, however, and not his. He believed the Government had fulfilled its duty of preserving the greatest impartiality amongst the various creeds in India admirably, and if they had failed it was not their fault. As Lord Ronaldshay had said, it was absurd to classify the peoples of India as idolators. With regard to the Lecturer's suggestion that we must wait till India had abolished child-marriage and educated her women, etc., before the day of her independence arrived, all he could say was that Lady Katharine Stuart was not a breathless reformer! Those little preliminaries would take some time, and he confessed there was much in the ancient structure of Indian economic, social and religious life that he would see depart with the greatest regret. Whether that was a sign of want of sympathy with India or not he would leave the audience to decide, but he would suggest it was not sympathy with India to wish the inhabitants to be everything they were not.

In conclusion, he said that he would not venture to trespass further upon their time, as others would wish to say a few words, perhaps in a different spirit; but he would say that there was no one in that Hall who had a stronger spirit of sympathy with the Indian peoples, or who had spent more time in developing that sympathy, by the study of their language, literature, manners and customs than he had, and in all these he found more to admire than to condemn.

Miss SCATCHERD said she had been very interested in the lecture, and if they would only regard all the races of India as members of one great family, a great many obstacles would be removed. No one would contend that the last arrival in a family should be treated as his grown-up brother. The idea of the brotherhood of nations struck her as a much truer conception than that of an arbitrary equality, and was one which would lead to truer justice and fairer treatment. No doubt they would all remember the proverb, "To understand all is to forgive all"; but she thought that frequently popular proverbs ought to be reversed, and that we must sometimes begin by forgiving all as an essential preliminary step to understanding. She heard some time ago of a lady whose whole life had been embittered because, being a woman, she was not in the same position as her brother, and she said that she never could quite forgive Providence or help feeling somewhat resentful towards her brother. The branches could not all have the same place on the tree, or the same outlook, and if they would forgive the differences that often seemed to be very harsh and arbitrary a great deal of misunderstanding would be removed. She was very grateful to the speaker for such a thought-provoking lecture.

Sir ARUNDEL T. ARUNDEL, in expressing his appreciation of the

paper and moving a cordial vote of thanks to the Lecturer, said there could be no better words of appreciation than those employed by the Chairman. He did not think it was necessary to go into the question of the Britisher being a man of action and the Indian a man of thought, but it reminded him of a saying of Carlyle's, who, after passing the "Everlasting No" into the freedom of the "Everlasting Yes," could say to himself, "Produce, produce, were it but the pitifullest infinitesimal fraction of a product. 'Tis the utmost thou hast in thee; out with it, then, in God's name!" There spoke the practical energizing Britisher. With regard to the question of the study of the Hindu religion, there were difficulties in their way. In South India and elsewhere one often saw outside of temples and within them and on the cars various representations which excited repulsion and deterred the spectator from further investigation. But apart from this there were Hindu symbols of the deepest significance and interest, if, as the Lecturer had said, we would and could look, not only *at* the symbols, but *through* them to their meaning. Many of them were familiar with the picture of the churning of the Sea of Milk to produce nectar for the gods. It was pictured on rocks and temples from one end of India to the other, and Lord Curzon had found it on ruined Hindu sculptures in the forests of Siam. It was the picture of a mountain in the shape of a sugar-loaf, supported by a tortoise which represented Vishnu, the Supporter, who also surmounted the whole. The mountain contained living beings, forests, etc., and the whole of it stood in the Sea of Milk. Around the sugar-loaf mountain was twisted a snake, and at the tail-end were a number of gods and at the head a number of demons, and they churned the gigantic mountain to provide nectar for the gods. He asked a Hindu pundit to interpret the symbol, and he explained that the mountain was the world, and the Sea of Milk was the Ocean of Existence; and the snake was our old friend the Time-Serpent. The gods were good impulses, and the demons were bad impulses, and the interaction of good and evil through the ages of Time produced for humanity, religion, art, letters, in a word, civilization. The poison from the fangs of the snake falling on the demons was the gradual lessening of evil in the passage of æons. He mentioned this parable and its Hindu interpretation in illustration of what the Lecturer had said of looking *through* symbols and not merely *at* them.

There was always the difficulty of understanding a religion foreign to our own, whatever our own might be. How many of us could realize that to the Greeks and Romans their theogony of Jupiter, Juno, Venus, Minerva, Mercury, Mars, Saturn and the rest, were real living gods, and that they had no other. So real were they, that Socrates—a religious man if ever there was one—was condemned to death for impiety to these very gods.

Another point he would like to illustrate was a passage at the end of the paper about the possible, if distant, future of India. Some

time ago he came across some volumes of old debates in the House of Commons, in which was a speech by Mr. Thomas Babington Macaulay (afterwards Lord Macaulay) in the year 1833, where he gave a forecast of what time might have in store for India in the far days to come. He had it copied, and with the Chairman's permission he would ask Dr. Pollen to read it to the audience.

The HON. SECRETARY then read the extract, which was as follows :

EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,
JULY 10, 1833.

On Wednesday, July 10, 1833, Mr. Charles Grant, President of the Board of Control, moved that the Bill for effecting an arrangement with the India Company, and for the better government of His Majesty's Indian territories, should be read a second time. The motion was carried without a division, but not without a long debate, in the course of which the following speech was made by Mr. Thomas Babington Macaulay.

"The destinies of our Indian Empire are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjecture as to the fate reserved for a state which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena. The laws which regulate its growth and its decay are still unknown to us. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come, I know not. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history. To have found a people sunk in the lowest depth of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own. The sceptre may pass away from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverse. There is an Empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that Empire is the imperishable Empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws."

Mrs. VILLIERS-STUART, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Lecturer, said she agreed with what had been said about the duty of studying India more than we did—to one's own profit, and the profit of India, and, after the War was over, she might say for the profit of the world. If it was possible that those two great branches of the Aryan race, the Indians and the Anglo-Saxons, could, when India became self-governing, live at peace together within the same Empire, then the imaginative conception of the British Empire as a spiritual unity, as a step to a league of peace and the federation of mankind, might be realized. It was a dream, but a dream the

realization of which was well worth working for. A world peace that ignored the East could not last long.

Mr. DUBÉ, in seconding the vote of thanks, said the Lecturer had eloquently dealt with a most complicated subject, a reconciliation between the British and the Indians; but it had seemed to him that she had been depicting to them the India of yesterday, and not the India of to-morrow. During the last 200 or 300 years things had changed, and the picture drawn was not the picture of the India of to-day. The India of to-day was pulsating with new life. As to the India of to-morrow, the facts were these: They had statesmen, administrators, soldiers, governors, poets, thinkers, writers and all those brilliant men which European communities possessed. Therefore the fundamental proposition that there was a great difference between them disappeared; and what was to be done if there was no difference? It seemed to him the insularity of the Englishman was very true, but in India they did not know the Englishman as an Englishman. It seemed to him that the position adopted by the Europeans in the East was similar in all respects—namely, they started with the assumption that the protection of Asiatics was their privilege, and having started on that sacred mission he was not surprised that they should suggest to the Indian that they should change all those things which made up their lives, their civilization and their history before they could look forward to independence. Credit had been paid by the Lecturer to the Hindus in regard to their being able to see through things, and the soul of things had been found out undoubtedly in the maxim that self-government was better than any Government under the sun. It was true, as had been pointed out by the Chairman, that when Indians associated with others, and when they met as equals, there was bound to be respect for one another. On the other hand, he had mixed with Indian officials in high positions—he said it most honestly and sincerely—and he knew that they did feel a difference; and it was not surprising therefore, that others lower down felt that difference also. It was a fundamental conception that they must have equality in the Empire, and then only would those distinctions disappear.

He wished with all his heart that the spirit which dominated the paper would dominate them all, but they could not ignore the fundamental facts of human history.

(The vote of thanks was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.)

Mr. **ABBAS ALI BAIG**, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman, said the Association was warmly to be congratulated on its success in persuading the Earl of Ronaldshay to take the chair. They had had a most eloquent speech from their Chairman. He ventured to say that Lord Ronaldshay's speech would dispel some at least of the misconceptions and misunderstandings which had gathered round a long string of quotations from his writings and speeches which the Bengal press had been publishing and on which

all sorts of conjectures and inferences were based. It could be taken that Lord Ronaldshay's rule in Bengal would begin with a clean slate and with an open and sympathetic mind, and even with some prepossessions in favour of India. Bengal was a most difficult province to govern, its teeming millions had recently made long strides in education and political thought which had been manifested in various ways. The War had immensely changed the outlook of the people of India as well as the people of Great Britain, and they now realized, as they never realized before, how closely their fortunes were intertwined, and how essential it was to develop the vast latent strength and resources of India, not only for the good of the people of India, but also for the security of the whole Empire. Bengal offered great opportunities to British administrators, who for the next five years would be under Lord Ronaldshay's leadership, of making the province a source of real strength, rather than of weakness and possible danger. The Chairman referred more than once to the obstacles which existed in India in understanding the inner working of the mind of the Indian, and the Lecturer had referred to the ancient sage, Rama Krishna, who possessed the rare gift of seeing and understanding things from his neighbour's angle of vision. He wondered whether Sir John D. Rees had ever made an effort to do that. In modern times Gordon, for example, like Rama Krishna, knew how to get into the skin, as it were, of his neighbour, and to understand and appreciate his feelings. If Englishmen and Indians made a serious effort to acquire that capacity the gulf which divided their activities would soon be bridged, rendering the Empire unassailable from outside and incapable of disruption from within. He wished Lord Ronaldshay every success in his rule in Bengal. (Hear, hear.)

(On being seconded, the vote of thanks was put to the meeting and carried with acclamation.)

The LECTURER, in reply, said: Ladies and gentlemen, I have to thank you very much indeed for being such an attentive and responsive audience, and also to thank the Chairman very warmly for coming here to preside, and to thank all the speakers for the very kind words which have been spoken in support of some of the things I have had to say. I was very much surprised, and at the same time very glad, to see that an audience could be found who would listen to remarks about the Brotherhood of Religions in London. I should like to tell you a little story. There was once a man whose name was Little, and he had a little wife and a large family, and a little income. One day someone said to him: "I should like to know how it is that you, Mr Little, and your little wife and your large family live on your little income?" He replied, "The fact is 'Every little helps.'" Now England is Mr Little and Ireland is his little wife and India and the Colonies are their large family. How does Mr Little get along? He gets along because "Every Little helps." Therefore every "Little" ought to be represented at the family con-

claves. That is why we are all glad to hear India and the Colonies are to be represented on the War Council.

In conclusion, may I tender to Bengal and her future Governor my warmest good wishes. Since we of the Aryan race are brothers, and on the banks of Father Thames and Mother Ganges we still use words coming from the same root, should not the magic word "*Brotherhood*" be the mainspring of the government of India.

The CHAIRMAN then suitably replied and the proceedings terminated.

SERBIA OR BULGARIA?

BY VLADISLAV R. SAVITCH

Late Head of the Royal Serbian Press Bureau at Belgrade.

THE future solution of Balkan questions offers to the British statesman a fine opportunity for insight and wisdom, as upon it will depend the peace in the Balkans and the security of the British position in the Mediterranean. After the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, the durable settlement in that part will depend mainly upon the mutual position and relative strength of Serbia and Bulgaria, as it depended in the centuries preceding the arrival of the Turks.

Great Britain's paramount interest in the Balkans is undoubtedly the realization of the principle, "The Balkans for the Balkan nations, a durable peace, and protection from conquest by any Great Power."

How can it be achieved? Russia and Austria, having been inspired by other sentiments, strove in the past to maintain the equilibrium of forces, a policy which offered wide scope for the mutual jealousies of the Balkan peoples, thus enfeebling their strength and preparing the road for the foreign conqueror. Great Britain, on the contrary, seems to have favoured the creation of a strong State, able to exercise an effective hegemony and offer strong resistance to any scheme for the foreign conquest of the Balkans. Her choice at that time, it appears, fell upon Bulgaria.

How did that come about? In the days of the Congress of Berlin the knowledge of the Balkans and its nations was very imperfect in this country, and is only slightly improved with the general public in spite of many events and facts glaringly contradicting the views about the Balkans held before the present war. The British sympathies for Bulgaria can be easily accounted for in two ways. They date and were created by the stirring letters of "the Grand Old Man" appealing on behalf of the Bulgarians against the atrocities perpetrated in 1875 by the Turks in Eastern Bulgaria. Those letters found a most responsive echo in this country, as no appeal to the generosity and humanity of the English people has ever been in vain. What would "the Grand Old Man" and his generation have said to-day had they seen, as we do, the next generation of the free Bulgarians fighting side by side with the same barbarian Turks against the liberties of Europe?

In those days the German danger was, unfortunately, not fully realized in this country, and Austria-Hungary was considered almost as a friend and possible ally. In accordance with these views Austrian penetration into the Balkans was not opposed, and Serbia's struggle for freedom and the unity of her race was overlooked or neglected.

But recent events in the Balkans opened new horizons and demanded a revision of the former view. The British public and British statesmen have now learned that the German danger is real, and the Russian an imaginary one. They know now that Serbia proved the real bulwark against the tide of German militarism. Moreover, they have been convinced that the Serbian race is the strong element in the future building of European peace and democracy, and, moreover, that it is Serbia and her nation which can far more successfully fulfil the function of a strong barrier against the conquest of the Balkans by any Great Power. They know now that peace in South-Eastern Europe cannot be secured without a satisfactory solution of the Southern Slav question on the basis of ethnographic unity and complete independence. The importance of this question is to day recognized even by Austria-Hungary, who, after having provoked a bloody world crisis in order to crush Serbia, feels compelled to try to satisfy the national feeling of the Southern Slavs. After having created such a terrible situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and other Southern Slav countries, she seeks to reconcile their population and to forestall the Allies by the creation of a united Southern Slav State. Of course, it is only a bureaucratic scheme of Vienna courtiers, who can never learn that the world can no longer be ruled by the petty intrigues of cunning wirepullers.

In the interests of peace and democracy the principle of an artificial equilibrium in the Balkans must be abandoned, and give place to a plan for the creation of a really strong national State.

The unity of Serbia and Bulgaria would be an ideal solution. But this ideal, which could have been achieved in 1878, is impossible to realize now. Notwithstanding their common origin and the small difference in their language and civilization, the Serbian and Bulgarian nations have trodden diverse political ways, and have also differentiated greatly in psychology, ideals, and character. Accordingly, we must turn to the scheme of creating a strong Serbia or Bulgaria. Let us dispassionately consider the possibilities of such a combination.

After her cynical duplicity and the excesses committed by her troops in Macedonia and the Dobrudja, as well as her complicity in the latest Armenian horrors committed by her allies, the Turks, we can be sure that Bulgaria can command no sympathy amongst any sound-minded people in this country. Serbia, on the contrary, by her gallant fight, by her martyrdom, by her devotion to the cause of liberty and democracy, by the idealistic character of her aspirations, has well merited, and indeed enjoys, the warm sympathies of the whole consensus of British opinion. This appeal to sentiment and justice will certainly count in the final solution, but for the moment let us put them into the background.

Let us inquire what, independently of any sentimental reason, they can offer for the realization of a strong State in the Balkans. First, let us consider the case of Bulgaria. As a consequence of the victory of the Allies, Bulgaria can be treated in three different ways. She can be compensated by the territories in Serbian Macedonia, Greek Thrace, and Rumanian Dobrudja, or be left with her pre-war frontiers, or diminished in size and power by compensating Serbia and Rumania. The first solution is morally impossible. It would mean, in a mere access of folly, to sacrifice friends and allies to benefit an unscrupulous enemy. A proposal in that direction would constitute the greatest attack upon the honour of all the Allies, Bulgaria's ingratitude and treachery to Russia would go unpunished, the cause of civilization would be for ever betrayed. Therefore, such a combination could be dismissed as offensive to common sense and to every moral conception.

Let us, for a moment, consider what would be its practical consequences. Bulgaria before 1912 had a population of 4,500,000. In 1913 it was increased by some 750,000. Thus, before the present war her population was 5,250,000. Should she obtain the territory ceded to Rumania in 1913, she could add 250,000 more. In acquiring all the territories in Serbian Macedonia disputed in 1913, she would get one million more, and by annexing the Greek districts of Seres, Cavalla, and Drama she could add another half a million. Thus constituted against every moral law, Bulgaria would have 7,000,000 inhabitants, whereas Serbia, with Montenegro and other Serbian provinces in Austria-Hungary, would have a population of 12,000,000. It is evident that such a combination with Bulgaria could neither stand nor achieve any practical purpose, besides being morally monstrous.

The second solution: to leave Bulgaria in her pre-war frontiers could satisfy neither Serbia nor Rumania. Moreover, such a solution would allow Bulgaria, with her power unimpaired, to jump at the next opportunity for doing evil. Serbia's main artery, the access to Salonica through the valleys of the Morava and the Vardar, would remain exposed to the Bulgarian danger, so that Serbia could neither peacefully enjoy her position nor freely develop her economic resources. The conditions in the Balkans would then remain unsettled, and subject to a fresh revision. Therefore, this solution also should be dismissed as both impracticable and unjust, since it does not give any compensation to Serbia for being molested by Bulgaria, nor does it satisfy the demands of elementary justice, which dictate the punishment of Bulgaria for her attitude in the present world struggle.

The third solution—viz., the compensation of Serbia at the expense of Bulgaria—offers to Europe many advantages. Before the war, Serbia had a population of 5,000,000. Her race in Austria-Hungary numbers 8,000,000 more. If constituted into one State, future Serbia will number about 13,000,000, and with the help of the Western democracies could quite successfully resist any fresh attempt for the conquest of the Balkans. But this mission of Serbia to be a bulwark of peace could be strengthened by adding to Serbia those territories in what is now Bulgaria, which are

In those days the German danger was, unfortunately, not fully realized in this country, and Austria Hungary was considered almost as a friend and possible ally. In accordance with these views Austrian penetration into the Balkans was not opposed, and Serbia's struggle for freedom and the unity of her race was overlooked or neglected.

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inhabited by a population even now neither Serbian nor Bulgarian in character.

Every student of Balkan history knows that Slav tribes, all of whom spoke one language and had the same standards of life, settled in the Balkans in the sixth century of our era. But the Mongolian tribe of the Volgars, penetrating over the Danube at the end of the seventh century, conquered the Slav tribes, which lived between the Isker, the Danube, the Black Sea, and the Rhodope Mountains, and upon this territory, by the mixture of the Mongols with the Slavs, was created a new Bulgarian nation. Only later on, after the amalgamation of the Slavs with the Mongols was consummated, the Bulgarians crossed the Isker and the Rhodope, and for a certain time asserted their dominion over the Slavs who inhabited Macedonia or the territories between the Isker and the present Serbo-Bulgarian frontier. The Slavs of these territories form an intermediary link between the Serbs and the Bulgars, having some characteristics in common with both of them. Thus, until now the Bulgars never called the Slavs that lived to the west of the Isker "Bulgars," but the "Shops," and their language the "Shopski" language, which is more akin to the Serbian than to the Bulgarian tongue. These "Shops," having no Mongolian blood in them, as is proved by their fair Slav type, manifested, until the Congress of Berlin, Serbian sympathies, and expressed their desire to be united with the Serbs.

Justice as well as expediency, which in this case do not diverge from each other by a hair's-breadth, would be best served by compensating Serbia with the territories to the west of the River Isker and the Rhodope Mountains. Thus Serbia would be enabled to fulfil her mission of being a bulwark for peace in the Balkans. Bulgaria would be deprived of her powers for doing evil, be purged from German influences, and might be sooner cured from her insane Teutonic ambitions, and eventually find rest and prosperity in a union with the Serbs. Of course, this can only be achieved later on, as the Serbs, still bleeding from the wounds inflicted upon themselves by Bulgaria's foul action, will not, for a long time, be in a mood to entertain any proposal for reconciliation with the Bulgars. We say to-day: "Rather Hell than Paradise shared with the Bulgars." When the Bulgarian nation has thrown off her present masters for ever, the Serbs will not persist in their present mood, and an admission of the Bulgars in the Southern Slav union may then be expected.

A NATIONAL CALAMITY

BY OLGA NOVIKOFF

In an old book—old and old-fashioned, hardly ever read now—I found a bookmark which rather interested me: two lines written on it looked large rather than bold, as if they had been scribbled by someone who already doubted the success of his appeal. It made me nervously think of many things, inclusive my far-off country. . . . Here are the two lines:

"Love me with all my faults.
Had I none—everybody would love me."

But can the latter condition ever be obtained? Can anybody rid himself of every fault? Big countries, like single humble individuals, cannot be faultless. Can you avoid being devoted to your country? Everybody knows that devotion is in our very nature.

Montaigne was right when he explained love by saying simply: "*Je l'aime—parceque c'est-toi, parceque—c'est moi*." There is no reason, in fact, for tracing the very origin of our feelings. Patriotism, perhaps, belongs to that category, and you love your country not always "because," but very often *in spite of many things*. This verbose introduction was, perhaps, necessary in order to explain the cause of the following remarks. I will hasten to pass from generalities to concrete facts.

LORD NAPIER, British Ambassador at Petrograd, once said to me that he was always anxious to know ladies' opinions about everything, including politics.

"I do not think you are quite sincere," replied I, frankly. "Women are hardly ever behind the scenes; they are carried away by what they read in the papers." (Now, when I was staying at the Russian Embassy with my brother-in-law in Vienna (he was then the Russian Ambassador), I used to read to him the "*expeditions diplomatiques*," which are sent weekly by our Foreign Office to all their Representatives abroad. I was often amazed to see the difference between authentic facts and newspaper versions.) "They represent, indeed, the ignorant majority. I much

prefer the well-informed, intelligent minority. Remember what Socrates said when he was quizzed for having only one listener to his oration. 'You are right,' replied Socrates—'but that only man was Plato.'

"Yet you forget," retorted Lord Napier, "the world is governed by majorities. Men like Plato are scarce, and more appreciated after their death—seldom in their lifetime."

"Nevertheless," insisted I, "take one case amongst many: Look at the tendency of public opinion to find fault with everything that is done by the Government and its representatives. It is a real craving amongst our contemporary dilettante judges," I concluded.

"You have to know and counteract everything which brings trouble and mischief," said the Ambassador.

Here our dialogue was, unfortunately, interrupted by some unexpected visitors.

How vividly that conversation came back to my memory, when I was reading Mr. Archer's remarkable article in the *Westminster Gazette* a few days ago, and, on the very same day, an equally remarkable leader on that burning subject in our *patriotic* Petrograd paper, the *Kolokol* (the *Bell*).

Does not the almost simultaneous appearance of these protesting articles indicate already a kind of moral link in our efforts to counteract, from our respective points of view, the harm which is being sometimes done to both our countries?

Is this not also a kind of moral entente? But here are a few remarks in support of my argument.

There is a certain curious trait of character that has been noticeable among all classes of Russian society during the last years, says the *Kolokol*, from which I take several passages and facts. This very regrettable feature manifests itself in a general discontent with anything done by any official. I am not the only one of that opinion. Never yet have our "Intelligentsia" and our higher social circles

been so carried away by this style of Nihilistic or negative criticism as at present. This pernicious style has forced its way into our Parliament, holds sway amidst the weariness and discouragement of the most moderate elements, and reigns in the very heart of those political parties that formerly struggled against it with all their strength. The defences of wholesome conservatism, indeed, have been broken through, its leaders rendered nervous and unstable; and this once strong and united party has fallen to pieces, ruined by a tendency that is typical not of our national character, but rather of the complete nervous collapse that is at this moment humiliating our national dignity.

This new phase is not the Nihilism of the sixties and eighties, against which our Slavophiles, like Aksakoff and Samarin, struggled with such insistence and success. It is not content with a limited activity among the narrow and unsteady minds of the "Intelligentsia"—but it holds in its clutches our wider social and bureaucratic circles, thus proving their weakness and unreliability, and it determines the mutual relations between our society and our Government, and between our Government and bureaucracy. Breaking in upon our social life, it has taken advantage of its weariness and discord. Unlike the Nihilism of the sixties and eighties, with its leaders and its prophets, this tendency to-day poisons our social existence by an utter and futile aimlessness, a lack of programme or system or calculation in any of its impulses or strivings.

We seem nowadays to be united by nothing so much as an inexorable criticism of each other—a criticism founded on no sort of serious examination of facts. As Mr. Archer also hints, we only see each other's faults, shut our eyes to everything good and useful that is done in our midst, and do our utmost to publish our mistakes before all the world, not that they may be righted, but only that they may be held up to derision. Is it not very like the American voter who, when asked to which party he belonged, frankly declared that he was always in opposition to every Govern-

ment? Here is our national calamity, that saps our strength and our energy.

Nihilism has brought us the whole fulness of its false doctrine and its prophetic pretensions, founded on the negation of everything existing, and on the constant assertion as facts of unconfirmed and unexamined rumours. It has bred in us a love of sensation, it has banefully attracted all morbid and neurotic characters, and is now proclaiming in loud tones that we have no talents and no strong men, and it is striving by means of this unpardonable falsehood to belittle both Russia and her reputation. There can be no greater or more mischievous injustice than this.

Since when have we suddenly no strong men? Have we no organizers as enlightened by experience and knowledge and energy as any of our Allies?

We have them indeed in plenty; but, alas! one after the other, as he steps into the front ranks, he becomes a target for the poisonous shafts of abuse and mistrust. And so our great men, suffocated by these noxious gases, retreat in turn from the scene, leaving their work unfinished. Was Othello not right in his indignation: "What! in time of war? It is monstrous, monstrous, monstrous!"

Their places are taken by others and still others; and if among them now and then chance places one unfitted for his high calling, his mistakes and shortcomings are immediately attributed to all the others, with the intention of discrediting every authority and sowing mistrust towards them among the public.

Formerly, when such biassed criticism emanated only from the extreme left of our Press and our Government, public opinion looked upon it as upon the voice of a band of embittered, humiliated failures infuriated by the consciousness of their own unimportance. Later on, when this same voice thundered across the ranks of the Progressive block, the patient public interpreted it as a struggle for power. Now, however, that it has raised its cry even among representatives of the extreme right, our Russia

hears in it no echo of her own soul, for the soul of Russia creates, constructs, unites, dreams of unity, of great aspiration, of high ideals, and does not deserve that a blaspheming Nihilism should dare to raise its head and desecrate her sanctuary.

This uninvited guest, with its train of destruction, humiliation, and national abuse, has the temerity to speak in Russia's name, and to leave its impress even on the utterances of our well-known men. It has entangled some formerly staunch party leaders in the maze of foggy rumour, and has transformed some of our so-called politicians into street hawkers.

A remark, which I particularly like, is ascribed to Napoleon: his opinion about our soldiers. Himself a great warrior, he declared that: "It is not enough to kill a Russian soldier; a Russian soldier will never desert his post until he is not only killed, but actually pulled down to the ground."

In a certain sense, have we not all to cling to our posts, even when others think that we are killed and quite dead?

Life has often been compared to a battle, and every mortal to a combatant in that battle. The crying necessity of the moment is for fighters like the Russian soldiers, as described by the French Emperor, patriots, persevering and self-sacrificing to the last second of their lives.

One would think that in time of war, with the appearance of the enemy, there would arise simultaneously a series of national and patriotic duties. There should certainly follow great privations, self-oblivious sacrifices, the banishment of all personal interests. The proverb runs: "Look after the pennies, and the pounds will look after themselves." A very good proverb in time of peace; but in time of war we must not look after our pennies, even if they take the shape of pounds, when we give them for our country. Rather let us recall the Roman's advice: "De minimis non curat prætor."

But there is one patriotic duty in particular which is

unfortunately honoured in the breach as well as in the observance—namely, the abolition of political bickerings.

I observe in England a wise regulation introduced into all the establishments which are declared to be under Government. There nobody is permitted to leave his post on his own good pleasure. In time of war many things obtain entirely new values. Can there be anything more miserable than these personal interests when there is an ocean of high duties before us?

Should not the same principle of self-devotion manifest itself in every position, high or low? Yet is it not amazing to see how these elementary duties are sometimes neglected?

Day after day, the readers of our most influential Russian newspapers are confronted with articles and suggestions and insinuations.

One would think, that since a newspaper is not a secret communication, but a printed, public, black and white statement of its own sympathies and tendencies, it would be easier correctly to estimate these tendencies by the evidence of articles published in the paper in question, than by premature problematical conjectures. It is only fair to add, however, that one of the newspapers shows the praiseworthy example of preferring to ask the censorship to read all their publications beforehand. That censorship is not always immaculate is no doubt true, and I was convinced of that from my own experience. When I published a book in defence of Russia, which, thanks to Mr. Gladstone and numerous other reviewers, met with tremendous success, on sending it to Russia I learned, to my amazement, that it was prohibited by the Censors because it contained a long chapter on the Zemsky Sobor: meetings of representatives summoned by the Government, which often made themselves admirably useful to Russia. Thus, in the year 1612 it was thanks to these assemblies' voice that a defensive war was declared against Poland and carried through victoriously. Many amongst them had to pay £300 for mistakes which have been made, perhaps inadvertently,

in their columns. These fines occurred since the declaration of the freedom of the Press.

Our great novelist, Count Leon Tolstoy, once made a joke at my expense. "I tell you what you should always wear on your belt," he said—"a little rapier; it will be quite in harmony with your nature."

"Oh no!" I protested, "weapons and ideas—which are also weapons in a certain sense—ought not to be exhibited as sign-boards. They become blunt from contact with the air." I might have added: "Besides, it is bad diplomacy to proclaim one's views on the housetops, but I very seldom thought of diplomacy in my youthful days."

But Nihilism requires all this noise—and so our agitators must continue to be futile and blind, and not to be particular about the means they employ to attain their ends.

Nihilism indeed does not even limit itself to abusing "the powers that be"—it attacks representative people in all spheres: in society, in trade, in finance, in agriculture. For the definite mistake of any one special person, it hisses poisonously against entire social circles, and makes an outcry on unfounded charges of bribery, corruption and all possible crimes. It criticizes everything and everybody, and drags its libellous and uninvestigated accusations alike through the peasants' cottage, the nobleman's castles, the Government office.

Such is my humble diagnosis of contemporary tendencies—this diagnosis is suggested by no party feeling nor political interest, but is dictated solely by conscience and love for the interests of Russia.

One more word. The question arises in my mind: Is all this storm of ruinous criticism in our midst really typical of our national mentality and moral outlook? No! and again no!

This is not Russian at all. And well-informed people—thank God we still possess a few of these—ascribe that degenerating tendency to German influence in Russia.

In conclusion, I would like briefly to say that the *West-*

minster Gazette has rendered a service to the Allies in publishing Mr. Archer's article.

What a good New Year's gift that article was to all the thinking and reading public!

An eminent English judge once remarked: "The truth will out even in an affidavit"; but, unfortunately, it takes time for truth to become transformed into a truism and enlighten everybody. Nor does this always happen.

There is but this remedy to the above disease—fortunately there is a remedy—unswerving devotion to your country and Truth.

"Time is onward slowly pressing,
Years are telling my decline,
Yet I cling with fond caressing
To the moments that are mine.

"While I tread with footsteps firmer
Ever near and nearer Truth,
Often lost amidst the murmur
And the restless dreams of youth."

THE DETHRONED GERMAN DESPOTISM IN MUSIC

THE present war has opened the eyes of the world to many important facts; one of these, which is most welcome to all lovers of music, is that the German attempt to conquer sound, if legitimate in the past, has become quite illegitimate now, when her composers are chiefly musical pigmies. Professor Wassily Safonoff has rendered a signal service in distinguishing what is really great and what is not. He may therefore be described as one of the principal pioneers in this new musical crusade.

This Russian professor occupies a high position as a pianist, as an orchestral conductor, and as a musical pedagogue, not only in Russia and England, but also in America, and, in fact, everywhere. German influence in music presents the same features as it has done in every other art: domineering absorption in every direction. Nowadays, Germany cannot occupy the position she had some thirty years ago—not only in politics, but also in art. At present the tendency is more and more to study all rising contemporary talents, and to foresee their future grandeur. It is evident that the arrogant German attitude even in music is entirely unjustified.

But to return especially to Professor Safonoff and the services he is now rendering. He has created a new formula for achieving musical excellence and even perfection in piano-playing ("New Formula for the Piano

Teacher and Piano Student"; London: J. and W. Chester, 3s. net).

Czerny, Clementi, and Kramer were in former years enthusiastically recognized as leading authorities for that attainment. Mr. Safonoff's system of instruction and cultivation of music is going to replace the past century's German leaders in these branches, who, as in the case of so many other arts and crafts of German origin, will now occupy a lower place.

The chief aim in Mr. Safonoff's system of instruction is to give the pupil the possibility of attaining the same result of perfection by a shorter cut—namely, by economizing the student's exercising time. This attainment is based on considering chiefly the power of the thumb as the high principle for forming, building, and directing a musical technique to advantage.

Thus Professor Safonoff's coming edition of "Piano Practice" is comparatively small, containing twenty pages of moderate formulæ, which consequently can be combined into various aspects.

The *thumb* plays the prominent part in his system for the practice of scales, arpeggios, etc. The masters of the past also knew this, but they left unnoticed the possible variations which give a complete independence of action to the other fingers. Also a novel introduction in this new system is the possibility of practising these exercises without striking a sound on a dumb piano. Both pedagogues and the pupils will soon find out the utility of Professor Safonoff's formula. When this new system is successfully mastered there is no difficulty in performing exercises with double notes (tierces and sextas).

At first this exercise seems tedious and trying, but in the end the pupil attains the required velocity and independence of the fingers, and can correct and strengthen whatever faults have been contracted under other systems.

It is obvious that this system takes less time than the

usual musical exercises, and at the same time has the effect of increasing the intellectual attention.

Of special interest and importance are the observations on rhythm, and there is abundance of good advice in this direction. It is to be expected that Professor Safonoff's work will command great attention; the more so as the London publisher, Mr. Chester, has had it translated into other languages, including Russian; the original being written in English.

"*Ars una species mille*," as Mr. Safonoff remarks; his method is not difficult, and if taken up rightly will correct any former defects in finger practice.

Thus with Mr. Safonoff's new innovation the German systems will be left behind, and their former despotism will be dethroned.

When a country—as also a private individual—loses every ideal of morality, of justice or charity, a general collapse manifests itself in every direction—in politics, in literature, in arts, in everything. Even scientific discoveries assume a hideous form which only bring misery and provoke universal maledictions, such as Zeppelins, submarines, and liquid fire, to mention only a few at random. This moral collapse may be easily traced to Germany's so-called triumphs of 1871. Volumes could be written on this theme. "*Qui mal embrasse, mal étreint*." But to-day I will not desert our great Professor Safonoff's powerful thumb and indicate his Russian work in musical progress. It certainly deserves study and gratitude.

OLGA NOVIKOFF, *née* KIRÉEFF.

ARYAN ORIGIN OF THE WORLD'S CIVILIZATION

PRELIMINARY NOTICE

BY L. A. WADDELL

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THE main research which I have pursued continuously throughout the greater part of my life, and to which I have devoted my entire time during the past ten years—for the unknown Origin of our Aryan ancestors and of their Civilization under which we now live—has resulted in discoveries which revolutionize the established views universally held by historians, classic scholars, theologians, sociologists and anthropologists upon the origin of man's civilization, the rise and progress of the great races in both East and West (including the British), and upon the origins of the great religions of the world. The details with full proofs are shortly to be published in book-form; but meanwhile I am led to understand that readers may be interested to learn something of the nature and vast scope of these discoveries in reconstructing the lost history of mankind, and of the Aryans in particular. I therefore give here the titles of some of the chief chapters, with many of the sectional headings in detail.

Radical defects are observed in the established European theories of the age and source of Indo-Aryan civilization.—No evidence whatever of any civilization in India before the seventh century B.C. The present exaggerated estimate of the age of Indian civilization rests merely upon arbitrary assumptions of Sanskrit scholars which are now shown to be baseless. Sans-

krit was not evolved, even in its "Vedic" form, until after 200 B.C.

Origin of the so-called "Indian" civilization discovered to be in Asia Minor and Babylonia.—Religious and mythological clues lead from India to Syria and Babylonia. Ancient India was mapped out with names after those of Asia Minor, in its provinces, cities, river and mountain names. Inhabitants of Asia Minor in the pre-Greek period (before 700 B.C.) were the "Khatti" or "Hittites," who disappear from Asia Minor in the seventh century B.C., coincident with the appearance of civilization in India under the "Khattiya."

A Hittite-Mede invasion of India in *circa* 680-710 B.C. discovered to be the source of the first civilization of India and of the so-called Iranian separation.—The first Aryan tribes who invaded India were the "Khattiya" or "Khattri" or "Kshattra" of the Kuru and Panchala tribes. Identity of the Hittites or Khatti of Syria with the Aryan Khattiya or Kshattra of the Kuru (or "Syria") and the Panchala (or Phœnician) tribes of the first Aryan invasion of India. The name Kuru is the original of "Syria," St. George, Giaour, Georgia, and Cyrus (Greek *Kyros*), and Kurd. The name Panchala is the original of "Phœnicia," disclosing the Aryan and non-Semitic race-affinity of the Phœnicians. The last king of the Hittites, "Wisidiri" or "Pisiris" of Carchemish, 738-717 B.C., is found to be Vichitra of the Indian lists, and father of the first Aryan king of India. Identity of the last Hittite kings of Kurdistan with the later Kuru kings of the Indian lists. Barrekub, the Hittite king of 730 B.C., is the Vedic king Balhika, and presumably the founder of Balochistan and Kandahar, and father-in-law of the first Aryan king of India. Panamu, the Hittite king of Hattina in Syria in 738-735 B.C., is "Pandu king of Hastina"

of the Indian lists, and father of the Pandus. Tarkhu(-nazi), the Hittite prince of 717-712 B.C., is "Daiukka" or Dharta or Dhrita, leader of the Hittite exodus and the first Aryan king of India. His father Vichitra is Visht'aspa, the unidentified king of Media, who patronized Zoroaster. The Medes are the "Mitanni" with a vastly remote origin before 1400 B.C.; the "Hyrcanian" Medes are "Srinjaya" of Indian lists. New-found fixed date for Zoroaster and "Iranian Separation" at *circa* 711-700 B.C.

Line of the Hittite-Mede exodus to India from Syria (Kuru) was through Balochistan—discovering the Dravidians in Egypt and Mesopotamia before 5000 B.C. Indian aboriginal Dravidian trade-mart in S. Balochistan *circa* 750-700 B.C., established by the Phœnicians under King Dhrita's ancestors. Phœnician early maritime trade revealed with India *circa* 750 (and ? 2600 B.C.) in the pre-Aryan period of India. Semi-Dravidian or Indian origin of Vyasa, the priest-minister of the Hittite king of Dhrita, also the compiler of the Rig Veda, and now discovered to be the first of the Indian Brahmans on the Ganges. Pre-Aryan home of the Brahman Vyasa's "grandsons," the five Pandus, and of the Dravidian merchants of Balochistan. located in Pandya on the S.E. coast of India. Site of the Phœnician port of Balochistan in the pre-Aryan period of India fixed at Patala at the mouth of the Indus. Capture of this Phœnician port on the Indus by the Dravidian Brahmans *circa* 750 as the leading episode of Buddha's greatest and last "previous" birth, Vessantara, who is identified with Vichitra the Hittite king (738-717 B.C.). Vast extent of the Hittite-Mede empire under Vichitra and his father, from Mediterranean to Caspian Sea and to Indus. Discovery of his father Santanu or Sivi as Sardur II. of Armenia, 750-735 B.C. The kings of Van discovered to be the Aryan ancestors of

Vichitra (and Dhrita), the Hittite-Mede emperor. The Van or Biani, subject-people of Armenia of eighth and ninth centuries B.C., discovered to be Dravidian "Pani" and the pre-Akkadian aborigines of North Mesopotamia, and are Dravidian in type. Dravidian origin of the name Khaldi for the people of Van and the source of the name "Chaldea" in the deified Tigris or "Khal" river of the Chaldees. Identity of the Dravido-Armenian goddess "Khaldi" with the primeval Mother-goddess of the Syrians, also the triad gods of Van with the Hittite, Syrian, and Hindu trinity and the origin of the Christian trinity. Pre-Sumerian aborigines of Mesopotamia or Chaldea as Dravidians *circa* 5000 B.C. Dravidians were the pre-historic aborigines of Egypt *circa* 5000 B.C. A main factor leading to the "Aryan" invasion of India was the pre-existing suzerainty by the Hittite-Medes over the western Dravidians and some intermarriage probably with their South-Indian kindred.

First Aryan invasion of India and the beginning of civilization in India was the Hittite-Mede exodus through Balochistan to the Ganges *circa* 680 B.C. and the commencement of the "Vedic" period of India.—Absence of civilization in India before *circa* 680 B.C. and quality of civilization then introduced. The Aryan "Invasion" was not a military achievement. Point of crossing the Indus was at Patala. Line of migration to the new capital on Ganges near modern Delhi. Ethnic evidence for this line of migration is supplied by the location of the Indian tribes of Kurus, Khattri or Kshattria, and Jats (*i.e.*, Khatti or Hittites) and Panchalas (or Phœnicians). New date for the beginning of the Indian Vedic period at about 680 B.C.

First Aryan and Vedic king of India is Dharta or Dhrita, *circa* 680 B.C. He was son of the last Hittite king of Carchemish, and his capital, the first Aryan city in

circa 100,000 to 50,000 B.C. The pre-Adamite Dramid cow-keepers of the Taurus were called "Basu" about 50,000 B.C. (?). This designation for matriarchic cow-herds is found also in Egyptian, Sumerian and Hittite with identical meaning, sound and symbol.

Rise of the Mother-cult of Ida (Maia or Mary), discovering the "Galli" priestesses of Ida in Taurus-Armenia to be the Khaldis (or Chaldees) of Ur or Armenia, disclosing "the Crown of Lower Egypt" of Egyptologists to be the milk-pail of Mother Ida (or Cybele) of Asia Minor; the historic basis for the god Wodan or Budha or Hermes (Mercury).—The great matriarch of pre-Adamite man was Ila or Ida, the historic earthly prototype of the goddess Ida or Cybele, Maya (Maia or Mary, Diana and Hathor-Isis). Geographical location of Ida's first matriarchate was on the Saras river in the Cilician Taurus, and it extended to Galatia (the land of the Gallis) or eunuch-priests of Ida (the Goala or Cowherds), and Khaldi or Chaldees. The watch-dog of the cave of mother Ida was the origin of the myth of Hermes, the Sarama of the Indian Vedas and epics, discovering the pre-Adamite origin of the Egyptian gods Bes and Tahuti and the Ganesh of the Indians, the Janus of the Romans and St. Januaris of Christians; and the naturalistic origin of the lyre of Apollo. The cat as an animal of Ida is called Phus-ati, the pre-Adamite original of the English "puss" and the Egyptian *bast*, showing the early pre-historic domestication of that animal. How the cow of Ida's cave became deified and identified with Ida, the nursing-mother; and how the Ida-cow became the earth-cow-goddess and latterly the horned moon queen, disclosing the cow as the origin of the first conception of a supreme god.

Hermaphrodite or Bisexual phase of Ida as Ila-Sudyumna or The Sodomite, is discovered to be El Shadday the god of Abraham and the original of the Jewish Satan,

disclosing the racial origin of the Israelites from the Yezidi or "Devil-worshippers" of Armenian Ur of the Chaldees.—Ida or Ila, the mistress of Hermes, was with the latter the origin of the Herm-aphrodite myth. Ida, the bisexual matriarch surnamed Sudyumna, was the original of the Sodomite god, with whom Abraham is associated in Genesis. Abraham's god is not Jehovah, but Ila-Sudyumna. The golden calf of Aaron in the Ida cult. Bloody Jewish sacrifice of cattle as in the cult of Ila-Sudyumna of the Khaldis or Chaldees. Circumcision as a Sodomite rite of Ida's eunuch initiation. The ark of the tabernacle in the Hittite Ida cult. Culmination of the matriarchy in moral degeneracy and vice, the world—"wickedness" of Genesis.

- II. Early Adamite or Proto-Aryan or Kshati (Hittite) Period: Rise of Fatherhood and the higher civilization—from about 5000 B.C. to 4800 B.C. Adam was an historic king and the original of Prometheus, and overthrew the Matriarchy with its female god, the Serpent-cow Ida, "El Shadday" or Satan, and first established fatherhood and civilized rule about 5000 B.C. Adam's noble character is falsified by the matriarchal Jews in the Bible. Inscriptional Akkadian references to "King Adam" in Armenia-Cappadocia as long anterior to *circa* 3750 B.C. The date of Adam-Prometheus was about 5000 B.C. His name and titles, by Jewish and other matriarchic perversion of the etymologies, have provided the fable of Adam's curse and fall. Buddha as an unregenerate matriarchist and anti-Adamite, and retailer of the curse on Adam. Adam's successful revolt against matriarchy is tacitly admitted in Genesis by his institution of marriage with subjection of woman. Adam was the Greek hero Prometheus, the champion of man against the "unjust god" (properly goddess) of his time, also

under his different epithets the original of the Egyptian P-tah (the *Pater* or "father" of the dead), the Babylonian Mitara and Nabu, and the Indian Purū-Ravas, Prithu, Pushan, Mitta, Mitra and Mrityu of the epics, Vedas and Buddhism.

Origin of Adam-Prometheus: He was a Caucasian goat-herd "chief" (or Ikshv) of the Aja or Uz (Euxine) tribe of proto-Aryans, Northmen who invaded Ida's land of Armenia-Taurus-Cilicia about 5000 B.C. Pre-Adamite goat-herds were matriarchic, and the Dramid goat-herds of Armenia, the Pani, were the historical basis of Pan and his goat-footed satyrs and of the Kentaurs (Gandharva of the Indian texts). The goat was the totem of Adam's tribe, his own royal ensign and symbol of his male god, and origin of the scape-goat as Sin-Redeemer, disclosing the totem-origin of the goat-beard style of shaving the upper-lip as a badge of the Aryans. Adam's title of I-Kshvak as the He-goat with the goat's beard, as the title of early kings (the Heq of Egypt, Hyk-sos, Shaikh and "Chief"). Survivals of Adam's goat cult in early Britain. Personal appearance and character of Adam-Prometheus from the Indian, Hittite, Babylonian, and Egyptian tradition and monuments.

Eve or "Āsi-of-Ur" is found to be the "Euryph-Aessa, Asia, and Euryd-Icé" of the Greeks and the Issah of Genesis. Her historic origin, Truth about the Forbidden Fruit, Tree of Knowledge, Serpent-temptation and Garden of Eden; and a new site for the latter. Eve was a priestess of the Ida-cult in Ur of the Khaldis in Kurdistan. The rib-legend is a false etymology. Eve's premature death four years after marriage and resulting grief of Adam was the historic basis of the legend of Orpheus and Eurydice, and presumably a cause of Adam's discovery of a future life for the blessed dead. The alleged "fall of Man through Adam" is really a false matriarchic shibboleth

for the first great ascent of man. Garden of Eden and a new site for it in Armenia-Cilicia. Wreckage of Eden by volcanic eruption about 4960 B.C. Second Eden in Cilicia at Adana. Tree of Knowledge with its forbidden fruit in the Indian and Sumerian texts and Akkad monumental inscriptions. It grew in the garden of King Adam-Kubera "the Cultivator," king of the "Jacks" in Kuru-Armenia, and its relation to the nursery tale of Jack and the Bean-stalk. Indian versions of the temptation of woman by the forbidden fruit of Adam's tree, with the Serpent-aspect of the tempter and the curse on Adam.

King Adam-Prometheus' epoch-making discoveries and humanitarian reforms.—His discovery of improved fire-production, and of metals—bronze. Pre-Adamite natural fire was supposed to be derived from the Serpent of lightning, who is revealed as "Satan." Identity of the pre-Adamite fiery serpent of lightning in Egyptian, Hittite, Babylonian, Sumer, and Indian languages. Artificial fire produced by Adam-Prometheus by percussion. Shape of his meteorite iron-flint-striker. His discovery of Agriculture. He was a "Hittite," properly "*Khat*" or "*Xat*" in Sumerian, and founder of the Hittites or Aryans about 4960 B.C., disclosing the meaning of the name "Khati." His institution of fatherhood and marriage, marriage-contract and domestic family-life. Nakedness taboo ~~re~~ The Fall and the Golden Fleece. As builder of houses. As a father (P-tah, Pitr, Pater and "protector," in Sumerian *Pap(a)*, and *Ad-ad* or "*Adda*" = Dad). As the historical basis of St. George of the Dragon legend. Adam as a democrat "Mate"; Wise friend, Mitra, Metheus; and Law-giver Maat, Nabu and Nebo; and as king. King Adam as a historical road-maker in Taurus-Armenia before 3750 B.C. As a sailor and inventor or improver of sailing craft—he "breaks the wing of the south wind."

His institution of writing. He reveals the idea of God as a male and as a bountiful just father-in-heaven and original of the type of Jehovah. His followers the proto-Hittites and cult-associates were called "the sons of God." This sonship to God is the basis of the divine titles and right claimed by early Aryan kings and of the mythic divine ancestors prefixed to the dynastic lists of ancient Egypt, Babylonia, China, Greece, etc., and it is the Aryan origin of the Messiah. Adam the priest of the One All-god and of the sun-cult was the first of Phrygians (Bhrigu) or Fire-priests, disclosing the Adamite origin of the Phrygians and the Hittite origin of Greek civilization. Phrygia or Central Asia Minor was in the empire of Adam-Prometheus, with capital at Dana or Tyana, south of Pteria (Pratisthana); and this land was still the mainstay of Monotheism in the early Christian Church conflicts, because it was the home of Adam's Aryan monad cult. Polytheism and conjugal deities were later Neo-matriarchal compromises with Adam's monad cult. Adam-Prometheus in British and other Aryan heraldry. He was Aryan, and the first "Bearer of the white man's burden;" and the Aryan nature of the first higher civilization.

Adam's son Ayus or "Cain" to Nahush or "Noah," the first sea-king, and the Flood-legend—about 4930-4850 B.C. Disclosing the historical originals of Cain, Lamech, Enoch, Inachos, Æneas and the Khati (or Hittite) origin of Homer.—Cain-Abel legend is a later matriarchal perversion of the historic sons of Adam. Cain's rejected sacrifice and curse in the Indian texts. Cain and the first recorded death in the world. Proper names of Adam's sons were Ayus (Greek Ogyges) or Kukshi and Sat-Ayus (Jewish Seth) or Nimi. Cain and Seth's identity with Nimrod and Koko of Japanese. Ayus founded the Ayas city-port in Cicilia. He was also Lamech, the father of Noah,

and the ten antediluvian patriarchs of Genesis are otherwise mythical and reduplications. Enoch, or Enosh, is the river-king Inachos of the Greeks, the Indian Janak, or Nahusha, the Jewish "Noah." True name of the hero of the Jewish and Babylonian flood-legends is discovered to be "Anaushi" in Sumerian, the Nahusha of the Hittite-Indian texts. The flood-legend was a late myth of the cosmic water-god Nara, Nar, Nu (the Fish-man god), which neo-matriarchists attached to the Aryan king Nahusha, and details of the legend are largely the product of priestly etymologies of that hero's name. Extent of the sea-empire of Nahusha, Janak or Noah in the Levant, Aegean, and Greece with Mitylene as capital, and home of the Deukalion-Pyrrha flood-myth. The Trojan Æneas-Anchysos legend is a legend of Anenas-Nahusha and his father Ayus (or Hagiassa); their ancestries in the Indian and Homeric epics. Aegean civilization is of Aryan origin. Non-Grecian character of Homer, who, with his Achian heroes and the language of his original poems, is presumably Khati or Hittite. "Grecian" civilization was derived from Western Khati (or Hittites) about 700 B.C., and its speedy decadence was due to the passage onwards of the progressive Khati elements to Western Europe. Apotheosis of Nahusha-Inachos or Noah as Neptune.

Yayāti or Japheth, son of King Nahusha or Noah, the father of the "Gentiles,"—He was the elder son of Nahusha. The name Yayāti *re* Iapetos means "the irresistible slinger." Location and extent of Yayāti's empire, *circa* 4800 B.C. Yayāti or "Japheth" as historical original of Job, and Odusseus.

III. Middle Adamite, Aryan or Kshati Period.—Spread of Aryan or Kshati Civilization and formation of nations till final dispersion of the Kshati or Hittites. From about 4800 B.C. The sons of Yayāti (or Japheth) founded the five tribes of proto-Aryans called the

Janās, the Gens of the Romans, the Gentiles of the Jews, the Gentry or "Gentle-men." These five tribes included the whole Aryan race. Rise of the Aryan clans and tribes due to Hittite prolificness in leaders. The Aryan Kshati or "Gentile" tribes were not nations, but ruling races—the *Aristo-crats*, or "Gentry" over the nations of lower culture, whom they civilized. Separation of the first Five Tribes of Aryans, Kshati, Adamites or Gentiles about 4800 B.C., to form the great nations of the world. They were a military caste of invading "gentry" who imposed their culture upon the subject-people, the Dramids (=demos?). Main stems of the five Aryan tribes, Yadu or Sumer, Turvasu or Thracian, Druhyu or Dorian, Anu or Ionic, and Puru or Uru or Akkad or Achaian, "Puru-sati" or "Philistine," the proto-*Eur*-opean Aryans.

Aryan or Khati Racial and Cultural character of the Founders of all the Great Nations of the world is proved by :

1. Genealogical Official Records. Unbroken lineal Aryan descent in the Indo-Khathi genealogies of those kings who are named in Babylonian, Hittite, Egyptian and Assyrian monuments and in *Ægean*, etc., tradition.
2. Racial Aryan physical type of founders of the early civilizations and nations.
3. Linguistic Aryan type of speech and writing in early Hittite, Sumer, Akkad, Egyptian, Phœnician, Chinese, etc., and radical identity with English and the other Aryan languages.
4. Culture and Civilization, including Religion, of the earliest civilized nations, is of the proto-Aryan Adamite or Khatti type.

Ruling Aryan Tribes. The Puru, "Puru-sati" or "Philistine," Uru or Akkad, was the dominant Aryan or Kshati tribe down through the ages. Its main

branches were Akkad (or Achaian), Egyptian, Phœnician and Mede (Mitani), Kish and Guti, Kassite, Assyrian and Later "Khatti." The Yadu were the Sumer, Cimmers and Cymri of Gaul and early Britain. The Druhyu or Dorians or Dards extended to Tibet and China. The Anu or Ionics became proto-Greeks.

- IV. Late Adamite or Western and Indo-Persian Kshati Period.—From Kshati (or Hittite) Dispersion with rise of Greek, Roman and Western European civilization and nations. From 717 B.C. to 1 A.D. onwards.—Greece invaded and held by Kshatris (satraps)—Ionic ; and Indo-Persia by Kurd-Mede-Phœnician Kshatis. Danube Valley and Central Europe to Denmark held by Kshatis or "Goths" or "Juts" and (?) Saxons. Britain invaded and held by Kuru ("Cornish" and St. "George") Phœnician Kshatis forming Kshatiland or "Scot"-land—a term formerly applied to the greater part of England, and surviving as "Zet-land" for the territory north of the Humber.

In the vast new and hitherto wholly unexplored fields, thus discovered and opened up for science and human and of history, which the first culled fruits revolutionize all established views upon the source, race, and personality of the originators of the higher civilizations and nations of the world, there are rich mines of knowledge offering untold wealth of material upon the unknown ancestry, not only of the main or European Aryan stock, but also of its Eastern or Indian and Iranian branches. Thus the Vedas, which hitherto have been the despair of Sanskrit scholars, as failing to afford the slightest indication whatsoever for a single date, even in the most vague fashion, for any event or personage therein, or even any sequence in its chaos, have now under my method of exploration yielded fixed dates for most of the kings—who, although hitherto regarded by Vedic scholars as more or less mythical, are now conclusively identified by me with well-known historical

kings of the monuments of Babylonia, Egypt, and Asia Minor. Even the unknown source and meaning of the still common term for the Indian vernacular—namely, “Urdu” (and “Wartu” for the Tibetan form of the “Indian” script)—now becomes apparent, in the old name for the original home of the ancestors of the proto-Hindus, in Ur, or Kuru of Kurd-istan, and “Ur-ardhu,” the Sumerian and Akkadian name for Armenia.

January 31, 1917.

MILITARY NOTES

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL

"Look before you leap" is a maxim applicable to national as well as to individual policy. In 1914 the whole German nation was clamorous for war; in 1917 it is equally clamorous for peace. It is a pity that some three millions of men had to be killed to prove that the people of Germany are donkeys, trotting after the illusory baits of Power and Profit dangled before their noses by their unscrupulous riders.

Lord Beresford asserts that if our naval blockade had been from the first outbreak of war more stringently carried out and more strictly enforced, the Germans would long ago have been compelled to sue for peace on any terms. Our blockade has now been made stricter, but it is far from complete. The Baltic ports of Germany are still open to the import of metals and foodstuffs from Sweden and Denmark. The only way that our blockade could end the war would be by causing the people so much suffering as to drive them to revolution; but this is unlikely with a population so well disciplined and dragooned as that of Germany. And when all the men of military age in a country are already in the ranks of the army on the enemy's frontiers, there is no one left at home to conduct a revolution, which can hardly be carried out by old men, women and children.

During the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars we kept up a blockade of the French ports for twenty years, and

after Trafalgar and the Treaty of Tilsit our blockade practically extended to the whole of the coast-line of the European Continent. But though great hardships and inconvenience was caused to the French and their allies, the blockade did not force them to sue for peace. They made sugar out of beetroot, and found other substitutes for the colonial products of which they were deprived, or else went without them. But the Emperor Alexander of Russia saw that the sufferings of his people were such as to compel him to re-open commercial relations with England. This at least was the pretext that he gave for breaking with Napoleon and disregarding his famous Berlin decrees prohibiting any commercial transaction between the nations of the Continent and Great Britain. And as the war with Russia which followed was the beginning of Napoleon's ruin, that ruin may be said to have been indirectly caused by the British blockade. At all events, it was a contributory cause of the downfall of Napoleon; and we trust it may prove to be a contributory cause of the downfall of that pinchbeck Napoleon, Kaiser Wilhelm the Second, in the present war.

In the Military Notes in a previous issue, allusion was made to the Lahore Light Horse as a regiment recruited from Eurasians. The following particulars regarding that regiment have been communicated by an officer who at one time commanded it. When the numerous regiments of cavalry and infantry of the old Bengal Army which were garrisoning Lahore and Peshawar on the outbreak of the Great Mutiny had been cleverly surprised and disarmed by Sir John Lawrence and his assistants, the trumpeters and musicians of the Mounted Corps, who were all Eurasians, were collected and formed into a troop of Horse. At that time all the bandsmen, drummers, trumpeters, and buglers of the Native Regiments of the Bengal Army were Eurasians, and the same rule held good in the Madras Army, the Musalmans and caste Hindus of those armies having some prejudice against serving as musicians,

perhaps because they imagined that by putting their lips to instruments that might have been used by men of other castes they would incur the risk of defilement. Curiously, there was no such prejudice in the Bombay Army, where Hindus and Musalmans were employed as musicians without their incurring any reproach thereby. To quote the words of our informant: "The mounted portion" (of the Eurasian musicians) "was at first called the Peshawar Light Horse, as it was raised in that cantonment. It was very soon added to by volunteers from the British portion of the army, notably from the 70th Foot. Soon it was moved down to Lahore, and there again it was added to, and called the Lahore Light Horse. After the first burst of the Mutiny was over, it was moved down to Bengal, and was sent to the indigo districts to stop the Nil Darpan riots. This effected, it was quartered at Dumdum, and was there organized on exactly the same footing as the European portion of the army. Barracks, pay, rations, etc., were exactly the same as for the British cavalry. The bulk of the men were Eurasians; there were a few native Christians and a few Europeans at first, but in Calcutta numbers of Europeans of all nations were enlisted, and this eventually led to the disbandment of the corps, as it was not authorized by the British Government. This was in the year 1863.

"But you will want to know more particularly about the Eurasians. They were a very well-behaved, orderly set of men. There was little or no crime, and they were exceedingly smart on parade. In point of drill they would compare favourably with the smartest British regiment. They were a very useful body of men, and the corps was quite bi-lingual, and I think it was both a political and a military blunder to disestablish it. On disbandment, the Europeans of the regiment were drafted into the newly raised European Light Cavalry, since formed into the 19th, 20th, and 21st Hussars, the latter regiment now changed into Lancers. I think the Government lost a

good opportunity of lending a helping hand to a class of men who needed and deserved it."

There is now a mounted corps with its headquarters at Lahore called the Punjab Light Horse, but it is a volunteer and not a regular regiment, and is recruited from the local European community. Concerning it the following wholly libellous stanza, the composition of some native satirist, is current in the bazars :

"Ek-Hath men Zín hoga
Ek Hath men Rás
Kir Hath men Kirich hoga
Punjab Light Hás ?"

Which may be freely translated as follows :

"One hand on the saddle
And one on the reins,
What hand, Punjab Light Horse,
For the sabre remains ?"

OBITUARY NOTES

LORD ELGIN

We regret to announce the death of the Earl of Elgin and Kincardines. He was Treasurer of the Household and First Commissioner of Work. in 1886, and became Viceroy of India in 1894. From 1905 to 1908 he was Secretary of State for the Colonies in Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's Cabinet.

Many of our readers will recall that at the time of his appointment as Viceroy of India the East India Association sent a deputation to wait upon him on November 17, 1893, at the India Office. The deputation was headed by the Vice-Chairman of the Council, the Honourable Mr. Justice Pinhey of Bombay. The Address dwelt on the extreme gravity of many of the questions in the East. It was hoped that Sir Mortimer Durand's mission to Cabul had succeeded in mitigating anxiety in regard to the North-West frontier. Other frontier questions in the direction of Burma would also demand serious and watchful attention. Reference was made to the urgency of currency reform and the pressure of expenditure on civil and military administration.

The Association had earnestly advocated the promotion, by every possible means, of good feeling between Europeans and all the Indian races and communities; and the extended employment of Indians in all the public capacities for which suitable candidates could be found. Recent events had added to this desire an earnest wish for the removal of all contentions and asperities between the various communities of our Indian fellow-subjects.

The Council was glad to know that the relations between the Paramount Power and the Princes and Chiefs of India would be in his Lordship's charge in a special degree. And they ventured respectfully to submit that the time was ripe for some considerable advance in the carrying out of that just and enlightened policy which was advocated by Lord Salisbury in his speech at Stamford in 1866, was adopted by Lord Mayo, and received its best development in the rendition of Mysore at the hands of Lord Ripon, the restoration of the fortress of Gwalior to the Maharaja Sindhia by Lord Dufferin, and similar acts of justice and good-will. That

policy had evoked from some of the greatest Princes of India very striking manifestations of friendliness and loyalty—especially in the establishment of Imperial Service Corps, and in the spontaneous offer of the Nizam to take the field on the frontier if it should ever be necessary. The remarkable success that had unquestionably attended the Native administration of Mysore might well encourage his Lordship to extend that policy, as opportunity should offer, and also to employ more largely than heretofore Native Statesmen and Magnates in high and responsible positions. The Viceroy-designate in his reply, after assuring the deputation that the questions raised by them would have his earnest attention, added :

"I am grateful to you for your promise of submitting to me at future times the proceedings of your Society. From what I have already said, I think you will understand that I shall value the expression of your views here as bearing upon the subject which I shall have to take into consideration elsewhere; and I can assure you that those proceedings, if sent to me, shall not be received formally, but shall receive every attention, that in the time at my disposal—which I believe will not be very much—I shall be able to give them."

This indicates the very cautious nature of his Lordship's reply to the points put forward by the East India Association as representing the people of India, and it thus becomes interesting to know what his Lordship was able to accomplish during the five years of his Viceroyalty. As to this we cannot do better than quote the opinion of Dean Welldon, as expressed in the *Manchester Guardian* of January 23 last :

"There was a time when Anglo-Indian opinion was not altogether favourable to Lord Elgin. His reserve of manner, his habitual silence, his retiring disposition, a certain tameness in his aspect and bearing, his indifference to ceremonial, his curious dislike of riding and on public occasions even of driving—and that in a country where everybody rides—seemed to cut him off in some degree from the sympathy as from the social life of his fellow-countrymen in India. In the prolonged campaign against war, famine, plague, and in some parts of India against gravely threatening political discontent, he never lost his head; he never failed in courage or decision; he made up his mind what it was right to do and he did it unflinchingly in the face of hostile criticism; and I was told that at the last dinner which he attended on St. Andrew's Day in Calcutta, when, at the end of his speech, he modestly applied to himself the words inscribed upon the grave of Sir Henry Lawrence beneath the Residency at Lucknow, that he had 'tried to do his duty,' they were received by the company which listened to him with such general enthusiasm as he may well have felt to set the stamp of public Anglo-Indian approbation upon his conduct in the trying years of his Viceroyalty."

THE LATE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR

The death of Count Alexandre Benckendorff at this crisis is a cruel blow, and removes a very popular diplomatic figure from the Court of St. James's. His loss will be very generally regretted; for not only was he the

able representative in this country of our great Ally, but also he has worked unflinching and at times under great difficulties for the great ideal of Anglo-Russian friendship, of which Czar Nicholas I. was the pioneer, Madame Olga Novikoff the breathing spirit, and which is making the overthrow of German Militarism a certainty.

The Count was descended from an old Baltic Russian family which could point to an unbroken record of effective service to the Czar. Thus we read of a Benckendorff who was Lord of the Manor in the district around Riga in 1615. (And, indeed, it was in the shadow of the great castle of Riga which has so effectively stemmed the tide of German invasion that the first Benckendorffs distinguished themselves.) His great-grandson was Lord Mayor of Riga in 1710 and of Petrograd in 1721. His eldest son again was a General in the Russian Army, and in command of the seaport of Reval. He was received into the Livonian nobility in 1765 and that of Esthonia in 1773. His son Christoff was General and Governor of Riga. The latter's daughter by her marriage became the famous Princess Lieven; while his eldest son, who had a very distinguished military career, became Adjutant to Czar Alexander I. in 1814, and also led a campaign against the Turks. For his services he was made a Count, and, being childless, adopted, by the Czar's permission, the son of his brother Constantine as his successor. The second Count Benckendorff was a Major in the Guards Cavalry and an Imperial Plenipotentiary to several Foreign Courts. The late Ambassador to the Court of St. James's was his son, and was marked out early for the diplomatic career in which he attained the highest honours. At the beginning of this century he was appointed Minister to the Danish Court, and arrived here in 1904.

It was a time when the mists of mutual suspicion were still dense, and beyond a few enthusiasts in this country, and societies like the Anglo-Russian Literary Society, very little was being done to dispel them. In fact the difference between then and now seems an æon. But the dream of Czar Nicholas I. has become realized, and to the late Russian Ambassador must be allotted a great share in the credit.

He married in 1879, Sophie, Countess Schouvaloff. His daughter married the Hon. Jasper Ridley, thus in an international marriage, harmonizing with her father's work. One of his sons fell at Vilna, the other is with his ship at Archangel. The late Count was naturally greatly interested in all Eastern Questions, and was a constant reader of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*.

THE EARL OF CROMER, O.M.

EVELYN BARING, first Lord Cromer, has written his name in giant letters on the page of history as the founder of Modern Egypt. Ninth son of Henry Baring, sometime M.P. for Northampton, he belonged to the famous family which in sixty years had the unique distinction of adding four new names to the roll of the British Peerage.

At the age of thirteen he entered Woolwich Academy, and received his

commission at the age of eighteen in the Royal Artillery. It was then the year 1859, and a long stretch of comparatively uneventful military recess lay before him. This may be taken as the cause of his somewhat slow initial rise. Passing from the Ionian Islands (where he served as A.D.C. to the last High Commissioner to Jamaica, and then for two years to the Staff College), it was only in the year 1873 that he entered into official life. It was in that year, as many of our readers will remember, that he went out for three years as Private Secretary to the newly appointed Viceroy, the Earl of Northbrook. At the age of thirty-six he received his first appointment in Egypt as British representative on the International Commission for the Public Debts. When Tewfik succeeded Ismail Pasha as Khedive, Baring was appointed British Controller. In 1880 he returned to India again for a period of three years as Financial Member of the Council. His ability and success received the Queen's recognition, and he was appointed Knight-Commander of the Star of India. He now became Consul-General in Egypt, and was at once faced with the difficulties of the Gordon Expedition. In his own book "*Modern Egypt*" the incidents of that episode are clearly described, and his biographer, Mr. Traill, confirms that the Consul-General did everything that was possible at the time to avert the calamity. His new task was to put the finances of Egypt on a permanent footing, and for this purpose a new loan of £9,000,000 was raised. By this means not only were deficits wiped out and indemnities liquidated, but the irrigation of the Delta was rendered possible. Radical reforms in the internal administration were also instituted. 1892 saw Sir Evelyn Baring raised to the Peerage as Baron Cromer, and also the beginning of the short-lived struggle with the recalcitrant new Khedive Abbas Pasha.

Towards the end of his long and successful administration, the problem of the European community in Egypt who claimed to be outside the laws of the land became more and more pressing. It is significant that one of his last acts was the working out of an exhaustive scheme for the representation of all elements in Egypt, and safeguarding their several interests. To the cry of "*Egypt for the Egyptians*," Lord Cromer pertinently replied that it was an interesting question who amongst the many races living in Egypt could claim to be the Egyptians to the exclusion of all others.

He retired in May, 1907, owing to ill-health, and took up with great energy several questions of home politics. He proclaimed himself, to the astonishment of not a few, a Free Trader, and there can be no doubt that the opponents of a Tariff system found in the advocacy of their ideas by so distinguished an Imperial Administrator a tower of strength. His great book "*Modern Egypt*," which was reviewed in our columns, was a memorable literary effort of one who knew how to combine the qualities of an unsurpassed administrator with those of scholarly excellence. In fact, it may be said that if fate and his own predilections had not called him to the scenes of his triumphs, he would, by giving his literary talents full scope, have rivalled the leading writers of the century.

He was averse from everything in the nature of make-believe or a refusal

to face unpleasant realities. In Egypt, it was one of the secrets of his success ; with the Home Government that quality was perhaps sometimes dreaded. *The Times* in a notable biography reminds us that to the Oriental he appeared to walk "like a leopard among dogs," and adds that "it is instructive to observe how great was the effect of just and upright dealing in their simplest and most perfect form." The Egypt of to day is his monument : the wonderful conditions now prevailing there are a surety that it is of an abiding nature. Certain it is that any policy but his own would have found Egypt at the present hour of trial a divided, distracted, and discontented people, instead of a united nation. The advent of the war can but silence his critics for ever.

DR. ARTHUR DANIEL POLLEN

We regret to hear of the death of Dr. Arthur Daniel Pollen, LL.D., I.C.S. (ret.), who passed away on February 2, at Maple's Hotel, Dublin, where he was residing. He will be remembered as the special judge who tried the Surat Editors in 1878 on the charge of instigating the Surat riots, and after a long trial acquitted them all. He was subsequently appointed special judge under the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act, which he administered, with the assistance of the late Mr. Justice Ranad.

He was offered the Judicial Commissionership in Burma on the retirement of Sir John Jardine, but refused it, as he did also the offer of a similar appointment in the Straits Settlements after his retirement. For many years he was judge of Amednagar, Belgaum, and Poona, where he was also the Governor's Agent for the Sirdars of the Deccan.

CORRESPONDENCE

'A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR'

MADAME OLGA NOVIKOFF UNMASKED

ONE of the numerous admirers of Madame Novikoff's work, who insists on being anonymous, sends us the following appreciation, which we think will be of special interest to our readers, and will explain the mysterious title with which this page is headed :

People, as a rule, are fond of boasting of what they do, and sometimes even exaggerating it. But Madame Novikoff has proved a great exception ; and while many people long for celebrity and notoriety, she always concealed, as far as she could, her talent, her energy, and many of her deeds. As time went on it proved more and more difficult to keep the secret, as facts so often supported the surmises of the curious.

It was only much later that she has admitted her identity, and even in her newly published work "Russian Memories" the reader can very easily trace her using the plural when as a matter of fact she is describing her own work — often solitary. This same self-effacement was characterized by her steady refusal to take an active part in meetings and public speeches.

She is more explicit when she speaks of her two brothers, Alexander and Nicholas Kiréeff, and her late son Alexander Novikoff, who seems to have possessed his mother's literary energetic talent and her devotion to their country, so well shown by the way he supported the cause of education, not only in word but in deed—without ever noticing the magnitude of his self-sacrifice—in building two large schools and a church on the family estate.

When people here assure that the politician has killed in her the mother, they are quite wrong. On his deathbed her son said to her : "A mother generally gives life to her child only once. You have given me thirty-two lives." Surely any mother would be grateful for a recognition of this kind !

It might here be said that the compositions of the boys and girls in these schools reflected great credit on the genius of the Russian people, and served to show that, given more opportunity, they will with ease reach the highest level of Western culture.

After referring to these facts, she proceeds to describe different measures introduced by him, one of which, in a certain way, might be, perhaps, even introduced in some parts of Great Britain at this moment.

In the year 1891 there raged a terrible famine in ten southern provinces of Russia, and it seemed very bad indeed in the Government of Tamboff. There arose scandalous speculation, and the prices of vital commodities rapidly increased.

In a pathetic letter, preserved by his mother, Alexander Novikoff thus described the position "My personal resources are almost entirely exhausted. The money I want you to collect shall not be carelessly given to all who beg for it. My scheme is quite different. I want to build several large bakeries at Novo-Alexandroffka under my own supervision, and in spite of rising prices I am going to sell excellent bread at normal rates : the collected money will cover the inevitable expenses incurred in getting flour for my bakeries."

Madame Novikoff started to work, the never-failing English friends eagerly helping her. Mr. Gladstone sent twice a cheque for £25 ; Kinglake and Froude were amongst the first to offer their contributions. She thus collected in six months a little over £2,000 (which even then represented more than 20,000 roubles). The wonderfully generous Grand Duchess Elizabeth—the sister of the Empress Alexandra and the late Grand Duchess Constantine (mother of Olga, Queen of Greece and the late Grand Duke Constantine)—also contributed to Alexander Novikoff's efforts. As a result over a hundred thousand people could prolong their lives till the new harvest. The splendid part also played in that terrible year of 1891 by the Society of Friends (Quakers) is fully described in "M.P. for Russia."

One fact must be confessed : the Emperor Nicholas I.

has very often been misunderstood by Englishmen, thanks to a very mischievous and lying propaganda which unfortunately found easy credence here, and was obviously supported by German money. Madame Novikoff suddenly throws quite a new light on that character : in one place she describes him as following the hearse of a blind beggar ; then again she gives an amusing picture of herself—quite a child—trying to make a Court reverence when the Emperor called on her mother, and almost tumbling down on the floor. As she says so amusingly in her " Russian Memories " : " Penetrated with my new rôle, and full of zeal, I did my best—which, alas ! turned out to be my very worst. I bowed so deeply that suddenly all became confused, and I fell over backwards against a column : a horrified glance from mother—the roof with its painted flowers and cupids—misery and bewilderment ! And suddenly the ' Cruel Despot ' rushing towards the poor child, seizing her by the hand, understanding her misery and encouraging her effort in Court etiquette." We think it is a charming picture. But Madame Novikoff renders a genuine service in insisting on the part played by the Emperor when he granted an important interview to Sir Henry Seymour, the English Ambassador—a noble part—in setting the foundations of Anglo-Russian friendship. His confidential speech seems to have been made, as the French say, *d'égal à égal* (frank and private). His Majesty seemed to forget that private conversations, especially of such great importance as the overtures of a whole political programme between an Emperor and an Ambassador, naturally could not be private and confidential only. Of course, every word of an interview of this kind was, and had to be, repeated—with what comments ? This is also something the Emperor could not guess !

And at this moment, when the two nations seem to be permeated with identical views about the Sick Man and his fate, the straightforward attitude of the Emperor should be recognized and remembered. And Madame Novikoff is quite right in persistently drawing the attention of English readers to these real and important facts.* It has been said that Catherine the Great of Russia possessed the useful talent of discovering useful co-workers. It is a precious talent, especially for people who want to exercise their power and

* I see that attention is also drawn to this question in " Searchlights on Russia," which has rendered an important service in again bringing this matter forward.

their propaganda. If anybody amongst our contemporaries possesses that gift, it is Madame Olga Novikoff, who has already been described by her friends as a "propagandist *par excellence*." A clever Jesuit Father once told her: "You ought to belong to our Church; your propaganda spirit is a characteristic of our Order." Poor Madame Novikoff must have looked somewhat perplexed when she heard that dubious compliment, which no doubt was meant to please and encourage her. The late Mr. Stead, in his book "M.P. for Russia," quoting Madame Novikoff's words, said that she designated Austria as the Sick Woman of Vienna—as a companion picture, we may suppose, to the "Sick Man of Constantinople." Have events not proved the biting perspicacity of her remarks in describing these two "Powers" as a pair of invalids, shaky on their clay feet and slowly sinking into them? The whole "M.P. for Russia" and the "Russian Memories" are iridescent with her clever remarks; but a volume could easily be produced embodying quotations from everything she writes and says.

Mais pour résumer—in all her work, in almost every phase, the same reticence of expression, the same readiness to transfer the credit for her initiative to others, can always be observed. But it is time for us to take off her mask.

AN ENGLISH SLAVOPHIL.



WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME,
BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

RUSSIA: BARON A. HEYKING ON HER ECONOMIC RESOURCES

At a meeting of the Royal Statistical Society on January 16, with the President, Sir Bernard Mallet, K.C.B., in the chair, the Consul-General for Russia read an excellent paper (a monument of industry!) on "The Economic Resources of Russia, with Special Reference to British Opportunities," in which he dwelt on every phase of Russia's great resources. His Excellency reminded his hearers that "it must be borne in mind that after the war Russia's economic life will differ very considerably from what it was before. The war has brought about an awakening of the population all round and has accelerated her economic development. This awakening will have a still more marked effect when peace has been concluded. The entire energy of the nation will then be turned to the production of food stuffs and raw materials as the chief source of wealth, and also to the industrial development of the country.

"When the war is over, Russia will find herself financially in a position of great stress; the State debt, increased by some twenty or thirty milliard roubles, will demand the payment of an annual interest of several milliards of roubles. As far as the payments to be made abroad are concerned, the position will be intensified by the adverse rate of exchange. Hundreds of millions of roubles in pensions will have to be paid to all those maimed and wounded by the war, and the families of all those who have perished will have to be compensated in accordance with a Bill under the consideration of the Imperial Duma. The diminution of the annual revenue by 800 millions, which the Government obtained from the sale of liquor, creates a deficit for which provision must be made. The urgent need of the extension of railways, roads and waterways, and

the spread of education—these necessary conditions of progress and production of wealth—will demand another huge outlay of capital. All this makes it of primary and vital importance for the Empire to increase its revenue by the development of those tremendous productive forces and natural resources of the country which hitherto have been so very much neglected."

Turning to the problem of communications, "no wonder that under these conditions the great natural wealth of Russia has hardly been touched, that her industrial production is only beginning to tell its tale. Russia by the shock of the war has been awakened to the necessity of fully availing herself of her economic potentialities and of exploiting the great resources with which she has been endowed. To solve this great problem satisfactorily she not only relies upon her own strength, but also looks to her ally, Great Britain, whom she believes is willing to assist and uphold her in her creative enterprise, organization and capitalization. Being one of her creditors, Great Britain is directly interested in helping Russia to increase her exports, organize them on a sound basis, and develop her industries, which are quite able to provide Great Britain with all she requires from abroad."

The Baron was armed with a complete set of statistics, and the conclusion of his paper was marked by enthusiastic applause. Sir Bernard Mallet expressed the hope that this paper would obtain the maximum of publicity.

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THE MIDDLE EAST: ARMENIAN CHRISTMAS CELEBRATION

On January 28 His Grace the Archbishop Utudjian presided at the Elysée Gallery to celebrate Christmas. After an address in Armenian by the Archbishop, Miss E. Robinson, the Hon. Secretary of the Armenian Red Cross and Refugee Fund (which held its second anniversary last December), delivered a short address.

If I may venture a word of counsel to Armenians to-day, it is to *cultivate esprit de corps*—to sink all personal differences and act as one for the sake of their cause. This is more important now than it ever was before.

(A slight outline of the history of Armenia followed, from the earliest times up to date.)

About every twenty years Turkey has engineered massacres of her Christian subjects on a vast scale—the massacres of 1915-1916 surpass in extent and barbarism everything of which we have record. From 500,000 to 800,000 helpless, peaceful people have been most brutally murdered in cold blood to satisfy the savage appetites of their Turkish rulers. Half a million people or more have been driven from their homes on foot for hundreds of miles to barren desert regions to die of starvation. The sufferings of these poor people have been described in the newspapers. The most fortunate

are the few hundred thousand who managed to reach the shelter of Russian Transcaucasia. These can be and *must* be helped to the utmost of our ability.

As an Englishman in this twentieth century it is with sorrow, shame and indignation I tell you that what Belgium has suffered for two and a half years Armenia has endured for five centuries.

THE FUTURE OF THE SLAV RACES:
DR. R. W. SETON-WATSON

The story of a hitherto little-known branch of the great Slav family was told by Dr. R. W. Seton-Watson in a fascinating account, illustrated by lantern slides, of the Slovaks, in the Lecture Theatre at King's College on January 31. (A few years ago Dr. Seton-Watson, a mine of authority on Austria, Serbia, and the Near East, organized an interesting exhibition of Slovak art at the Doré Gallery, which we remember with delight.) The chair was taken by Professor T. G. Masaryk, PH.D., of Prague University, who referred to the fraternal union of Czechs and Slovaks, and the popularity of Slav songs. Dr. Seton-Watson opened with a slide representing the Pan-German map, showing what the Allies are actually faced with. The purpose of the Entente was the liberation of Belgium, Serbia, Poland, and the peoples of Bohemia and Slovakia as well. The last-named members of the Slavonic family are more closely related than any other two. Hungarian statistics give the numbers of the Slovaks as two millions, but it is more than likely that half a million should be added, besides half a million in the United States. Two-thirds are Roman Catholics and the remainder Lutheran, the latter using the Czech language for Church services and reading. The peasants of both countries have no difficulty in mutual comprehension, and a Slovak pedlar will even make himself understood at Vladivostock. In the western districts there was a short-lived Great Moravian Empire in the ninth century. Methodius, one of the "Slav Apostles," was Archbishop of Nitra. The nationalizing tendency began in the reign of the Emperor Joseph II., but while the Magyars have been zealous and successful in securing their own rights, they have consistently endeavoured to suppress those of the Slovaks on the unworthy principle, *Tot nem ember* (the Slovak is no man). (Jan Kollar, the Pan-Slav bard who wrote "The Daughter of Glory," and Shafarik, the Slav antiquary, were Slovaks.) Petöfi, the Magyar poet, and Kossuth himself, were of Slovak origin. It is noteworthy that Kossuth erected gallows all over Hungary in 1848 to hang his countrymen who strove for the same liberties that he wanted for the Magyars. Since 1867 there has been a law of nationalities which for the Slovaks is a dead letter. The repression has been considered more acute than that of the Roumanians in Transylvania. The Slovak Academy was suppressed and its funds confiscated; the

Museum stolen; there has been no University, and from 1875 no secondary schools. A little museum has only been saved by labelling its collections as the private property of individuals. Newspapers and societies have been forbidden, even singing societies. At the funeral of the father of the national poet, Hurban, a patriot of 1848, the gendarmes behaved with brutality. The poet protested, and received a year's imprisonment. The hard, trying political conditions in Bohemia were a paradise compared to those of Slovakia.

In the world of art, the people have realized the ideals of Ruskin and William Morris, as was seen by the illustrations of house decoration, domestic utensils, pottery, glass, and Easter eggs. Joseph Uprka, a master of colour, is famed in Vienna for the "Uprka red," much admired by artists. By his work in throwing light upon a long-suffering, artistic people of patriarchal ideals (the Slovak *zadruga* is the Serb *zadruga*) Dr. Seton-Watson deserves well of the Slovaks, and of all Slavs. In this country our indebtedness to him for the results of his travels and researches is enormous.

F. P. M.

It may be added that the National Czech Alliance has distributed a large number of reprints of Mr. Marchant's article in the August (1916) issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, entitled "Bohemia," and have also recently opened offices in Piccadilly Circus.

INDIA

Sir Thomas Holdich took a long look backwards and a reasoned look forwards when he lectured to the Royal Society of Arts (Indian Section) on January 22. His subject, with the somewhat cumbersome title of "Between the Tigris and the Indus. The Beni-Israel," proved to be more than a discussion of a geographical or ethnographical problem; it had a significance that was entirely political, being nothing less than a consideration of the question. "What does this 'road to the East' mean?" Sir Thomas was warmly supported by Dr. Gaster and other speakers in his belief that the ruling people in Afghanistan are of Israelitish origin, and an important part of his long lecture was concerned with the way in which the wandering Israelites, after the fall of the kingdom of Israel, reached the upper Kabul river basin, taking with them the name of their city—Kabul is twice mentioned in the Old Testament (Josh. xix. 27 and 1 Kings ix. 13)—and how another section has become known as the Armenians. "The Beni-Israel," he said, "belong to, if they do not comprise, those Durani clans who established themselves as the dominant power in Afghanistan after the death of the great Persian ruler and robber, Nadir Shah, in the eighteenth century, and, consequently, the Amir of Afghanistan is their ruler and chief. . . . It is the Sirdars and ruling caste of Kabul who insist most on their

Israelitish origin. The name 'Afghan' is apparently only as old as the founder of the Durani dynasty, Ahmad Shah, and is not, so far as I know, acknowledged by any one of the extraordinarily mixed nationalities that occupy Afghanistan." Records are few, but, said Sir Thomas, the stamp of the Hebraic features is important and undeniable evidence. With regard to the Armenians, he pointed out that it was during the seventh century B.C. that the Israelitish captives were transferred from Samaria to "Calachene, Gozantis, and Armenia," and added: "There is therefore no difficulty in accounting for the strongly developed Hebrew type which is now to be found among them."

On the political side of his address he dealt with the road to the East, and considered that it meant India directly, and Persia, Central Asia, Afghanistan, and China ultimately. "India, with its traditions, its wealth, its immense possibilities, will always be a potent influence in directing progressive action towards the East, and in such measure as we value India must we watch the trend of railway expansion from the West." He laid stress on the importance of Constantinople, and expressed the belief that after the war Russia or Germany would dominate it. For Germany the possession of this power is imperative; if she loses Constantinople, she loses all her hope of Eastern progress. Russia, on the other hand, even without Constantinople, has a side vista of national expansion if she retains Armenia. The iron rails of two great systems emerging from Europe now point eastwards, and neither of the two belongs to Britain. One is Russian from the Black Sea; the other is German from Berlin and Constantinople. Britain has done nothing with regard to a straight overland connection with India; but, said Sir Thomas, "Asiatic developments will not stand still for us, and I can foresee the time when not one, but several open lines of railway will traverse the Persian uplands and possibly the Persian seaboard, too." Germany's cry that there must be freedom of the seas for all nations has no relation to the Atlantic, where her commerce has in no way been restricted, but to Eastern waters, where she has not been able to plant coaling and, incidentally, submarine stations on any coast she pleased between Suez and China. "Here, I believe," remarked Sir Thomas, "is the true explanation of German ambitions as regards Eastern trade—ambitions which would involve a direct threat to Indian traffic, if not to India herself." India is more vulnerable by sea than by land, and it is Britain, not Russia, who must deal with Germany's hopes in this direction, and for this reason a fuller appreciation of the meaning of political domination in the Balkans and Constantinople is of the utmost importance, as well as of "that command of the sea which is our heritage, and far more to us than any conquests or expansions by land which we are ever likely to contemplate." Sir Thomas paid tribute to the Amir of Afghanistan as the warden of the Indian marches in this great war; true Afghan courtesy and hospitality

were shown by him to our enemies so long as they were strangers within his gates, but he disdained the overtures they made.

Lord Bryce presided at the lecture, and agreed with Sir Thomas that Germany cannot be allowed to dominate Constantinople or gain power in Mesopotamia. Other speakers insisted that the excellent work done by Britain, at great cost, yet quietly, effectively, and without fuss, in policing the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean cannot be swept away as valueless.

At the January meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society Mr. Herbert Baynes read an interesting paper on "The Zoroastrian Prophecy and the Messianic Hope." He dealt with references in the Avesta to Saosyand, the coming Healer or Saviour, and showed how important is the light they throw upon the coming of the wise men from the East to worship the Infant Christ.

The tribute paid by the Chairman, Sir Francis Younghusband, at the Central Asian Society's meeting last month, by Sir Thomas Holdich, and other speakers to the interest and importance of Mr. N. Kato's lecture on "Japan's Part in the War," was significant. Mr. Kato dealt with Japan's military, naval, and munitions assistance to the Allies, and the story he told made a great impression on the audience. The speakers expressed their gratification and surprise with regard to the extent of Japan's contribution.

The Indian Women's Education Association, which has for one of its aims the provision of Indian teachers, trained in England, for schools in India, is now helping Mrs. Raj Kumari Das, M.A. (Calcutta), to qualify for a Teacher's Diploma. Mrs. Das has begun her work at the London County Council Day Training College, Southampton Row, London. By kind invitation of Miss S. A. Bonnerjee, hon. secretary of the Association, an At Home was given on February 3 at the Café Monico, to enable members and friends to meet Mrs. Das, who arrived in this country at the end of December last. Lady Muir-Mackenzie, President of the Association, was present, also Lady Cecilia Roberts, one of the Vice-Presidents, several members of the committee, including Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, chairman *pro tem.* in the absence of Sir Krishna Gupta, Mrs. Ali Baig, Mrs. Simpson, Mrs. H. P. Cobb, Mrs. P. L. Roy, Mrs. Bhola Nauth, and Mrs. N. C. Sen. Mrs. Das has been Principal of the Brahmo Girls' School, Calcutta, for some years, and has been granted leave of absence to gain the diploma. She is keenly interested in her work, and eager to take advantage of opportunities to come into touch with educationists in this country.

A. A. S.

THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

It is announced that His Majesty the King will open the School of Oriental Studies on February 23. This occasion will mark the beginning of a new epoch in the history of Oriental learning in this country, and the capital of the British Empire will no longer lack an institution comparable with the great schools for Oriental languages in Berlin, Paris, Petrograd, and Vienna. It may seem to be an unfavourable time for the inauguration of such an undertaking, when most of the young students in this country are engaged in military duties, but there is an encouraging analogy in the history of the *École des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, which was founded in Paris in the stormy days of 1795, and we may hope for the School of Oriental Studies an equally brilliant and useful career.

An excellent beginning has already been made, and nearly forty students were enrolled within the first fortnight after the classes were opened on January 18. Instruction is at present being given in Arabic, Chinese, Hindustani, Japanese, Sanskrit, Swahili, Tamil, and Turkish, and provision has been made for the teaching of as many as twenty languages. The teaching staff of the Oriental Department has been transferred both from King's College and University College, and with the addition of instructors in languages for which provision had not been made in these two colleges, the number of teachers in the School of Oriental Studies is now twenty-two. The scheme of studies as at present arranged provides for instruction in seven groups of languages, as follows: (1) Ancient India (Sanskrit and Pali), (2) The Near East (Arabic, Persian, and Turkish); (3) Northern, Eastern, and Western India (Hindustani, Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, and Gujarati), (4) Southern India (Tamil, Telugu, and Sinhalese); (5) Further India and the Malay Archipelago (Burmese and Malay), (6) The Far East (Chinese, Japanese, and Tibetan); (7) African Languages (Hausa, Swahili, and Bantu languages). It is proposed later on to include in the curriculum of the school the following languages, for which at present no instructors have been appointed: Amharic, Armenian, Assamese, Luganda, Melanesian languages, Panjabi, Pashto, Polynesian languages, Siamese, Somali, Yoruba, and Zulu.

In the charter of the school it is expressly laid down that both the classical Oriental languages and the living, spoken languages of the East

shall be taught. For the first, the staff of the school already includes some scholars of established reputation, and, for the second, care has been taken from the outset that, as far as possible, instruction in the spoken languages will be given by teachers coming from the country in which the languages in question are spoken.

The scope of the school is not confined to the teaching of languages, and it is contemplated that a special feature of its activity will be courses of lectures on the history, religions, and customs of Oriental and African countries; but it is too early yet to expect that this and other aspects of the life of the institution should take shape. But it may be confidently expected that in the future this School of Oriental Studies will develop into a centre of intellectual activity as varied and extensive as its well-chosen title suggests, and that it will serve to stimulate in London an interest in the East—its languages, races, and problems—commensurate with their growing importance.

OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS.

THE King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Diwan Bahadur Perungavur Rajagopala Achariyar, C.I.E., to be a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Madras, in succession to Sir Pazhamanheri Sundaram Aiyar Sivaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., whose term of office will expire next month.

The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Indian Civil Service, to be a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bengal, in succession to Mr. P. C. Lyon, C.S.I., whose term of office expires in April next.

The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. Seshadri Srinivasa Ayyangar, to be Advocate-General, Madras, in succession to the late Mr. F. H. M. Corbet.

The Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P., Secretary of State for India, has selected General Sir Edmund G. Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., for the appointment of Member of the Council of India in succession to General Sir Charles Egerton, G.C.B., whose term of office will expire next month.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

THE NEAR EAST

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE. By Vladislav R. Savić, late head of the Serbian Press Bureau. (*Chapman and Hall, Ltd.*) Price 7s. 6d.

In the Introduction to a comprehensive and interesting work, which embraces more than its title, the author lays stress upon the ideal for which the Allies are fighting—viz., the liberties and independence of the small nations. "This makes the entire and fundamental difference between the present war and former wars in Europe." The sentence quoted may be considered as the text upon which his discourses are based. We have frequently drawn attention in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* to the urgency of the problem of the Southern Slavs, which must certainly be faced, although its solution bristles with difficulties. The weakness of the Austrian Empire and Government is exposed, with the principle of *divide et impera*, and the policy of playing off race against race. Germany has succeeded in forcing Austria-Hungary forward as her advance-guard in the *Drang nach Osten*, knowing that she would be weakened in the process and so become a mere pliant tool of the Kaiser. (On this point, however, the policy of the newly crowned Emperor Charles has not been revealed, and Austrian intentions are a matter of speculation.) There are points—e.g., Poland—upon which the Central Powers are not in accordance.

Mr. Savić sees that peace in Central Europe, with freedom of the smaller nationalities, can only be secured by complete dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, and urges upon Great Britain to aid actively in the construction of the new South-Slav State. A chapter is devoted to the possible advantages for this country. An overland route through Paris, Milan, Gradiaca, Ljubljana (Laibach), Belgrade, to Salonica, thence to Smyrna, is worked out for Bagdad and the Indian mail via Suez. Freed from the political and economic pressure from Austria-Hungary, it is highly

probable that the volume of trade of the new South Slav State will be considerable, but ports and railways will need development. A navigable waterway has been projected to connect the Danube with Salonica through Serbia. A market is indicated for British coal, instead of coal imported from Silesia, and British manufactured articles should have a wide field. In connection with agriculture, Mr. Savić goes so far as to suggest that British families should buy little farms with vineyards and orchards in Serbia, for cultivation in holidays; but although, as he elsewhere states, Belgrade may be reached from London in thirty-nine hours, we are not sanguine that many will avail themselves of this prospect. The watering-places are indicated as future rivals of the world-renowned German and Austrian spas, but much will have to be spent on their development. British capitalists are invited to consider the rebuilding and extension of towns, dwelling-houses, and hotels, since

economically and commercially Great Britain and Greater Serbia are two complementary countries, whose interests are nowhere opposed and could be most harmoniously dovetailed together.

The relations of Italy and the new South Slav State with regard to the Adriatic will require delicate adjustment, and the author sees in them a possibility of future trouble. He does not like the argument of "historic rights," which he thinks antiquated and out of harmony with modern democracy. Serbia has suffered greatly from the conduct of Bulgaria, and he is right in saying that Bulgaria must be shorn of the power for mischief.

Like criminals pursued by evil dreams, Bulgarian politicians, after having crucified Serbia, fear even her shadow, and demand her complete annihilation.

Mr. Gueshoff, the former Bulgarian Premier, attacked Tsar Ferdinand for falling upon his Greek and Serbian allies, but Mr. Savić says that this attack is occasioned, not by the moral ugliness of the treachery, but because the treachery proved futile. "To the statesmen around Tsar Ferdinand, success is the only measure of the fairness of an enterprise."

We regret that only a limited discussion of this important work is possible here. There are other chapters on South Slav aspirations, Pan Slavism, and future prospects, with historical summaries of the past. Sir Arthur Evans has permitted the introduction of his ethnographical map, which adds to the value of the work. It is likely that some of Mr. Savić's conclusions will occasion controversy, but his work deserves to be widely read.

F. P. M.

MIDDLE EAST

MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA. By Lewis Spence, F.R.A.I. (London: *George G. Harrap and Co.*) 1916. 8s. 6d. net.

This book makes its appearance in the attractive "Myths and Legends Series," to which its author has already contributed volumes on the myths of Mexico and Peru, the North American Indians, and Ancient

Egypt. It provides a very readable account of the religion and mythology of Babylonia and Assyria. Mr. Spence has filled in the background of his subject by giving summaries of Babylonian and Assyrian history, the decipherment of the inscriptions, and the gradual recovery by excavation of the rich treasures of the past which for so long had been buried beneath the mounds of Mesopotamia. It is, of course, a story which has been told before, but it may perhaps be admitted, as our author claims, that, "with few exceptions, writers who have made the field a special study have rarely been able to triumph over the limitations which so often obtrude in works of scholarship and research." "It is true," he continues, "that the pages of Rawlinson, Smith, Layard, and Sayce are enlivened at intervals with pictures of Assyrian splendour and Babylonian glory—gleams which escape as the curtains which veil the wondrous past are partially lifted—but such glimpses are only interludes in lengthy disquisitions which too often must be tedious for the general reader." His ideal was indeed to produce a volume which should contain "the pure gold of Babylonian romance freed from the darker ore of antiquarian research." But he has wisely provided an alloy by furnishing his stories of the gods with some discussion and definition of their nature and origin. There was ample scope for such a volume, and we have no doubt that it will admirably serve its purpose in introducing to a wide circle of readers the subject of which it treats.

The myths and legends themselves Mr. Spence has generally cast into narrative form, and by telling the stories in his own words he is enabled to give them greater continuity and coherence. The reader is thus provided with summaries of the great creation legends of Babylonia and of the Gilgamesh Epic, as well as of numerous tales of gods and heroes, which have been deciphered on the tablets or have survived in the works of classical writers. A word of praise must also be given to the illustrations. Several of those in colour are admirably calculated to enhance the sense of mystery and terror inherent in some aspects of Babylonian mythology. Others of the drawings, such as those by Miss Dovaston and Mr. Ambrose Dudley, are striking in another way; for they combine imagination with a quite successful retention of archaeological detail.

L. W. KING.

INDIA

AN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH DEPENDENCIES. Vol. VII. : India. Part I. : History to the end of the East India Company. By P. E. Roberts. (*Oxford, at the Clarendon Press.*) 6s. 6d.

It is a pleasure to read this book, and to know that a geographical volume is to follow it. In the present one we have an excellent history of the East India Company from its modest foundation under Queen Elizabeth to its end under Queen Victoria. Its haphazard growth is well sketched, and the early settlements and their struggles excellently put before us. Distance, vacillating policy, rivals, want of support, at home

and at Court, all militated against the early factories. The Dutch, who had crushed the Portuguese, seemed at first to be going to be the rulers of India, and the Company copied them. "Our design in the whole," wrote they in 1687, "is to set up the Dutch Government among the English in India (than which a better cannot be invented) . . . with this distinction, that we will always reserve our own old English terms—viz, Attorney-General instead of Fiscal, President and Agent instead of Commandore, Directore, or Commissaries," so little did they realize the adaptability of British colonization or administration!

The writer points out how strange it is that Bengal, and not Western India, should have become the chief mart, and explains the reason historically. He gives an excellent chapter on the "Life of the English in the East," showing the early difficulties. The struggle with the French (how brilliant the French prestige was!) is well told also, and then come the careers of Clive and Warren Hastings. These great men the author weighs carefully and critically, not hiding their weak points, but showing how they were the greatest rulers of India up to that period, and the only Governors General he ranks with them as administrators afterwards are Lords Wellesley and Dalhousie.

The rest of the book is as adequate as the first portion, and brings us down to the Mutiny and the end of John Company. It is a book the author may well be proud to have written, the marshalling of facts, covering a long period, and the style in which they are unfolded to the reader being all that could be desired.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

INDIAN THEISM By Nicol Macnicol, M.A., D.LITT. (*Oxford University Press.*) 6s net

A study of Theism in India from the Vedic to the Mohammedan period is no mean task to review shortly, especially when it is published under the auspices of "The Religious Quest of India." The author has done his learned work most thoroughly, and even the ignorant reviewer can see that his study is a fine one. Indian, or at least Vedic, Theism began with the idea of Varuna, a Theistic entity which was conquered by Pantheism. The writer traces the Theistic idea historically from Vishnū, "the deliverer of mankind from distress," who was the supreme god of those whose hearts were filled with *bhakti*, or "living faith," through the Upanisads and Buddhism, into the Mahayana School of which much Theism has been incorporated, and through the Epics and Sūtras. An interesting chapter is the Theistic element in the Sikh religion under Kabir and Nanuk, and there are two more on the repulsive Siva Bhakti and the erotic Śākta sect. Then comes the theology and criticism, and the latter must be commended for pure scholarship written in clear language.

A. F. S.

FICTION

ELLIOTT, LIMITED. By D. S. Mann. (*Sidgwick and Jackson.*) 6s. net.

THIS is an autobiographical story, which in a simple and brief manner reveals to us the life of a lad, the son of an East Anglian farmer, entering upon the struggle of life under most unfavourable circumstances. He had no backing of any sort, either of family, money, or education. His one aim was to help his mother, who had given him a good-for-nothing stepfather. He is expected to earn his living at the age of fifteen; and his knowledge is of the slightest. But in spite of all difficulties, he generally got a job of some sort by saying—and this is very characteristic of our youths of the present day—that he knew all about it. When interrogated by the director of a brewery, whose advertisement he had answered, whether his knowledge pertained to organic or inorganic chemistry, he was at first "stumped," not knowing what it meant; but promptly answered "inorganic" in order to save himself. On the way home he spent sixpence on an elementary textbook on Inorganic Chemistry to see what it really was. However, fortunately the laboratory part of his work never went beyond spending a few hours among the instruments with the young master, who was interested in making experiments. When the latter's interest faded, our hero's work relapsed into invoicing and checking accounts. The reader is glad when at last, after a comparatively long time of drudgery of this sort at ten shillings a week, the young man, striving for something better, resolves to change his life and to try soldiering. In this capacity he first goes to Africa, then to India, and at twenty emerges as a journalist and the author of a book, in which he describes his experiences. But this book, although it reaped some kind of fame, brought him no money, and his earnings in the journalistic world were not up to much. Matters improve when he works for Addison, who runs an Australian journalistic and publicity business. In the long line of women who in one way or another enter into his life, Katherine is the only sympathetic one. Unfortunately he has to abandon her for reasons which prove to be no reasons—an illness which he found could be cured in time. The marriage he contracts with the unsympathetic but rich daughter of a man who settles upon him £500 a year may seem an unsatisfactory ending; but it certainly is a piece of the realistic and prosaic life which is ours. We may ask ourselves whether it does not mark a transition in the art of novel-writing. A reader of this book cannot forget it.

L. M. R.

CURRENT PERIODICALS

THE NEAR EAST

MR. H. CHARLES WOODS ON GERMAN INTRIGUES IN THE NEAR EAST

In a very interesting contribution to the February issue of the *Contemporary Review*, Mr. Woods traces the avenues of influence employed by the Germans in the Balkan Peninsula. He divides his article into two

parts, the first of which he calls "Stage of Initiation" of their programme throughout the years which preceded the war; the second being the "Consummation" of that policy since the outbreak of hostilities. Of the entrance of Turkey into the war, he says: "But the all-important feature and real turning in the situation—a feature which has influenced the whole conduct of the war—was the escape from the Allied Fleet and the subsequent presence at Constantinople of the *Göben* and the *Breslau*. Instead of grasping the fact then and there, in the month of August, 1914, that the arrival of these ships would enable Germany to rush Turkey into the war, and instead of immediately following them into the Dardanelles, not as the enemies of Turkey, but as a peaceful precaution and as the protectors and friends of the true Ottoman people, the Allies consistently ignored the markedly apparent fact that Turkey would seize the first opportunity of throwing in her lot with Germany, and permitted the enemy to continue to develop the situation to his own advantage." Later he says: "The enemy has occupied, and still occupies, a more advantageous position than the Allies. His policy, run by one man—the Kaiser—for one object—German aggression—is purely destructive. It has never been framed in the interests of the present or future allies of Germany, but solely in those of Berlin. On the other hand, before, as since, the beginning of the war, we have striven to create a Balkan state of things which would react not only in our favour, but also in that of those most closely affected by it. The position of the Allies, too, is always complicated by the fact that whilst they are compelled to act in common agreement, each one must necessarily be possessed of her own vital interests and special friendships. In the Balkans this must obviously have had its effects in dealing with the incidents which preceded the entry of Turkey into the war, in relation to the negotiations concerning the concessions which should have been made to secure the continued neutrality, if not the active support, of Bulgaria, and last, but not least, in connection with events in Roumania, in Greece, and at Salonika."

In the same issue the Right Hon. W. F. Bailey, C.B., and J. V. Bates contribute their impressions of a tour in Roumania, and Baron Mayor des Planches pleads for an all-Ally connection between England and Italy, through which the Allies' fast traffic to the East should pass. There is also an excellent article on General Smuts' campaign in East Africa, in which the author pays the following tribute to the General's second despatch. He says: "This despatch is the only one written by any General during the war which is of real use to the historian; . . . it appears to be a model of military narrative written to inform and not mystify the public."

The *Contemporary Review* publishes in its February issue a very readable account of an Englishwoman's experiences in Salonica during 1916 by Mrs. Duckworth; and in the *Edinburgh Review* John Mavrogordato writes on "The End of Greek Monarchy." He says: "The time is ripe for the proclamation of a Greek Republic. If it be objected, as conservatism or inertia will always object, that the people are not yet fit

for it, the answer is that if a Greek people, after a political experience of more than two thousand years, have not yet learnt to govern themselves, it is high time they began. . . . Proclamation of a Republican Government would not only put new life into the movement of national defence and complete the demoralization of Germanic influence, it would carry a message of revival to Greeks all over the world, and call back to the mother country some of the thousands in England and America who have learned the value of independence "

In the *Quarterly Review* for January there is a notable article on "German War Literature on the Near and Middle East," in which Mr T. F. A. Smith outlines Teuton plans and aspirations in that quarter.

INDIA

The *Review of Reviews* is publishing a remarkable "silhouette" of Dr. John Pollen, wherein Miss F. R. Scatterd quotes him as saying

"Had I been appointed Lieutenant Governor of Bengal in the 'nineties, when the bomb-throwing first began, I would have had no hesitation whatever in surrounding myself with a bodyguard of stalwart young Bengalis, and entrusting myself and Belvedere (Government House) to their exclusive care. 'Trust begets trust' "

The *Nineteenth Century* contains an article by A. Yusuf Ali on "India's Effort. Is it sufficiently understood?" He says

"To sum up, the fine fighting resources of India have done, and are doing, untold service throughout our far-flung battle line. Her financial resources, public and private, such as they are, are being thrown into the pool. She is clearing the decks for an unlimited Imperial War Loan. . . . Her princes and people have shown a loyal determination to subordinate minor issues to the war. Any isolated conspiracies of sedition or disloyalty have been handed up by the people themselves."

The *Journal of the United Service Institution of India*, in its January issue, publishes the Gold Medal Prize Essay for 1916, gained by Major W. E. Crum (Calcutta Light Horse) on "The Improvement in Strength and Efficiency of the Volunteer Forces in India." These are his conclusions

"That as regards strength, no material improvement can be expected without some form of Universal Training. That as regards efficiency, Universal Training is also imperative in order to ensure discipline and attendance at parades, but we also require: (1) A much more rigid observance of the regulations for the Volunteer Force as regards training and efficiency of officers and men, which can probably be obtained by the

appointment of Brigade Staff officers to superintend this training ; (2) more attention to musketry by way of improvement of range and insistence on field firing ; (3) better organization and equipment ; (4) a higher standard of efficiency ; and (5) a much more liberal finance by Government.

THE FAR EAST

In the same issue of the *Quarterly Review* there is a noteworthy article entitled "Some Tibetan Abbeys in China," in which Mr. Reginald Farrer writes thus of the Lamas :

"Now, wholesale condemnations are invariably misleading ; and if the traveller looks at these things with his own eyes he will soon see that the Lamas are a set of monks little better or worse than any other set of monks . . . But learning and goodness can thrive as freely in the Halls of Heaven as in any little house of Christian sectaries ; and perhaps at yet ampler leisure in the Abbeys of Chebson."

The February issue of the *Geographical Journal* contains a valuable article by Mr. Reginald Farrer on "The Kansu Marches of Tibet on the Borders of China." He is the first Englishman to have been in this district, which a Russian explorer or two visited some time ago. In the lecturer's words, "that wildest and least understood of lands, which with such brazen blandness appears on maps in the colours of China ; yet in reality an absolutely lawless and independent chaos of Alpine kingdoms and peoples, owing as little allegiance to Lhasa on the one hand as to Peking on the other. No writ runs current there, of Emperor, President, or Sovereign Pontiff ; there are no plain boundaries, no Government to replace the ancient authority of China which made travel so smooth and comfortable a business in all parts of the Empire."

GENERAL

The 128th part of the *Times* "History of the War" contains the account of the clearing of the Sinai Peninsula through General Murray's brilliant campaign of 1916.

We have received the November number of a Rome fortnightly journal, *La Nuova Rassegna*, containing articles of general interest. The notes of the month are of a hopeful character. Signore Francesco Arcà, deputy, of the editorial committee, discusses the constitutional position of the supreme command. His conclusion is that all civil and military forces should be fused for war purposes—that there should be a fusion, in fact, of the Government and the high command : "To-day urgent reality imposes an integral, organic solution of the problem—for a new war, new organization of the supreme powers of the nation." In his article on Russia and Germany, Signore Giulio Colajanni indicates certain advantages which

Germany possessed over her eastern neighbour: sympathy in exalted quarters, German barons in the Baltic provinces, Germans in the banks and bureaucracy, Russians brought up in German colonies; in addition, Germany knew of anxiety concerning Poland, and the Ottoman Empire which controlled the Straits and imposed diplomatic fetters on Russia. The Germans worked by underground methods, striving to inflame popular discontent, but unsuccessfully. Diplomatic exchanges were suggested, that of Poland for Galicia and Bukovina, but to no purpose. The result has been that Tsar and people are united in rejecting a peace treacherous to Russian and European interests. "Silvius" discusses the measure of autonomy granted to Galicia, which was not to raise that province to the position of Hungary, but was of a limited character. It was a sign of traditional Austrian friendliness towards the Poles, who have always been in a superior position to the Ruthenian element. The execution of the project must depend upon a *Par Germanica*, to which the Entente Powers are irrevocably opposed. Signor Romolo Murri contributes an interesting study of President Wilson, personally and politically. In Mexican affairs, as in the European conflict, Signore Murri finds that the President's neutrality has neither contented nor discontented anyone in America. We are favourably impressed with the general appearance and contents of our Italian contemporary.

Flying, a new penny weekly devoted principally to aviation, will be found of interest both to experts and laymen. It is the first paper on this subject which has succeeded in avoiding dulness while teaching aviation in a way that commands attention.

ARTICLES TO NOTE.

- "The Chinese Attitude towards Japan," by J. W. Jenks (*Scribner's*, February)
 "Japan's Part in the War," by N. Kado (*New Europe*, February 16)
 "Great Britain and the East" (*Near East*, February 16).
 "My Wanderings with the Flag through India," by J. Pollen (*Esperanto Monthly*, February)

EAST AND WEST, LIMITED, PUBLICATIONS.

Mrs. Sonia E. Howe informs us that she has realized over £200 from the pamphlet, "St. George the Patron Saint of all Brave Russians," for the Russian Prisoners of War Help Committee (President, Countess Benckendorff) and the Anglo-Russian Hospital.

Dr. Pollen informs us that he has handed over £100 to the Indian Soldiers Fund from the sales of "Omar Khayyam."

It is hoped that our new publication, "Russian Rhymes and Lyrics," by the same distinguished author, the proceeds of which are being devoted to funds for Russian soldiers, will realize a substantial sum for this charity.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

MAY 15, 1917

FRONTIERS

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE, F.R.G.S., F.R.HIST.SOC.

IF I venture to touch upon an abstruse problem which Sir Thomas Holdich has made the theme of the latest product of his wide experience and fertile pen,* I do so fully realizing that the subject can only be adequately handled by one who to the qualifications of the historian, geographer and ethnographer adds those of the scientific surveyor. To the last of these I can make no pretension. Such work as it fell to my lot to do—for instance, between the Irrawaddy and the Salween—was quite unscientific. Apart, however, from travel and study undertaken on my own account, I was privileged to take part in the work and experiences of the Afghan Boundary Commission of 1884-86, the survey party accompanying which was under the command of Major T. H. Holdich, as he then was. The address which he delivered before the Geographical Section of the British Association on September 7, 1916, not unnaturally followed the line of reasoning and embodied the arguments put forward in the volume entitled "Political Frontiers and Boundary Making," which made its appearance very soon afterwards. Professor Lyde, unavoidably prevented from presenting his own paper on the same subject to the British Association, has since further elaborated his views on Frontiers in an article contributed to the *Scottish Geographical*

* "Political Frontiers and Boundary Making," by Colonel Sir T. H. Holdich. Macmillan, 1916.

Magazine for November, 1916, in which he contends that Sir Thomas's "position was essentially military, and reminded one that much of his demarcation work had been done on ground which he had fought over in his younger days," and that he was still, regardless of the flight of time, "really criticizing a political line from the point of view of a young Captain of Engineers on very arduous active service." The savour of this little touch of humorous satire is delectable. Let us relish it and pass on. There is ever a wide gulf between the soldier and the academician.

Sir Thomas Holdich in his turn—in the Introduction to his "Political Frontiers and Boundary Making," indulges in a discreet allusion to eminent writers who have "set forth an academic ideal" of international boundaries and thus pronounces judgment on them: "I may perhaps venture to assert that these theories of the principles which should govern the adoption of an international boundary by no means accord with the exigencies of a practical delimitation"; and concludes with the pregnant remark: "The discussion of such an important subject as international frontiers and their boundaries might well exercise the literary skill of a profound thinker and writer."

We have had made to us a suggestion which may in due time bear fruit. Sir Thomas, as I will show presently, is not the first to make it. Will any one man face such an undertaking, or should it be entrusted to a scientific society? It is manifest that the author of "The Romance of Indian Surveys,"* and many a book and essay all bearing more or less on the "boundary" problem, has himself qualifications for the work which few others possess. An experience almost unique in its scope is his, and I would here venture to refer to one instance of it. The November, 1916, number of the *Royal Geographical Journal* contains a note recording the progress of the "Indo-Russian Triangulation Connection," which recalls to me certain memoirs of thirty-two years ago.

* Lecture by Sir T. H. Holdich before the Royal Society of Arts, on January 13, 1916.

When the Afghan Boundary Commission started in September, 1884, from Nushki on its march to the Helmand and across Sistan to Herat and the Murghab, the establishment of this "Connection" was a primary aim of the survey party accompanying it. That party consisted of Major T. H. Holdich, Captain St. George Gore, and Lieut. the Hon. M. G. Talbot, all of the Royal Engineers and Indian Survey. Turning back to the letters which I then wrote to the *Pioneer*, I find one dated November, 1884, and written from Lash-Juwain in Sistan, which says: "The officers of the Survey are busy, not only from sunrise to sunset—nay, even the falling shades of night bring them but a short respite; for no sooner has daylight closed the innings of the plane-table and the prismatic compass than the twinkle of the stars intimates that 'time is up,' and the innings of the theodolite commences; and the still night air is broken by solemn voices proclaiming mystic numbers and degrees which fall with comic meaninglessness on my unscientific ear. Since the unfortunate break in the chain of trigonometrical observations caused by the haziness of the atmosphere between Rudbar and Kalah-i-Fath (on the banks of the Helmand River), owing to which the connection with the Indian Triangulation system was unavoidably severed, a new system of triangulation on the basis of the traverse, which has been successfully carried through, has been established. Although the scheme of carrying the Indian system through has thus been thwarted, the importance of the results of this survey will suffer thereby little if any diminution."

More than thirty years have gone by since Major Holdich kindly explained to me the outlines of this perhaps the first attempt to connect the triangulations of India and Russia. From the report of the Pamir Boundary Commission of 1895, when Colonel Holdich was again at the head of the Survey operations, it does not appear that any special plan was made to connect the Indian and Russian Triangulations; but Major Wahab states on p. 48 of the Report that "a direct trigonometrical connection was made between

the station in the Mission Camp, on the borders of Lake Victoria, and the stations of the great Trigonometrical Survey, with only two intermediate steps." The *Geographical Journal* of November, 1916, pp. 418-19, quotes Colonel Lenox-Conyngham as paying a high tribute to the work done by the Pamirs Commission of 1895, and adds: "It must be noticed that although a connection has now been made between Indian and Russian triangulation, the Russian work is at present not connected with the general triangulation of the Russian Empire." This, I gather, explains why the Pamirs Report makes no express reference to this connection.

When Sir Thomas Holdich instanced "*Frontiers*" as a theme worthy of a "profound thinker and writer," for the moment it seemed to me that he had forgotten "*Frontiers*," the Romanes Lecture delivered on November 2, 1907, by the last President of the Royal Geographical Society, who was then, as now, the Chancellor of the University of Oxford. For some years before 1907 the situation in the Middle East had been acute. In January of 1902, just when the sanction of the Sultan was given to the Baghdad Railway concession awarded to a German syndicate, Mr. (now Sir) Joseph Walton initiated a notable debate in the House of Commons on Persia and the Persian Gulf. Most of those who took part in that debate gathered that same evening round the hospitable table of Mr. H. F. B. Lynch.

Between 1902 and 1907 a *volte-face* took place both in European and Middle Eastern politics, which led up to that entente, which is now one of the great forces claiming to guide the world's destinies. In these matters, as regards the East at any rate, no one was more fully behind the scenes than Lord Curzon of Kedleston. Small wonder that, for his Persian and Indian experience, he selected "*Frontiers*" as the theme of his Romanes Lecture, a lecture which exhibits the mental treasures and literary skill of one of the most scholars, travellers, statesmen, administrators, and leaders of the day. More than nine years have passed since

its delivery. On p. 83 the Lecturer says: "The future of Persia and Afghanistan constitutes one of those problems on which speculation on an occasion like the present would be at once improper and unwise." We may equally feel to-day, after all that has happened since 1914, that speculation on the issue of the clash of arms and ambitions between the Powers already involved in war, not to mention those of neutrals who may be hereafter drawn in, is at present uncalled for and unprofitable. It is a subject none the less that insists on engaging our thoughts and, indeed, has already produced food for the printing-presses. But a truce, for the moment, to forecasts, which, in anticipation of the end, however remote, of a colossal war such as the present, rest on very hypothetical bases. It is the privilege of time to disconcert prophecy. Did anyone in 1900 foretell that Russia would in 1917 be a Republic, and the three Empires upon which she periodically encroaches—viz., China, Persia and Turkey—would within a decade have set up, or tried to set up, constitutional government? As 1916 drew to its close, did anyone dream that the Ottoman Empire's gift to Europe for the New Year of 1917 would be a repudiation of "its subordinate position under the collective guardianship of the Great Powers," and an assertion of its entry into "the group of European Powers, with all the rights and prerogatives of an independent Government"? One hundred and ten years ago Napoleon and Alexander I. of Russia, conferring together at Tilsit, treated Turkey as doomed. Stanley Lane-Poole's biography of Stratford Canning abounds in allusions to the moribund state of "The Sick Man." In March, 1832, Canning concludes a despatch to Lord Palmerston in these words: "The Turkish Empire is evidently hastening to its dissolution, and an approach to the civilization of Christendom affords the only chance of keeping it together for any length of time. That chance is a very precarious one at best, and should it unfortunately not be realized, the dismemberment that would ensue could hardly fail of disturbing the peace of Europe through a long series of years."

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No man laboured more or did more to save Turkey than Stratford Canning, and of his forecast we may say, to save words, that time has dealt gently with it. The superb note sounded in the Ottoman Proclamation of the New Year of 1917, will be taken down several octaves by the end of this war, unless some unforeseen visitation of fortune wrecks the avowed determination of the Allies of the Entente. As regards the Balkans and Turkey, that determination is expressed with no ambiguity in the Allies' reply to President Wilson's "Peace" Note. One of the principles laid down by Mr. Lloyd George in his historic speech at Carnarvon on February 5, was that "the Turk is incapable of governing any other race justly, and even his own well." That verdict, we presume, means the ultimate removal of both Europe and Armenia, not to mention other portions which are now succumbing to British arms, from the limits of the Turkish Empire.

"It is a remarkable fact," says Lord Curzon,* "that, although frontiers are the chief anxiety of nearly every Foreign Office in the civilized world, and are the subject of four out of five political treaties and conventions that are now concluded, and though, as a branch of the service of Government, Frontier policy is of the first practical importance, and has a more profound effect upon the peace or warfare of nations than any other factor, political or economic, there is no work or treatise in any language, so far as I know, which treats of the subject as a whole." Such an authoritative pronouncement fully justifies the production of Sir Thomas Holdich's latest work, and the more so in that the volume is the fruit of an experience in the practical settlement of boundaries to which few living men can pretend.

The term "Boundary Settlement Officer" is very well known in India. Memory will not favour me with a clear recollection of the source whence I heard that the Government of India so highly appreciates boundary settlement

* Romanes Lecture, 1907, p. 4.

disputes between Native States as inexpensive schools for young Political Officers, that it rarely *insists* upon their final adjustment. The costs of settlement are, it should be noted, borne by the Native States. The Turco-Persian frontier, from the Persian Gulf to Mount Ararat, has so far failed of settlement from motives of, it is rumoured, a somewhat cognate character. On the part of Turkey and Persia there has been certainly no anxiety for definite settlement, and if Britain and Russia in 1913 were, as indeed they were, determined to have no further delay, I venture to think that the Baghdad Railway and the *Drang nach Osten* were important factors in clinching that determination. Under the title of "From the Gulf to Ararat" we are indebted to Mr. G. E. Hubbard for a well-written account of the work of this Anglo-Russian Commission, which in less than a year completed a task to which previous Commissions had devoted two or even three years, and then had not completed it. Lord Cromer's review of this book as "Frontier Making" in the *Spectator* of September 23, 1916, brings it into line with the theme of the work to which Sir Thomas Holdich has devoted his wide and long experience, and, in a measure, affords countenance to his contention that in a mountain line we find the nearest approach to the ideal frontier. This contention Sir Thomas has more recently elaborated and emphasized in an article in *The New Europe* (No. 17. February 8, 1917), in which he shows the value of the Pyrenees to Spain, the Alps to Italy, and the Tyrol to Austria, at the same time admitting that for the Alsace-Lorraine problem he can offer no satisfactory solution. From the days of the Medes and the Assyrians the range of mountains stretching from Ararat to the head of the Persian Gulf has constituted a natural boundary between nations and kingdoms.* And yet since the advent of the Turk in Mesopotamia, two hundred and eighty years ago, the precise frontier between Persia and Turkey had never, until quite re-

* For further information consult Mrs. Bishop's "Kurdistan" (John Murray, 1891), and Curson's "Persia."

cently, been delimited. On the present occasion the British and Russian Commissioners were invested with full powers, which greatly accelerated the settlement. The completion of the work of demarcation coincided almost to a day with the outbreak of war between Turkey and the Allies. On the termination of this war the probabilities are that the frontier agreed upon in 1914 will have to be modified. Lord Cromer, in his review, makes a comment which may appropriately be quoted here: "The task which lay before Mr. Wratislaw and his colleagues was to divide a country between two nations of different racial and linguistic affinities, the Turks and the Persians, whilst in reality on ethnic grounds it belonged to a third nation, the Arabs, who spoke a different language from either, and came of another racial stock. In such circumstances it is no surprise to learn that the frontier which was actually adopted 'supplies instances of practically every principle of delimitation known to science.' It is sometimes geographical, at others racial, occasionally, 'roughly speaking, linguistic,' and when all these principles proved bankrupt, 'frankly artificial, following stated lines of longitude and latitude.' It will be seen, therefore, that the work of frontier-making is arduous."

Such is the verdict of a statesman and historian of very wide experience on the actual practical issue of the latest scientific effort to fix a frontier. So far from any one principle of delimitation vindicating its superiority, *all*—mountain, river, racial, linguistic, and "frankly artificial"—are called into play. Academic theory is scattered to the winds. Sir Thomas in his Introduction says: "The first and greatest object of a national frontier is to insure peace and goodwill between contiguous peoples by putting a *definite edge* to the national political horizon." (The italics are mine.) Surely the Great Power that has gone nearest to achieving such a national frontier must be the United States of America.

Human nature will have principles of its own, not always scientific, and certainly not always philanthropic. Cursed has been he from very early days who removes his neighbour's

landmark, and yet—he removes it. For the *οἱ πολλοί*, "fight for the right," as a mere abstract conception, is little more than a counsel of perfection, an admirable copybook headline; while "might is right" stands as a very practical and much practised motto. Said Prince Bismarck to Count Beust in 1871, apropos of Austria's designs on the Balkans and Constantinople: "It is impossible to conceive of a Great Power not making its faculty for expansion a vital question."* "Faculty for expansion" means, and has for many centuries meant, encroachment on a neighbour, be he civilized or barbarian. The very barbarism of the barbarian is the excuse for 'expanding' on to him, and oft leads the assailant into super-barbarous atrocities.

In *The Times* of February 6, Mr. Frederic Harrison has aptly quoted "Paradise Lost" to depict "the German Inferno." One attribute of the Kaiser he overlooked—his "cant." Lucifer was above it.

Both Lord Curzon of Kedleston and Sir Thomas Holdich are agreed that it is full time that the *magnum opus* on "Frontiers" were undertaken. It is difficult to conceive a more favourable time than the present. A Congress will assemble after the war and rearrange the boundaries of four at least out of five continents. There will be all the material amassed there that the intellect and industry of the profoundest thinker and writer can desire. His great work should be epoch-making and form an admirable companion on the shelf for Hugo Grotius's "De Jure Belli et Pacis."

* Prince von Btlow's "Imperial Germany," revised edition, 1916.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY EDUCATION: A PRACTICAL SCHEME FOR SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

BY LADY KATHARINE STUART

" AFTER the War " is the time appointed of patriotic statesmen and of reformers of both sexes and all classes for a grand social reconstruction to be carried out by the people and for the people through the instrumentality of the best experts upon any given subjects that are to be found. Man and woman, capital and labour, Empire and Colony, alike look forward to *The Day*—not the day of destruction, of demolition, miscalculated upon by military despotism, but the day of Revival in matters spiritual and Reconstruction in things practical that will form the commencement of a new era in the history of humanity.

" After the War," then, is going to be " no day of small things ": it will be a time when clear heads and warm hearts and the gift of plain-speaking, followed up by well-doing, will be the need of the nation as never before. As a man in whose industrial schemes the public may put confidence, we desire to draw attention to the work of Captain Petavel, who for many years past has given himself to the cause of constructive social reform, the study first of existing evils, such as overcrowding, lack of openings, lack of suitable implements, and unhealthy conditions of labour; and secondly of the remedy for all these evils. He has finally, after consultation with authorities in England and else-

where, decided that India offered him the best chance of success in his experiment; and after taking counsel with experienced landowners and social reformers such as Sir Rabindranath Tagore, he has definitely started what it is hoped may become a self-supporting educational colony, generously launched by the Maharajah of Cossimbazar.

Englishmen, upon the outbreak of this war, almost universally lamented that they had failed to listen to the counsel of Lord Roberts. It is not yet too late to do this, however. Lord Roberts gave Captain Petavel cordial approval and encouragement, as have also Lord Crewe, Lord Milner, and many great authorities in economics, while Professor Walker in the *Hibbert Journal* describes the Captain's book as "the most original, the most fascinating, and the most hope-inspiring book I have ever read on the social question." So much, then, for his sponsors; now for the man, his message and his mission.

He has first of all to point out, what is indeed self-evident to most of us nowadays, that our social and economic system is such that institutions such as workhouses, lunatic asylums, inebriate homes, and so forth, are for ever on the increase, testifying to thoughtful observers that our form of civilization undermines our health, impairs our reason, and atrophies our spiritual faculties. Women suffer even more than men under economic evils. A woman may toil all her life for a pittance and end her days on charity, but by this scheme all this is to be changed. The new era which we hope to see inaugurated will see in man more than an automatic machine for the manufacture of bombs, pinheads, or the seeds in raspberry jam, and in woman more than an anæmic victim of household drudgery. The agricultural, industrial labour colony, as described by Captain Petavel as tested in Switzerland, Holland, and India, will give everybody a chance—a chance of health, a chance of self-development, a chance of expressing himself or herself as one of the concepts of the Creator.

The originator of this educational "labour-colony" idea

evidently does not regard life as a sort of bran-pie in which any individual fishes up any sort of task at random. He conceives of the universe as a sublime order of things in which, as it has been well expressed, "Nature shows herself willing to make any man that which he desires to be; if, however, he evinces no desire and makes no effort, Nature assumes his wish to be a nobody and grants his prayer."

This planet was never intended to become such a man-made muddle; it is included in a Divine scheme in which every created being has an appointed part. The law of the universe is harmony, and within his breast every being carries sealed orders to correspond with what Nature gives him as an environment of outward circumstance. Everyone has his "dharma," his vocation, and therefore the first item on the programme of Captain Petavel and the Maharajah of Cossimbazar is, very rightly, *Organisation*.

He begins with organizing the young into juvenile labour colonies for many reasons. In the first place, as George Eliot says, "It's but little good you do, watering the last year's crop"; and secondly, as the Irishman remarked, "*The best way to prevent what has happened is to stop it before it begins*," or, in other words, catch your boy before evil surroundings and bad companions have turned him into a criminal; catch your girl before lack of employment, unsuitable work, frustrated faculties, or underpayment, have turned her into an inebriate; catch your weak character before he becomes a mental case, and, having secured him as far as may be from temptation, allow him to grow and to unfold his faculties into the particular form of manhood his Creator intended him to become.

We think India a very suitable field for this kind of innovation, because the whole social structure of India is built up on the idea of "dharma"—"duty" or "vocation"; we really have no exact equivalent in our language for the term—and that not only of the individual, but also of the nation; for what is the Indian idea of a Messiah?

"Whenever the dharma decays and a-dharma prevails, then

I manifest Myself. For the protection of the good and for the destruction of the evil; for the firm establishment of the

NATIONAL RIGHTEOUSNESS,

I am born again and again."

In India poverty is the great problem that has to be solved. The majority of children appear to suffer from malnutrition—some authorities say 78 per cent. A slum child in England was once given a meal by a kindly curate. He provided, as he thought, sufficient, not realizing that this child had been half-starved. Presently he looked up and saw an empty platter: "Have you finished? Then say your grace!" he commanded. "*Grace?* what was '*grace*'?" Dim memories of something learnt at a mother's knee stirred in the child's brain. He arose, came and stood before the young man, and folded his hands:

"Please, sir, I *could* have eaten more; but I'm *very* thankful."

It would surely be an aim not unworthy even of a Missionary Society to change this plaintive note into a fervent and lively "*Thank God for good square meal,*" as two little Australians, trained by a father who had known hunger, never failed to do.

India suffers from the under-production of food per acre, and this less on account of lack of land than of suitable agricultural implements and machinery, and from the lack of combination between industrial and agricultural callings. This would be met by the labour colony.

According to Captain Petavel's scheme, children should in course of time—

1. Pay largely for their own education. This would mean instruction up to the age of twelve or fourteen; after which their labour would pay for the tuition. The schooling they receive should be technical as well as the three R's. In this way overstimulating the brain of the child would be avoided, and his body developed by suitable play and light work; thus—

2. Headwork should proceed in combination with the trade to be followed. This system, applied to youth and health, will surely work wonders, since it has been found to pay financially and morally even in the case of "*work-shies*," *tramps*, and *ne'er-do-weels*, who under the Swiss or Dutch system not only support themselves, but are able to put by and become independent farmers after leaving the labour colony. We hope we may yet live to see all gaols and prisons run in the spirit that believes "New actions are the only apologies and explanations of old ones that the noble can bear to offer or receive," and not in the spirit that would destroy body and soul alike by confinement and vindictive severity.

Tagore, who has been extraordinarily successful in dealing with high-spirited youth on similar lines, was once asked for his secret. He replied: "I make them happy."

How wise, and how like a poet! It is said the Arabs guide their horses by a whisper. The young Indian, like some high-spirited thoroughbred, feels within himself boundless possibilities of achievement, and the wise sportsman will give him his head, trusting to his native good sense to his allowing himself to be guided by the voice and hand of real love and pride to sure victory in the contests of the world.

Though never having had experience of a *juvenile* labour colony, the writer has had some little acquaintance with community-life based on the principle of co-operation instead of competition. The community was not entirely self-supporting—though it could readily have become so:—it adopted the idea of "production for use," and it had the corporate life of a family that engaged in every sort of work, from the production of spineless cactus, as fodder for cattle in famine time, to the editing and printing of papers and magazines of all kinds. The "family spirit," where the Editor, the Librarian, the Gardener, the Dairyman, the Engineer, the Printer, the Publisher, the Author, the Lawyer, the School-master, the Doctor, the Nurse, etc., all met in a family circle night after night to be taught and to discuss anything and everything in the nature of perplexing problems, was an

education in itself. The instruction we thus obtained, not only from those in authority, but from one another, was, we believed, unique and priceless in value. If you wanted an expert on Sanscrit, on art, on music, on law, on farming, or on medical matters, there was always one available. There were not many laws, but alcohol, meat-eating and card-playing for money were forbidden, and slackers were not encouraged to remain. The output in work of all kinds in this community was astounding !

In conclusion, we cordially commend Captain Petavel and his generous supporter, the Maharajah of Cossimbazar, to the sympathy and practical support, first, of the ruling powers in India as a safety-valve for Indian unrest—only another name for frustrated faculties; secondly, of the missionaries, who might thus live over again certain chapters in the Acts of those Apostles who studied with profit the poets of other peoples; thirdly, of Mrs. Besant, and through her the Theosophical Educational Trust; and lastly, of the generous public, Indian and English, who can thus unite to make the man of to-morrow the pride of both.

And we suggest that this support should not be merely financial. Captain Petavel deserves more of his countrymen than that: he deserves not only money—which the Maharajah of Cossimbazar is so liberally providing to begin with—but men to follow in his footsteps and those of Mr. Andrews and of his master, Tagore, who has "given *himself* to the world."

Everywhere indeed, but nowhere quite so much as in India, it is the *personal equation* that counts for success in any given enterprise. In this scheme it is particularly evident that all must depend upon the application of the principles to practice. In ruling a labour colony even more than in ruling a nation—

"For forms of government let fools contest;
Whatever's best administered is best."

The thing to be secured is good *administration*. This involves the employment of men and women of sterling

character and religious enthusiasm. There is a certain impatience of religion nowadays and a tendency to substitute for it a code of ethics. This, in our opinion, would be fatal. In Young England and Young India the poet has not yet died—we may thank Heaven,—and Democracy, speaking through her great prophet Whitman, asserts positively: "I say that the real and permanent grandeur of these States must be their religion; otherwise there can be no real and permanent grandeur."

If we sincerely desire to see "Paradise Regained," let us not deceive ourselves into imagining that vast sums of money are needed to buy it. "Paradise," it has been shrewdly observed, "is quite cheap; it's only hell that is so expensive," involving as it does millions wasted upon luxuries. Paradise is not only cheap, but quite simple. It is to dwell together in unity, fellowship—no more than that. The secret lies in the word *together*, for woman alone has ruled the planet, and it has ended in woe and wickedness; and man alone has tried to rule it, and brought it to unparalleled disaster. Now at last it is dawning upon them both that the Creator intended them to do it *together*.

"Heaven lies about the feet of mothers," said the Prophet Muhammad. Let us call the Indian woman from her purdah and the Anglo-Indian woman from her social preoccupations to come and give *themselves* to the world; for, as Christ put it, "The kingdom of God is within you." Let us call upon them to make earth so sweet that the very angels in heaven cannot resist its tempting fragrance. And if each in her secret soul believes her religion to be the best, what matter? Let her demonstrate her conviction by surpassing all the rest in tenderness and patience, and they will believe her! And when the Christian or the Muhammadan can say of the Hindu, "who touches *my brother* touches *Tavannes*," and when the Brahmin lady can say of the Panchama schoolgirl, "who touches *my little sister* touches *myself*," then exit the spirit of intolerance and enter the *family spirit*, and with it the moral certainty that the founda-

tions of the new era will be well and truly laid upon those two glorious and incontrovertible facts—the immanence of God and the solidarity of man.

NOTE.—The excellent educational programme put forward by Mr. Fisher is a great advance in the right direction. The scheme indicated above has this advantage: it holds out hopes of *economy* in education. Emerson accused England of being responsible for the "despotism of expense." One reason for the low birth-rate is the tremendous cost of education. This applies especially to the upper classes.

The names appended to the following statement are sufficient to show the general approval with which the scheme has been received in Calcutta.

"The Honble. the Maharajah of Cossimbazar, K.C.I.E., convened a meeting at his Rajbári of Principals of Colleges to consider the matter, and has generously decided to finance a school as advocated by the association, Captain Petavel himself acting as principal. Lord Crewe (then Secretary of State for India), the High Commissioner for Australia, the Ministers of Education of the Dominion of Canada and of the Union of South Africa and Lord Milner, subsequently asked to be kept informed of the progress of the work. The undersigned hope the ruling chiefs, noblemen, leaders of communities, and the public generally, will combine to make this first step towards an educational development in which such general interest has been shown a success. The one and only way to make it succeed is to show pupils good prospects of earning a living. This will be done if the Indian Polytechnic Association is heartily supported by public-spirited people of means.

"W. C. WORDSWORTH, Principal, Presidency College.

"G. C. BOSE, Principal, Bangobasi College.

"W. S. URQUHART, Principal, Scottish Churches College.

"THE PRINCIPAL of St. Xavier's College.

"H. DE MAITRA, Principal, City College.

"P. C. RAY, Principal, College of Science.

"W. A. HOLLAND, Principal, St. Paul's Cathedral College.

"R. NIVEDI, Principal, Ripon College.

"S. RAY, Principal, Metropolitan College.

"K. R. BOSE, Principal, Central College of the University of Calcutta."



THE JUBILEE OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

(FOUNDED 1866)

CHAPTER IV

At the opening Session of the year 1884-1885, the Association had to record the deaths of its (retired) second President, the Rt. Hon. Sir Lawrence Peel, and of Colonel Anthony Blake Rathbone, for many years an active member of Council of the Association and latterly one of its Vice-Presidents.

Sir Lawrence Peel, a cousin of the late Sir Robert Peel, was born in 1799, graduated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and was called to the bar of the Middle Temple in 1824. He went out to Calcutta as Advocate-General of Bengal, and became Chief Justice of the Calcutta Supreme Court in 1842. He retired in 1855, and became one of the Directors of the East India Company in 1857, Treasurer of the Middle Temple in 1866, and a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1871.

Colonel Rathbone belonged to the 24th Bombay N.I., and was, besides, a Barrister of the Middle Temple. He took part in the battles of Miani and Hyderabad, and after the annexation of Sind was made Magistrate and Collector of the whole of the new territory on the left bank of the Indus. In 1853 Colonel Rathbone retired from the Service, and, on his arrival home, Lord Ellenborough wrote as follows:

"I very much regret that any circumstances should have led to your resigning your appointment in Scinde, where I

know from Sir Charles Napier that your services have been of general advantage to the country."

On Thursday, November 6, 1884, His Excellency the Earl of Dufferin received at Brown's Hotel, Dover Street, a deputation from the Association, which presented the following Memorial:

"MY LORD,

"The East India Association, a body perfectly free from party bias, and including members of every shade of political opinion, having for their sole object the promotion of the welfare of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in India, by inducing full and impartial discussion of every question connected with the advancement of the prosperity of our Eastern Empire, in desiring to offer their sincere congratulations upon your appointment to the office of Viceroy and Governor-General, as opening a wide field for the further display of those high qualities for which, in the discharge of the varied and important duties with which you have hitherto been entrusted, your Lordship has been pre-eminently distinguished, would at the same time beg to take the opportunity of bringing under your consideration the following subjects, which, among others, have recently engaged their attention.

"(1) The extension of the railway system and the construction of works of irrigation and inland navigation with a view not only to prevent a recurrence of the severe famines by which large provinces have been desolated, and millions of our fellow-subjects have perished, but also to enable India to enter upon a fair footing into competition with other countries for the supply of many of the staple commodities of which her soil and climate permit the bountiful production.

"(2) The abolition of the duty on gold and silver plate and the general encouragement of native manufactures.

"(3) The removal of race antagonism by the promotion of social intercourse between Europeans and natives, and

the diffusion of information as to the mutual advantages to be derived from the connection between Great Britain and her Asiatic Empire.

" (4) The formation of agricultural banks.

" (5) The general introduction of the principles of municipal government.

" (6) The position of the poorer members of the European and Eurasian community and the disadvantages under which they labour in procuring employment.

" (7) The conditions under which admission to the Covenanted and Statutory Civil Service is obtained.

" (8) The organization of the Native Army and the expediency of offering suitable openings for advancement to native officers.

" The Association venture to hope that you may be pleased to allow copies of their papers to be from time to time transmitted for your perusal, and in conclusion would express an earnest wish that, in the execution of the weighty task you have now undertaken, your labours may be crowned with complete success.

" I have the honour to be, my Lord,

" Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

" ORFEUR CAVANAGH
(*Chairman*).

" On behalf of the Council of the East India Association, November 3, 1884."

His Excellency assured the deputation that he would give early and careful attention to the various subjects and points raised in the Memorial.

In the following year a similar Memorial was addressed to the Rt. Hon. Baron Reay, Governor-Designate of the Bombay Presidency.

In the course of this address the economic condition of the peasantry of Western India was specially pressed on his Lordship's attention, and it was pointed out that the sad loss of life from drought which occurred in the Deccan in

1877-1879 was only a severe manifestation of the chronic poverty of the cultivators, that had been previously demonstrated by the disturbances amongst the ryots in 1875, and fully described in the Report of the Commission that investigated those occurrences. The address continued:

"The attention of our Association has been directed to this subject, and to the proposed means of relieving the pressure of pecuniary distress amongst the ryots, by the establishment of agricultural banks, and we beg leave to forward the report of a meeting when proposals to this effect were formulated by Sir William Wedderburn, a member of the Bombay Civil Service. These proposals were so far adopted, both by the Bombay and Supreme Governments, that it had been determined that the experiment of an agricultural bank should be fairly tried in one of the Deccan districts. Recently, however, we have been informed that the Indian Council has delayed or forbidden the carrying out of this moderate and tentative measure, so that, even before your departure from England, your Lordship might perhaps have it in your power to exert your influence towards obtaining the reconsideration of that adverse decision. We feel the more emboldened to urge this because we are well aware that your Lordship must have observed the working on the continent of various plans for providing systematic financial aid to the agricultural community.

"Closely allied to this subject is that of promoting the revival or introduction of indigenous mechanical arts, so that the masses of the people may not, as now, be almost entirely dependent on agriculture and its attendant precarious labour. On the occasion of Sir Evelyn Baring's departure from Bombay, the branch of our Association, in the address presented to him as retiring Finance Minister, laid great stress on the valuable service in furtherance of the foregoing object rendered by the Government, of which he had been a member, in directing that all stores for the use of the several departments of the State that could be purchased in India as cheaply, or nearly so, as through the

India Office in England should be so obtained. Various powerful interests in this country, as well as in the presidency towns of India, are opposed to this policy, but we trust that, with the view of raising the standard of industrial efficiency in India, your Lordship will use your efforts to give to local trade and industry such countenance and encouragement as is implied by the bestowal of this legitimate measure of State patronage and support.

" There is one special movement in this direction in Bombay itself on behalf of which we may with confidence solicit your Lordship's active co-operation. In commemoration of the Marquis of Ripon's Viceroyalty, the people of Bombay and Western India generally have resolved to found a well-organized school of Technical Industries. This intelligent effort to supply by voluntary association one of the now peculiarly pressing requirements in the Indian economic and social system cannot fail to claim your Lordship's approval, and, we trust, effective individual counsel and aid.

" Your Lordship has probably already followed to some extent the thorough investigation which the subject of public instruction received two years ago in every province of India at the hands of the Special Commission, under the presidency of Dr. W. W. Hunter, Director-General of Statistics. No one, we venture to submit, can be more qualified than your Lordship for exercising a sound judgment as to the conclusions arrived at as the result of this exhaustive inquiry. With the restricted funds at the command of Indian administrators, it is not easy to satisfy the claims both of primary and collegiate education, but we feel sure that no one can discriminate better than your Lordship between the relative value of both, and that under your administration the cause of public instruction in the Bombay Presidency may be expected to show new and extensive development."

In reply to this Memorial Lord Reay assured the Council that in his examination of the subjects mentioned he would

always be ready " to take into impartial consideration the suggestions of those whose experience and knowledge of the interests of the people entitled them to an attentive hearing on the best mode of promoting the welfare of Her Majesty's subjects in India."

On accepting the office of President for the fourth time, Sir Richard Temple said he believed that the Association was performing a very useful function of giving scope to free independent and impartial opinions regarding current affairs in India, of encouraging any gentleman who had anything to say that was really worth saying, and was supported by facts and statistics, and by reasonable and cogent arguments, to come forward and test them in public discussion. He was convinced that by giving this scope to individuals who sought it, they were most likely to help in forming public opinion amongst those sections of the British public who ultimately direct the course of affairs in India, and most likely to afford a stimulus to thought and to make people take an interest in the progress of India and its people.

During the year the subjects of " Self-Government in India," " The Mutual advantages of the connection between England and the Indian Empire," and " The Costliness of Indian administration," were discussed. In the course of the discussion on the latter subject the salaries paid to Indian civilians were considered, and the chairman, Mr. Donald Macfarlane, M.P., declared he agreed with Sir Orfeur Cavanagh in holding that where Indians were placed in the same position as Europeans, upon the same system and scale of education, they were fully and properly entitled to the same salaries.

" In fact," he said, " Indians are paying themselves, we are not paying; and if any objection is to be taken to the payment of native officials, that objection should come from the Indians, and not from us, because they are the paymasters."

As to the pensions of £1,000 a year drawn by Indian civil servants (after twenty-five years' service), it was taken as

proved that these pensions were half made up of their own subscriptions, deducted from salary during these twenty-five years; and as to the general expenses of Administration, Archdeacon Baly pointed out that in the Island of Ceylon (which contained only the population of a single District in Bengal—Chapra, for instance) the Governor draws £7,000 a year, the Commander-in-Chief £2,000, the Chief Justice £2,000 a year, the Puisne Judges £800 a year each, five Government Agents from £1,500 to £1,800 a year each, and so on, in comparison with the 2,500 rupees paid to a Magistrate and Collector for the administration of a whole District containing the same or greater population. "Such," he said, "was the staff considered necessary by the Colonial Office to govern Ceylon, with a population at that time of one and three-quarter millions."

During the year 1885-1886, in addition to holding five public meetings for the discussion of various subjects of importance to India, and other ordinary business, the Council issued the following circular to all Members of both Houses of Parliament:

"I am directed by the Council of this Association, a body free from political bias, and including members of various shades of opinion, to request your consideration of the fact that India possesses no representative assembly of its own, and that the duty of supervising and controlling the administration of its affairs consequently devolves upon the British Houses of Parliament.

"It is felt that at the present time there is a general desire that the aspirations and wants of India should be carefully considered and, as far as may be practicable, every reasonable cause for dissatisfaction removed, so as to secure the contentment and prosperity of its people and thus deepen and strengthen their loyalty and attachment to British rule.

"The Council therefore venture to express a hope that you may be induced to give your attention and support to such measures as may be brought under discussion having in view any of the following objects:

" 1. The due protection of the frontier, so as to insure the preservation of the blessings of peace.

" 2. The larger employment in the public services of the inhabitants of India, irrespective of race or creed.

" 3. The revival and encouragement of indigenous trades and industries.

" 4. The further development of the system of Local Self-Government.

" 5. The extension of Elementary Education.

" 6. The improvement of the condition of the rural population, and their relief from their present crushing load of indebtedness, by the introduction of a system of agricultural State banks, or other suitable means.

" 7. The development of the resources of the country by means of public works, more especially those needed for the purpose of irrigation and providing an efficient water-supply.

" 8. The constitution of the Indian Legislative Councils on a wider basis.

" 9. The exercise of a watchful supervision over the home charges of the Secretary of State for India, including the adjustment of military accounts between the British and the Indian exchequers.

" The Council would most urgently press on you to support Lord Randolph Churchill's proposal for an early and exhaustive Parliament inquiry into the affairs of India.

" I am, in conclusion, desirous to state that, should you require any information or assistance in the execution of that portion of your Parliamentary duties which relates to India, the Council will have great pleasure in affording you every aid in its power by giving access to its library or reference books, or referring you to past volumes of the *Journals* of the Association, many of which contain valuable information regarding Indian affairs."

The proper site for a new Capital of India was a subject discussed, under the Presidency of General Sir Orfeur Cavanagh, K.C.S.I., in a paper read by Sir George Campbell, K.C.S.I., M.P.

Sir George pointed out that if the Capital of India were to be selected, no one would propose to put it where Calcutta now stands, and that to all intents and purposes Calcutta has ceased to be the capital. He declared "that a site must be *selected*," as in the case of Washington, and he suggested that a medium climate—a sort of compromise, so as to make a common meeting-place for Europeans and Indians—was offered in the central tracts between the Bombay coasts and the Jumna. He suggested Nassick or Saugor; but, in every case, he urged that the great unsettlement and state of drift and expense attending the present peripatetic uncertainty should be terminated and a Capital definitely selected where the Government of India would be brought into contact with the native races and where European and Oriental could meet on equal terms. It was pointed out that in 1871 Lord Mayo had said to Mr. James Long that in Calcutta His Excellency "felt like a frog in a well," judging the heavens from a very narrow point of view, and that his object in going out hunting and shooting every Saturday was "to get some knowledge of the people and the country."

Lord Stanley of Alderley, who closed the debate on Sir George Campbell's paper, said he entirely disagreed with several gentlemen who had spoken in favour of Simla. He thought that that pleasant Hill Station ought to be relegated to what it ought never to have exceeded—that is, a sanatorium for really sick people, and that the Governor-General and Council ought to be kept out of it as much as out of the Vale of Cashmere.

The Association's activities also included the consideration of a paper by Mr. J. S. Jeans (author of "England's Supremacy") on "The Development of India," the Rt. Hon. the Earl Granville occupying the chair.

In his elaborate address Mr. Jeans argued that the curtailment of expenditure on the construction of new railways in India was little short of a national disaster, and he showed that there was great and urgent reason for calling upon

Government to proceed with the immediate construction of much larger annual mileage of railways in India.

The "Commercial Products of Assam" were also discussed in a paper advocating the commercial development of that Province, read by Mr. Oswin Weynton.

During the year the Association had to deplore the death of one of its oldest and most devoted Vice-Presidents, Sir Charles Trevelyan.

Sir Charles was born in 1807, educated at Charterhouse and Haileybury College, entered the East India Company's Service, and rose to be Finance Minister. In 1834 he married at Calcutta a sister of Lord Macaulay (then "plain Mister"). He quitted India in 1840, was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Treasury, and rendered such eminent services during the Irish famine of 1848 that he was made a K.C.B. and created a Baronet in 1874.

It was mainly owing to his zeal and perseverance that the Civil Service was thrown open to Public Competition.

In 1859 he went out again to India as Governor of Madras, but was recalled the following year because he published a protest against the financial measures of Mr. Wilson, then Finance Minister. But Sir Charles Wood, then Secretary of State for India, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government recorded "their high appreciation of his services" and the conviction that "no servant of the Crown had more earnestly endeavoured to carry out the great principles of government which were promulgated to the Princes and peoples of India in Her Majesty's gracious proclamation."

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN INDIA

BY MISS M. ASHWORTH

FROM earliest historic times the people of India have enjoyed a reputation for education and culture, and the women shared in that education and culture. In the early Vedic times they apparently enjoyed an equal status with men, and they inherited and possessed property. They took part in the sacrifices and religious duties. Viswavara composed sacred hymns. In the early Epic period, we are told that Garga Vachakuavia took an active part in the assembly of learned men summoned by Janaka, King of the Videhas, to decide which of them would prove the wisest. There is an account of a conversation between Yagnavalkya and his wife Maitreyi on the possible comprehension of the infinite in the finite. In the poem Bhagwan Manu, a punishment is prescribed for parents who keep away from school boys after five and girls after ten years of age. Megasthenes relates that literature and philosophy were studied by women of the nationalistic period.

From the fifth century B.C., however, we find limiting laws in the Hindu Codes, and these are embodied in the Code of Manu, A.D. 200. Girls were excluded from the initiatory caste rites which preceded the education of boys. "For women no sacred rite is performed with sacred texts; thus the law is settled; women who are destitute of strength and destitute of knowledge of the Vedic texts are as impure as

falsehood itself " (Manu, ix. 18). There is abundant evidence, however, that in spite of these restrictions many women of the upper classes could read and write, and we know that they read and committed to memory the great epics the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata. In one of the dramas of Kalidasa about the fifth century, one of the characters says that he must always laugh when he hears a woman read Sanscrit or a man sing a song, which would indicate not only that the women of his day did read Sanscrit, but also that the tendency of the men to scoff at learned women is no new development.

The Muhammadan conquest brought with it the purdah system, and women, forced into the seclusion of the zenana, were no longer able to share in the culture of their men. This cloud of ignorance and darkness enveloped them for seven centuries, and all trace of their previous happier state seemed to disappear. But from behind the purdah women's influence still made itself felt; kingdoms were governed and dynasties were overthrown, and still the legends of Puranas and the Epics were studied. In the upper classes women were often required to undertake the supervision and management of large estates during the minority of their owners; the women of the lower classes assisted their husbands in their work or business, and the keeping of accounts was in some cases the task of the chief woman of the family. It was in the middle classes that the ignorance of women was most complete.

With the coming of the British we get the Renaissance of women's education in India. The East India Company found themselves faced by urgent educational problems. The gradual dropping of the old exotic court language of Persia and the substitution of the vernaculars as a medium of instruction was the first important change. Then followed the long and bitter controversy between the Anglicists and the Orientalists, which was finally closed in 1839 in the favour of the former by Lord Macaulay's famous minute. Thus engrossed in important measures affecting general

education, the Company did not turn their attention to the education of girls for some considerable time. However, this was not entirely neglected; for missionary and other philanthropic bodies were tentatively approaching the problem. At first the work was very slow, and the pioneers soon found themselves faced with these three great obstacles which are still quoted in every report on female education in India: First, the difficulty of obtaining women of suitable social position and education as teachers; secondly, the social custom in regard to child marriage and the seclusion of women which curtails the school life of girls; and, thirdly, the absence of that stimulus created by the necessity of education as a means of livelihood which is so potent in the case of boys. In 1823 missionary schools were organized in Calcutta by Miss Cook, who in 1840 records 500 girls at school in Bengal. In 1849 an institution for the education of girls was established in Calcutta under the name of The Hindu Female School by Mr. Drinkwater Bethune, then legal Member of Council. It began with twenty-three pupils, and was for some time maintained at the entire cost of Mr. Bethune, who also left by his will lands and other property to endow it in perpetuity. On his death in 1851, the school was taken over by Lord Dalhousie, and the charge was afterwards transferred to Government as the Bethune Girls' School. The school exists to-day as the Bethune College, and is affiliated to the Calcutta University.

In Bombay the American Missionary Society were the pioneers with their school for girls opened in 1824. By 1829 there were 400 girls in their schools. The Scottish Missionary Society followed shortly afterwards, and by 1840 Dr. Wilson had opened five schools for the education of the daughters of the higher classes of Hindus in the neighbourhood of Poona. The Church Missionary Society established their first girls' school in 1826. In 1851 an endowment fund of Rs.20,000 was created by Mr. Maganbhai Karamchand of Ahmedabad for the foundation of two girls' schools in that city, and in the same year Mr. Joti Govindrao Phule

opened a school at Poona. One of the most interesting developments in the history of girls' education in Bombay was the outcome of the Elphinstone College Students' Literary and Scientific Society, founded, I believe, by Professor Patton of Elphinstone College. As a result of the discussions of this society, and under the leadership of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and others, four girls' schools were established in 1849 in Bombay. These schools, in which the teaching was done mainly by college students in their leisure time, are still in existence, and one of the most efficient secondary schools for girls in Bombay is to-day managed by this society. In Madras from an early period boarding-schools were maintained by the Church of England Mission at Tinnevely, but these were attended exclusively by Christian converts. The Scottish Mission here were the first to teach Hindu girls of the higher castes in a school opened in 1841. In 1854 there were 7,000 girls at missionary schools, of whom the Scottish school had 700.

This first period of tentative beginnings in girls' education is brought to a close by the famous Educational Despatch addressed by the Court of Directors to the Government of India in 1854. In this historical document, the charter of Indian education, which is attributed to John Stuart Mill, great stress is laid on the importance of female education. "The importance of female education in India cannot be overrated, and we have observed with pleasure the evidence which is now afforded of an increased desire on the part of many of the natives of India to give a good education to their daughters. By this means a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men. We cannot refrain from expressing our cordial sympathy with the efforts that are being made in this direction. The Government ought to give to female education in India its frank and cordial support." The later Despatch of 1859 repeated these expressions of sympathy, but recognized the difficulty of attempting rapid strides and the risk of exercising official

pressure in a matter which they regarded as of extreme delicacy. The result of the Despatch of 1854 was encouragement on the part of Government of private effort by a system of grants-in-aid, but whereas boys' schools were erected all over the country and other vigorous measures were taken to forward their education, but few girls' schools were founded by Government; and in the Bengal Administrative Report of 1881, only two Government primary schools for girls are noted, against 719 aided and 107 unaided voluntary schools.

About this time a strong impulse was given to female education by Miss Mary Carpenter. She visited India several times during the years 1867-1877, and made a special study of female education there; she then sent in to Government a report of her investigations, and made certain recommendations. In 1867 she secured a grant of £15,000 per annum for five years on condition that an equal amount was subscribed by the native community, for the establishment of Normal Schools for women teachers at Bombay and Ahmedabad. These two schools are in a flourishing state to-day, and are the mainstay of girls' primary education in the Bombay Presidency. In 1870 two important schools, which have since developed into university colleges, were established by missionaries—the Isabella Thorburn School at Lucknow and the Sara Tucker School at Palamcottah.

The Educational Commission of 1882 under Sir William Hunter showed how little had been done for the education of girls as compared with that of boys, and made recommendations that girls' schools should receive special encouragement and liberality; and the Commission of 1900 again recommended that girls' schools should receive liberal grants, and that fees should not be rigorously enforced. As a result of these recommendations, the outlay on girls' education has been considerably increased, and a number of inspectresses have been recruited into the Indian educational service from England. A certain amount of progress has been made, but it is very slow, and, speaking generally,

women's education in India remains in a very backward state.

Applying the test of statistics, we find that of the girls of school-going age in the whole of India, the following percentage was at school: In 1886, 1.6 per cent.; in 1896, 2.1 per cent.; in 1901, 2.2 per cent.; in 1907, 3.6 per cent.; and in 1912, 5.1 per cent. The provinces vary considerably: Burmah leads with 8.14 per cent., then comes Bombay with 5.9 per cent., Madras with 5.7 per cent., Bengal with 3.2 per cent., the Punjab with 2.6 per cent., and, lowest of all, the United Provinces with 1.2 per cent. But taking the last quinquennium, from 1907-1912, we find the ratio of progress most marked in the United Provinces, where the increase was 92.6 per cent.; next, Bengal, with an increase of 78.6 per cent.; Madras, 26 per cent.; whilst Bombay can only show an increase of 16.8 per cent. These figures represent mainly the state of primary education; and as regards the more advanced provinces of Bombay and Madras, the rate of increase is disappointing. When we come to secondary education, however, we find in these same provinces a very marked advance, particularly in Bombay. In 1912 in all India there were 66 high schools for girls with 9,045 pupils, against 44 schools and 4,945 pupils in 1907; the numbers have therefore nearly doubled, and almost half of the girls attending high schools in all India are in Bombay. The rapid progress here is shown in the two Government high schools, where during the year 1914-15 the numbers on the rolls increased from 130 to 170 at Ahmedabad, and from 266 to 320 at Poona. This progress is remarkable, for whereas primary education has been carefully fostered by Government, secondary education is left almost entirely to private initiative. In all India there are only five high schools for girls under Government management; the rest are mainly under the control of missionaries, except in the city of Bombay, where there are no less than eight under Indian management.

This growing impetus is not confined to schools.

University education is making very rapid strides, and a strong desire for better facilities is making itself felt. The number of women under collegiate instruction in 1912 was 369, and the number of special colleges for women was 5—the Bethune College, the Diocesan College and Loreto House in Calcutta, the Sara Tucker College at Palamcottah, and the Isabella Thorburn College at Lucknow. Since 1912 two new colleges have been founded for women—one in Madras, and the new Medical College at Delhi. The Queen Mary College at Lahore has not yet reached university standard. In Bombay, where the demand for women's university education is most insistent, there is no special college for women, and would-be graduates are obliged to attend lectures at men's colleges. In spite of the absence of any special provision for them, women are crowding into the class-rooms of the Elphinstone, Grant Medical, St. Xavier, and Wilson Colleges. In 1912 there were seventy-six women in Bombay attending colleges for men, to the embarrassment of some of the authorities.* Principal Covernton of Elphinstone College, in his report for the year 1909-10, writes: "It is becoming a problem how to provide accommodation and adequate supervision for these girls. It is ridiculous to expect that young unmarried graduates, fresh from Oxford and Cambridge, can mould the minds and characters of Parsi, much less of Brahman, girls. . . . The close association of male and female involved in a mixed education is so totally opposed to the traditions of the East, as well as so fraught with possibilities of evil, that in my opinion the system is rather a barrier than an encouragement to female education. That the number of girl undergraduates is increasing is a sign that even this is not sufficient to check the demand for a university education for women. If the conditions of that education were in accord with Oriental ideas of women's functions, the numbers would go up by leaps and bounds. I am confident that the

* The number of women reading for degrees in the Bombay colleges at present is 140.

time is ripe for the creation of a women's college in Bombay."

Very recently a new and interesting experiment has been tried by Professor Karvé of Fergusson College, Poona, who has started a women's university modelled on the Women's University at Tokyo. His aim is to make provision for the higher education of women, with an Indian vernacular as the medium of instruction; to formulate courses specially suited to the needs of women; and to make provision for the training of vernacular teachers. It is too early to form any opinion on this new departure. The success of the Tokyo Women's University is due to the strong national character of the education given, and if on similar lines Professor Karvé can command the support he deserves, we may look to this new university to solve the main problems of women's education to-day—the provision of suitable women teachers for vernacular schools, and the formulation of a curriculum adapted to the requirements of Indian girls.

The strong and growing demand for higher education, existing as it does side by side with apathy, if not actual hostility, on the part of the people to the primary education for girls, has given ground for some anxiety. It is felt that the real need of India is a general raising of all her women rather than the high culture of the few, and consequently there is a tendency to discourage this demand for college education until primary education shall be firmly established. This is, I think, a great mistake. The claims of primary education are certainly prior to those of university careers for women, but the interests of these two branches of education are not necessarily divergent; on the contrary, they are mutually dependent.

In dealing with the individual child, educationists now recognize that the function of the teacher is to follow rather than to lead. The healthy young mind has an intuitive knowledge of its own needs, and the educator can best accomplish his task by supplying the needs as they manifest themselves and removing obstacles which would check

natural, spontaneous growth. May not this principle be applied equally to the education of a people? For the last three decades we have been attempting to popularize free primary education of girls in India, with little success; secondary education, on the other hand, with little official encouragement, and in spite of high fees, has forced a way for itself and is developing rapidly. What is the meaning of these apparently conflicting phenomena?

When we say that primary education does not progress, we must distinguish. In the large cities, where we have fairly good schools staffed with trained teachers, a demand has been created for girls' primary education, and the regular attendance of little girls at school is becoming established as a habit. But this is far from being the case in the villages, which really constitute India. The little village girl of school-going age is a shrewd little person. Her work in the home and in the fields gives her a certain economic value, of which she is fully aware, and she hesitates to sacrifice her time and liberty until she sees it is worth her while. When discussing the question of attending school with these girls, inquiries as to terms do not take the usual form, "What are the fees?" but, "What will you pay me if I come to school?" They are, however, quick to recognize value, and in the rare cases where a village school is in charge of a qualified woman of strong personality, there is no difficulty in filling it with pupils. The obstacle to progress is to-day what it always has been—the want of suitable teachers. The training colleges are turning out yearly a large though insufficient supply of trained teachers; but, unfortunately, these women are drawn almost exclusively from the lower classes, and whatever their professional qualifications may be, they are unable to hold their own socially, and to command the respect which is essential to a successful teacher. The personality of the teacher is the all-important factor in education, and until we can provide Indian primary schools with good teachers, we cannot expect them to be popular: the un-

popularity of the present village schools is not altogether to be deplored.

For the solution of the problem of the teacher, I look to the girls who are to-day pressing into the high schools and colleges. It is true that at present these girls have no intention of preparing for a teaching career, at least in primary schools; their object is simply self-development. But when their college career is over they will not be content to lead the idle existence of the women of the past; they will feel the need of a sphere of usefulness and influence outside the home, and, under the wise guidance of college teachers, they could be made to realize their responsibility in this matter. If the young men students in the seventies could establish and teach in those girls' schools in Bombay, it should be possible to rouse a sense of duty in the women students of to-day. For the future of the education of Indian women rests with the educated women of India, and the problem of the school curriculum will never be solved until highly trained women educationists can bring their minds to bear upon it.

I would therefore strongly urge the desirability of meeting this demand for higher education freely and generously by establishing model high schools and colleges for women which will rank with those already provided for boys and staffed with teachers of equal academic status. These schools and colleges should be staffed as far as possible by Indian women graduates recruited into the educational service under the same conditions as men. The creation of these well-paid appointments will have the effect of directing attention to education as a profession, and a new interest will be roused in pedagogics. In the province of primary education there is abundant scope for Indian girl graduates as Inspectresses of Schools and Lecturers in Training Colleges for vernacular teachers. We may, I think, safely assume that Indian girls of good social class will offer themselves for these appointments, and their example may encourage other girls of the higher castes to

enter the teaching profession. We may thus hope to draw into the vernacular training colleges the kind of women who can be trained into real Educators who will win the confidence of Indian parents. When by increasing the quantity and improving the quality of trained vernacular teachers we have gained the confidence of Indian men and women, and not till then, we may begin to consider the question of compulsory primary education for girls.

The present time is a critical one in the history of Indian womanhood. The new impulse which shows itself in the demand for higher education is strong, and even if it were desirable it cannot be suppressed. It is charged with great possibilities for good or for evil, and it is imperative that no opportunity should be lost to influence it for good.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, March 26, 1917, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, at which a paper was read by Miss M. Ashworth, entitled "The Education of Women in India."

Sir Frederick Lely (in the absence of the Rt. Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.), occupied the chair.

The following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir William Owen Clark, Colonel M. J. Meade, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. Owen Dunn, M.I.C.E., Mr. T. J. Bennett, C.I.E., Mr. T. H. S. Bidulph, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mrs. and Miss Russell, Miss Drury, Miss Chandler, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. Bakhle, Miss Bakhle, the Misses Bakhle, Mrs. Drury, Lady Graves Sawle, Miss Swarth, Mr. Haji, Miss Bonnerjee, Miss Jones, Mr. Patvardhan, Mr. B. M. Lal, Mr. E. D. Carolis, Mr. S. V. Swami, Mr. K. C. Bhandari, Mr. Patel, Mrs. Burke, Miss Constantine, Rev. W. Broadbent, Mr. Marshall, Miss Dove, Mr. H. Marsh, C.I.E., Mr. Kureishi, Dr. Mehta, Mrs. Sen, Mrs. Somerville Stephens, Mrs. Kinnier-Tarte, Mrs. Beauchamp, Mr. M. Firoz, Mrs. Frazer, Mrs. Collis, Miss Fuller, Miss Walford, Miss Francis, Mrs. and Miss Brereton, Miss Stoton, Mr. A. A. Khan, Mr. T. Davis, Miss Davis, Mrs. and Miss Wilmot Corfield, Mr. and Miss Prescott, Mr. N. N. Wadiar, Miss Brind, Mr. B. R. Ambedkar, Mrs. Haigh, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. F. C. Channing, Miss M. Sorabji, Mrs. Frederick Pollen, Mrs. Marsh, Miss Ross, Miss Bowles, Mrs. Wigley, Miss Wells, Mr. Ryan, Mrs. Woods, Miss Bridge, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. W. Frank, Mrs. Lound, Mr. Sunampadu Arumugam, Rev. H. Uday Weitbrecht, D.D., Miss A. A. Smith, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The SECRETARY: I am sorry to tell you, ladies and gentlemen, I have just heard from Lord Lamington that he is detained by military duties, and cannot preside here, but in his absence our old friend from Bombay, Sir Frederick Lely, has kindly consented to take the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: I am exceedingly sorry for the absence of Lord Lamington, more especially as it involves imposing upon you an inferior substitute; but with regard to interest in the subject which is to be brought before us to-day I can honestly say I yield to no one. Many of us do

not appreciate the enormous influence and power of women in India which they already possess, and still more will possess in the future. We see, sometimes, a man swaggering along the road with his wife meekly carrying the load behind him, and we hear of the ladies preparing the food of the house for their lords and masters, and only when they have satisfied them will they presume to take their place at the board. We are hence inclined to think that women occupy a secondary and subservient place. It is no such thing; it is all make-believe. The women of India, like the women everywhere, are an enormous domestic force, social force, and religious force, and I believe in the future will be no less a political force; and therefore the question of the education of women assumes very great importance. To use a phrase which I believe was originally used by Lord Beaconsfield, it is really "a matter of educating our masters."

Now Miss Ashworth is a lady who is fully competent to speak upon the subject, because she can speak, not only from a study of it, but after practical experience of the real facts, and I have pleasure in introducing her to you.

(The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure we all feel grateful to Miss Ashworth for the interesting paper which she has just read, showing a thorough study of the facts and a consideration of the remedies and means which are suggested for progress. Statistics are very ugly things, and it is dangerous to run one's head against them; but, in spite of them, I cannot help thinking that interest in the education of women in India has greatly advanced amongst the people of recent years. Years ago I admit the trend of popular opinion was against it. It used to be said that to send girls to school would be flying in the face of Saraswati—that is, the goddess of learning. If girls were allowed to invade her domain, hitherto reserved for boys, she would show her resentment by making them all widows. I remember a lady of some rank and position—a Muhammadan lady—who had received some amount of education; but unfortunately she was a lady who was very reckless in money matters, always outrunning the constable and getting into debt; and the wiseacres of the town used to shake their heads and point to her as one more evil instance of female education, for the many promissory notes of hers which were flying about the bazaars would never have existed if she had not been taught how to sign her name.

I have no doubt in my own mind that the popular feeling has much improved since those days, and that among a very large number of the more intelligent members of the community there is a willingness to send their girls to school and risk the chance of widowhood, always provided that the Government pays for all, and that they are not called upon to pay anything themselves. Now what we want, as the lecturer points out, is some definite lines of progress, and persistence on those lines; and the foundation of the whole thing in India, as in England, is the teachers. Unless you get good teachers, there is no hope for progress. The main point is to raise their qualifications in every branch, and for

that purpose, what we want above all things is a woman's college in every great centre of population, staffed and controlled by women and inspired by women. It is hard, to my mind, to conceive a more distressing state of things than our failure to get hold of popular sentiment, and failure, as General Gordon used to say, to get into the skins of the people. Even in England, where the relations between the sexes have been perfectly free for centuries, many people are inclined to look askance at the mixed schools—such a school as St. George's at Harpenden, for instance, where the boys and girls eat together, and do their lessons, and win scholarships together at Oxford and Cambridge. It is an excellent school, but a great many intelligent people hesitate rather to approve of it.

If that is so in England, how much stronger will the feeling be in India. Probably none of you will need a lengthy explanation of the relationship between the sexes in India. It is infinitely more restricted than it is in this country, and therefore what in England is at the worst a doubtful innovation—I mean this system of mixed teaching—is, to most of the ordinary Indian citizens, indecent and scandalous; and yet that is the form under which the education of women has for the most part been introduced. What has been done to conciliate popular sentiment, to soften the transition between the woman of the past and the woman of the future? The fact is the girls have themselves invaded the colleges and the lecture-rooms; they have opened the doors and taken their seats by the side of the male students; and the authorities, on their side, have adopted a perfectly negative attitude, and allowed them to enter and learn their lessons along with the male students, at the hands of male teachers, without providing any sort of supervision or control. My experience is, perhaps, rather out of date, but to my mind there is no greater need in India than a staff of self-respecting, well-balanced, mature, educated Englishwomen who shall teach and control and inspire; and I wish my Indian friends to note this; I would only have them as a vanguard who would lead up to a new race of Indian women who would take their places.

I should just like to mention that the lecturer, I am sure by inadvertence, has omitted to refer to one effort which deserves immense respect from us all. She has mentioned two colleges, I think—the Queen Mary College of Lahore, and one other—new colleges; but she has made no mention of an institution which has been carried on for many years by a band of brilliant and devoted women for the medical education of women at Ludhiana in the Panjab—women of the highest rank in their profession, who have lived for years on subsistence allowances, devoting the fees they get from private patients to the support of the school, and training year by year a number of women and surrounding them with the influence of a Christian home, giving them the highest medical training and sending them out to minister to their sister women. I am sure an effort like that deserves the greatest consideration, and, no doubt, it was only omitted by inadvertence.

Mrs. FREDERICK POLLEN said that she was afraid she was not com-

petent to speak with regard to the merits of the subject, but, as Sir Frederick had mentioned the Ludhiana Medical School, she would like to mention the Queen Mary High School,* of Bombay, which was doing an excellent work,† and also the High School at Lahore, the only Women's College in Panjab affiliated with University; has two hundred pupils, where they were preparing to work on College lines, and which already had classes preparing for the University.

The Rev. Dr. H. UDNY WEITBRECHT said the question was one of the most vital importance for India, especially at the present day. They wanted, first of all, to bring to their imagination what the real state of things was, and, secondly, to do what they could towards promoting this great object. If they asked themselves what was the motive of the effort which had hitherto been expended on women's education in India, he thought that would take them to the bedrock of the question. Take, first, the case of the missionaries. They had gathered a certain number of Christians, and if the girls were not educated to be suitable wives and mothers, these Christian families could never develop, as they should; therefore they started girls' schools for them. The same thing was happening in the case of the Indian community generally, and, although the figures quoted by Miss Ashworth were very low, yet surely they offered some encouragement, seeing that within a decade the education of women had increased something like 100 per cent. as compared with the former lamentably low figure. Now what had been the cause of that? Surely the spread of education amongst the men. Being themselves educated, and having in some cases seen what life is in a family where the wife is educated as the husband, they have felt the want of educated partners in life. Thus the desire has sprung up, at any rate among the upper classes, and is increasing, for female education in India.

A new and powerful factor in the movement is the war. Association in work for the benefit of the soldiers had brought Indian women into touch with the idea of a community outside the Zenana, and beyond their own villages and towns. Indian women have begun to feel themselves citizens of a great Empire, and, wanting to do what they could for their country, they were beginning more than ever before to desire education. There was a great want to be supplied, and the question was, how could the Government and others meet what was a genuine demand? Provided the education was of the right sort, the appetite would increase with the consumption. Perhaps this indicates one reason why the appetite had not increased so largely as they would have liked. It had been mentioned that when the Indian parent wanted his girl educated, he did not say: "What am I to pay for it?" but, "What will you give me if

* Queen Mary High School, for Hindus, Muhammadans, Parsees, Sikhs, and Christians, has between two and three hundred pupils and a European staff of six.

† The University Settlement, Bombay, also seeks to meet some of the pressing needs of University students, which have been so clearly put before us. This hostel is appreciated quite beyond its residential capacity by Hindu, Parsee, and Muhammadan students.

my girl goes to school?" This means that they needed to avoid the errors into which they had fallen in the development of male education in India, more especially the neglect of duty relating to the lives of the children as inhabitants and citizens of India. There had been too much copying of the three R's as taught in Europe, without the fourth R—Religion—the lack of which they were all agreed on as being a deleterious influence. It was for the authorities to adapt the new ideas to the life of the Indian woman which she should lead in her own home.

Then there was a further consideration—the cult of the vernacular. This had been much neglected in the system of education in India hitherto. When the Renaissance came to Europe in the fifteenth century it was no doubt through a foreign language—the Greek—but the literature and the philosophy which it enshrined did their work by reviving the great literatures of the vernacular languages of Europe. The same effect had not been produced, as it should have been, in India. Speaking generally, its vernaculars had not experienced the reviving influence which should have come through the impact of a new thought and a new culture. No student of a university should receive a degree merely for knowledge expressed in English, unless he also showed his ability for setting forth in his mother-tongue what he had learned through a foreign one. If the vernaculars were given due recognition in college and school, and above all in girls' schools, then one might hope that the educated Indian woman, even more than the educated Indian man, would become the vehicle for spreading the knowledge acquired from Western sources in the homes of the people, and so reviving the whole intellectual life of India as it had never been revived before.

After all, it was their friends the Indians who had the chief part to play. It was according as they honoured their women, and showed what they wanted them to be, that the Indian woman who loved her husband and her brother and father would strive to get education. But the Englishwoman living in India also might play an important part, if she would make herself acquainted with the vernacular, so that she could move freely in the Zenanas, and have sympathetic, friendly intercourse with the women, who would surprise her by their response to genuine friendship.

MISS WALFORD said, as one representing those who had gone out to South India to do educational work, their difficulty was to know what Indian parents did want. Unfortunately, she felt that there was not a growing desire for education. She had been among Hindus for twenty-five years, and she could not say they had increased the number of schools. They had opened schools in some parts, and closed schools in others, and the numbers would be about the same. In Tinnevely, amongst the Hindus, particularly amongst the high castes, they had not managed to keep the schools beyond the Fourth Standard, and if anybody could tell her what means they ought to take to make their education attractive, she would be very grateful. Her experience had been, in dealing with village children, that unless they gave them something—such as dolls, for instance—it was very difficult to get them to learn.

She had often felt very much discouraged; they had trained teachers, perhaps not the ideal teachers, but conscientious girls who had been trained, and who were seeking the good of their people, but it was always a difficulty to get Hindu children to school, and if anyone could help her to solve that problem she would be deeply grateful. There was a new mission college started in Madras—the United Missionary College—and another one which the Government had started just before, so that they really had two colleges in Madras. The great difficulty she had always felt was how to make primary education what the people required. She only knew of one school in the Tinnevely district where they could get the children to go up to the Seventh Standard, and that was done with the greatest difficulty.

Mr. COLDSTREAM said it was with great pleasure he had heard the Ludhiana College alluded to. If there was one kind of female education in India which was pre-eminently necessary, it was medical education. For medical training women were required who were highly educated; because to undergo medical education with advantage students must have had previously a thoroughly good general education. Besides the Harding Memorial College at Delhi, and the Women's Christian Medical College at Ludhiana, a female Medical College had been, or was about to be, started in Madras. Too many of them India could not have, considering its great need of women doctors. Male doctors were often not allowed to practise amongst the women, and it was sad to think that at present only those two or three colleges were in existence! With reference to what had been said about the Kinnaird Women's College at Lahore, it might interest them to know that one of the principal posts in the school was occupied by a young Panjabi lady. There was no feature in Indian life which had changed so rapidly as the education of women, and he hoped the considerable progress would go on increasing. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. FIROZ said he would like to say a few words with regard to the inquiry as to the best way of making female education attractive to the Indian female, and indeed remarks had been made about Indians wishing to get some prizes or dolls before they would go to school. The reason was that the people could not afford the fees at the school, and that was why they hesitated before they sent their children to school. People forget, when commenting on Indian education from the English point of view, that wealth in this country is about £30 per head, and that of India about 27s. Education here is compulsory, and in India it is not, for the simple reason that our Government is comparatively poor, and can't afford such a great expenditure in the face of other and more pressing wants. Why the higher classes hesitated was that in all the missionary schools great stress was laid on religious education, but if they went to any of the Government schools no religion was taught there, and to an Indian, religion was more even than life itself. If the Government only devoted more attention to the desires of the people, there would be no reason why the Indians should not flock to the schools. They must first of all assure the people, not only that their education

would be looked after, but their religion. If that was done, there was no reason why they should not be successful. With regard to the Queen Mary School, there were Mussulman, Hindu, and Christian teachers, and religious classes for all the children separately, and if education was to be made popular the first thing was to pay special attention to their religious ideals. No country had ever made progress unless it had progressed on its own national lines and national language, whereas in India the native children, before they could sign their own names, were taught in English, "D O G, dog means *Kutta*." On the contrary, they should attempt to teach them in their own language. Very few English people really devoted much time or attention to learn, speak, or write books in the Indian language. It is a deplorable fact that Indians educated in the West, if they write a book, will write it in a foreign language, forgetting the fact that that language very likely already possesses a better written book on the subject. The first consideration was to teach the children in their own language, and not talk to them in English, because they could not understand English. (Hear, hear.)

The LECTURER, in reply, said she was very conscious of the omissions in her paper, particularly with regard to medical education and the work of missionaries, but the subject was a very wide one, and it had been necessary to cut out a considerable amount of matter in order to keep the paper within bounds.

To treat the subject adequately it would be necessary to devote a separate paper to both medical education of women and the work of missionaries in women's education in India. Her original intention had been to deal with the higher education of women only, and with that in view she had written to the principals of all the important schools and colleges for information regarding each institution. A number of replies had been received, but the bulk, she was afraid, were at the bottom of the ocean. She wished to draw attention to the new movement for the higher education of women in India. It was very important, and would have a considerable influence on the future of India. She felt that the potentiality of the movement was not fully realized, and that the present policy of *laissez faire* was a dangerous one. The presence of young women students in men's colleges without any sort of feminine supervision was undesirable, and caused not only difficulties with regard to discipline, but a painful shyness in the more sensitive girl students. The opponents of women's higher education in India based their objections mainly on two grounds—the fear that Indian women students might imitate militant suffragists, and that they might be affected by the sedition (Hon. Sec. "Unrest") which had crept into some of the men's colleges. With regard to militancy, it was true that the mass of English women students were suffragists, but not "militant" suffragists. The mental discipline of college training made law breaking distasteful. With regard to unrest, its entrance into men's colleges was mainly due to the want of intimate relations between staff and students. Under the existing circumstances there might be some danger of the women students being affected, but Indian women are very loyal by nature, and if they

were taken into residential colleges staffed by women the affectionate relations which would certainly be established between students and teachers would leave no room for political unrest. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. JOHN POLLEN, in moving a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and the Lecturer, said that he had been asked by Sir Arundel Arundel to express his regret at not being able to stay to the end of the meeting in order to have the pleasure of hearing Miss Ashworth, but he had entrusted to him the duty of thanking her for her paper and also of thanking the Chairman for his kindness in occupying the chair at a moment's notice. He (Dr. Pollen) had his own views about the education of women in India, but he feared they were so hopelessly heterodox that it would hardly do to give them full expression on the present occasion. He had always held that, as things were in these modern days, the women of the East, in nearly everything that touched "distinctive womanhood," were better educated than their sisters of the West, and he thought this was indicated in the simple manner the hair was dressed and the graceful way in which the head was covered by the daughters of the Orient. Could anything be more charming than the Grecian symmetry of the Indian sari? He would not allude to the æsthetic curves and folds and other graces of feminine attire in India as compared with the shortening skirts and high-heeled, sheeplike leggings of the West, for "comparisons were odious." But he thought in matters of dress the education of Eastern ladies was more complete and restful than was commonly recognized. Miss Ashworth had, however, dealt with her subject most admirably, and Sir Frederick Lely had thrown a flood of light on the various questions raised. He had much pleasure in moving a vote of thanks to the lady lecturer and chairman.

Colonel MEADE seconded the proposition, which was put to the meeting, and received with applause.

The CHAIRMAN suitably replied on behalf of himself and the lecturer, and the proceedings terminated.

CHINA IN ENGLISH LITERATURE *

BY G. CURRIE MARTIN, M.A., B.D.

WERE one to ask the ordinary educated Englishman or Englishwoman for references to China in English literature, they would probably be exhausted by two well-known quotations, one from Tennyson and one from Dr. Johnson.

"Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay."†

This in itself betrays an ignorance of the land to which the poet refers, for it obviously did not enter into his mind that a real "cycle of Cathay" only amounted to sixty years. In the second, China is nothing more than a geographical term.

"Let observation with extensive view
Survey mankind from China to Peru."‡

Were the person interrogated to extend his definition of English literature so as to include American, he might quote to you Bret Harte's "Heathen Chinee," and who knows how much influence that amusing set of verses has had on the mind of the average man in giving him altogether erroneous ideas about the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire?

"The smile that is childlike and bland" is supposed to be a characteristic expression of the wily Oriental, who hides under that cloak all sorts of subtleties and chicaneries which

* A paper recently read before the China Society at Caxton Hall, Westminster, Dr. Timothy Richard in the chair.

† "Locksley Hall."

‡ "The Vanity of Human Wishes."

are destined to ruin the prospects of the trustful Westerner. He knows nothing of the reliability, honourable dealing, and pledged word of the Chinese gentleman. He is unaware of what a Chinese lawyer once told us from this platform—that the Chinese did not require written receipts and elaborate systems of law until they came into close contact with Western civilization. I remember dining with a lady on the eve of my journey to China some years ago, and she expressed great wonder that I should visit such a country. On my asking why, she replied: "Oh, I should hate to go, for I should expect to be murdered in my bed every night!" One would have thought *one* such experience would suffice, but the mental attitude betrays the distrust that arises from ignorance.

Yet, as I hope to show, English readers had comparatively little excuse for their lack of knowledge, for there has existed for centuries in their own language very excellent accounts of that land, and very just estimates of some of the finer qualities displayed by its inhabitants. This paper is a mere *ballon d'essai*, in order to stir up interest in a subject not hitherto examined, and incite some members of this Society better qualified than myself to make fuller investigation.

I wish I could claim for the father of English poetry a knowledge of China, and an attempt on the part of him

"Who left half told
The story of Cambuscan bold"*

to familiarize his countrymen with the wonders of Cathay. In spite of the efforts of Professor Skeate to prove that Chaucer's "Squire's Tale" is indebted to Marco Polo, I feel constrained to say that more careful and impartial study has forced us to abandon that idea. There were other accounts of what seemed the mythical wonders of these far off lands that with far greater probability furnished our poet with the foundations of his tale.

Neither can we any longer claim Sir John Mandeville as the father of English prose. The real author of that book

* Milton, "Il Penseroso," l. 110.

is almost certainly Jean de Bourgogne, and his sources Friar Odoric and others, whom he unblushingly plagiarizes, having probably never gone farther than the Holy Land on his own account. The English version of the work, originally written in French, exerted a strong influence on English prose for five centuries, and the version made about the year of Chaucer's death familiarized English readers with the marvellous romance of the East. He tells tales of the court of the Grand Cham and Prester John, and of those other islands (for everything is an island in these far Eastern lands), whither one must sail from Venice or Genoa. As Miss Greenwood * says of him, "This greater than Defoe used before Defoe the art of introducing such little details as give to fiction the appearance of personal recollection." He had, moreover, skilful devices for creating the feeling of reality; the wonders he relates are sometimes accounted for by what appears a rational cause; touches of criticism or personal reflection contradict the supposition of simplicity; with equal circumstantial gravity he describes the trees which bear "boumbe," or cotton, and those which bear the very short gourds "which, when ripe, men open and find a little beast with flesh and blood and bone, like a little lamb without wool." He "improves" his authorities. Thus, where Odoric says the hangings of the Great Cham's court were of red leather, Mandeville describes them "as of panther skins as red as blood." He had the qualifications of a good journalist, and had an excellent eye for a telling phrase. He has an air of dealing faithfully with his readers, for he writes: "He that will trow it, trow it, and he that will not, leave. For I will never the latter tell somewhat that I saw, whether they will trowe it or they nill." He has boundless stories of adventures that remain untold. We can well believe it, if many emanated from his own brain. But he will not "queer the pitch" for subsequent adventurers, "wherefore," says the gallant knight, "I will holde me stille."

* "Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.," vol. ii., chap. ii.

Already travellers had been busy in these far Eastern lands—Odoric of Pordenone (1330), whom I have already mentioned, and others more famous, including the best known of all, Marco Polo. The latter is particularly poor in his accounts of China proper, but in one or other of the versions of his book was doubtless known to many English readers, and anyhow, tales from his pages would be widely familiar.

It is, therefore, surprising that among the great Elizabethans we have no more frequent reference to Cathay. In the splendid verse of Marlowe's "Tamburlane the Great" we look for it in vain. In his sweep of the world, and his grandiloquent speeches as to what he has or what he longs to conquer, Cathay is never mentioned; yet the colour and splendour of it would have suited his genius—had he only known.

Why did not Shakespeare, with his universal mind and gift to turn all things to account, discover some of China's secrets? One can only suppose that in spite of all that had been written no traveller had told anything of China's history, and there was no dramatic situation for him to choose. How many magnificent lines might have been added to Othello's speech had he only taken him to far Cathay. As it is, the inhabitants of that land were for Shakespeare only synonyms of cheater and chicanery. Oh, the pity of it!

In the "Merry Wives" * Page and Ford discuss Falstaff.

"Ford: I will seek out Falstaff.

"Page: I never heard such a drawing, affecting rogue.

"Ford: If I do find it—well.

"Page: I will not believe such a Cataian, though the priest o' the town commended him for a true man"

Falstaff as a typical Chinese is too ludicrous for words!

Again, in "Twelfth Night" † Sir Toby Belch in the hour of revelry cries out: "My lady's a Cataian; we are politi-

* "Merry Wives," Act II., Sc. i., 148.

† "Twelfth Night," Act II., Sc. iii., 80.

cians; Malvolio's a Peg-a-Ramsey, and 'Three merry men be we,' the context proving the contemptuousness of the reference.

Had Spenser known of the riches of the land, we had surely met it in the "Faery Queene." Once he seems all but on the verge of the discovery: *

"But let that man with better sense advise,
That of the world least part to us is red
And daily how through hardy enterprise
Many great Regions are discoverèd,
Which to late age were never mentionèd.
Who ever heard of th' Indian Peru ?
Or who in venturous vessel measurèd
The Amazon huge river, now found trew ?
Or fruitfulest Virginia who did ever view ?"

The hour was at hand when that new knowledge should be within everyone's reach. These were the days of the Elizabethan voyagers, and once, at least, Drake himself came into touch with a Chinaman. This was during a visit to the East Indies. A Chinese refugee begged Drake to take him back to his own land, but the Commander was not prepared to go so far. The Chinese listened to all Drake's adventures "with the utmost attention and delight, and having fixed them in his mind," we are told, "thanked God for the knowledge he had gained."†

There was one that has been termed "the busiest mole that burrowed beneath those infloriate lawns. . . ." In a century of the creative genius of such diverse men as Marlowe and Nash, Sidney and Raleigh, Drake and Bacon and Donne, he steadfastly fulfilled the office of an editor, second to none in the modest virtues which should adorn it, yet confident of the loftiness of his ideal and the significance of his self-imposed duty. He produced what Froude calls "the great epic of modern England." This man was Richard Hakluyt. "In his rectory at Wetheringsett, when he closed his study door on Suffolk he flung open his window

* "Faery Queene," Book II., Introduction

† Johnson, "Life of Drake."

to Cathay,"* writes the author of the most recent study on his great book, and he thus brought the magic vision near to his contemporaries. The "Voyages" is a wonderful book—occasionally dull and slow, but ever leading us on by its vistas of wider horizons; filled with dramatic incidents, coloured with all the glory of East and West, for in these pages they inseparably meet. Nothing comes amiss to him, and in his fine English he translates the monkish chronicle, the Romanist missionary, or the pages of Marco Polo into that living tongue that was being moulded into incomparable majesty under the hand of his contemporary, William Shakespeare. Hakluyt's multifarious riches spilled over into the hands of another and younger clergyman, Samuel Purchas, who styled the five folios he produced "Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes." The good man tells us that he never travelled more than two hundred miles from his two Essex livings; but he loved his work, and though he has little discrimination, he has preserved for us much valuable material, often doubling his predecessor's pages, but at the same time giving us many new sources of information. From these two storehouses Englishmen learned much, and might have learned far more. Their modern sumptuous editions give us no excuse for leaving unexamined the riches they amassed. Purchas himself has a pertinent passage in one of his numerous quaint editorial notes, which even now, after three hundred years, has its sting of truth. "And so," he writes, "has it fared with all Tartarian and Chinesian affairs, of which we had so little knowledge as of Tamerlan, further than terrors of Tartarian armies and some men's special occasions and travels have given us light. Even the sun riseth in those parts whiles it is not day breake with us, and hath attained almost his noon-point before we see him: and worthy we are to abide in a black night of ignorance, if we welcome not what light we can get (if we cannot get what we would) from so remote an East. . . . To reconcile all doubts is for me too hard a

* *Times Lit. Supp.*, Oct. 26, 1916.

task, because Cataia and China are even still bemysted, and leave their surveyors perplexed."* Many of us have crossed in the luxury of the Siberian express these lands once traversed in far more arduous fashion by those early pioneers. We have books written for our instruction by men and women who have spent their lives in China, but we remain ignorant still, and perplexed by Eastern problems, and many of those who live within her own cities are blind to the riches and wealth of suggestion at their own doors! For the early seventeenth century there was much excuse, but for the twentieth little save indolence and indifference!

Let us now turn to a brief examination of some of the riches contained in the pages of these two writers drawn from contemporary narratives. Hakluyt, for example, gives a picturesque dialogue printed at Macao in 1590,† which presents a wonderfully accurate picture of China as then known, and many of the names in their quaint spelling are perfectly recognizable. It consists of fifteen provinces, we are told, among those on the coast being Coantum, Foquien, Chequian, Nanquin, Xantum, and Paquin; while among the inland ones are Xiensi, Xansi, Suchuon, and Junan. The Chinese Wall is described for us, and we are also told how densely populated is all the land. The distinction between what the author terms *fu*, *cheu*, and *hien* towns is clearly given. The soil is described as "fertile, the air wholesome, and the whole kingdom at peace." Great stores of silver, gold, silk, spices, cotton, and porcelain are everywhere to be found. The system of graduation is explained, the love of literature, the method of Government postal arrangements, and the variety of religions. It is an illuminating document.

As we turn over the pages we find in Gaspar da Cruz's "Treatise on China"‡ a wonderfully fascinating picture of Canton, which in many of its details would still serve as a good account. It is possessed of "very strong walls, very well made, and of a good height, and to the sight they seem

* Purchas, xi. 399. The quotations from Hakluyt and Purchas are from Maclelland's Edition, and the complete indexes will give references.

† Hakluyt, vi. 348 ff.

‡ Purchas, xi. 474 ff.

almost new, being 1,800 years since they were made, as the Chinese did affirm. They are very clean, without any cleft, hole or rift, or anything threatening rents." Some of us who know the city might have other views about the next passage to be quoted, but one must remember that the conditions of our city streets in the Western world at that time doubtless left much to be desired, and China might well show to advantage by contrast. "All the streets and traverses are well paved, the pavements going along the houses (whatever that may mean!) and lower in the middles for the course of water. The principal streets have triumphant arches which do cross them, high and very well made, which make the streets very beautiful and enoble the city.

"The houses of the common people in the outward show are not commonly very fair, but within are much to be admired, for commonly they are white as milk (the writer must confess he has not seen many Chinese houses to which this epithet would apply!), that they seemed like sheeted paper. They are paved with square stones along the ground of a spanne little more or less, they are dyed with vermilion or almost blacke. The timber is all very smoothe and even, and finely wrought and placed, that it seemeth to be all polished or dyed or in white, and some there is in white so fair and pleasant to the sight, waved Damaske-like as it were gold, and so bright that they should do it injurie in painting it." The next description might have been written yesterday. "It is very populous and the people so much, that at the entering of the gates on the Riverside you can scarce get through. Commonly the people that goeth out and in doe cry and make a great noyse to give place to them that carrie burdens."

The traveller is a native of Portugal, and notes that the poverty is not so great as in his own country, nor the conditions of the worker so trying. "Idle people," he affirms, "be much abhorred in this country." Another of his remarks we know to be true, though we will not pursue him with his proof of it—our own recollection of city and country

smells in China will suffice to make us agree. "There is nothing lost in this country, be it never so vile."

He has great admiration for the Chinese carrying-chairs—vehicles doubtless familiar to him in the West, but apparently, from his admiration for them, the Chinese variety excelled those which he knew at home. "The chairs have a little window in each side very fair with a net made of ivory or of bone or of wood, through the which they that go within doe see on the one side and on the other of the street without being seen."

We have heard that the tricks of butchers and poulterers which he mentions are not unknown in China at the present day. "There are infinite swine, which is the flesh they most love—that it may weigh more they fill it first with meat and drenk, and the hens to make them weigh the more they fill theme likewise with water, and their crops full of sand and other things." The modern method of incubators, he asserts, was not unknown to the Chinese poultry farmer, though one he names is extremely primitive, and I fear he is altogether drawing on his imagination, or has been "fed up" with fabulous tales.

"In summer laying 2,000 or 3,000 eggs in the dung, and with the heat of the weather and the dung the eggs are hatched. In the winter they make a hurdle of canes very great upon the which they lay this great number of eggs, under the which they make a slack fire, continuing it of one sort a few days till the eggs be hatched."

He is greatly interested in their method of rearing ducks, and has quite a pleasing picture of the daily scene, as well as a description of the wild fowl, which remains as one of our own most vivid recollections of travel on the Yangtse.

"After it is broad day they give them a little sodden rice not till they have enough; when they have given it them they open a door to the River where is a Bridge made of canes—and the noise they make at their going forth is wonderful to see them goe tumbling one over another for

the great abundance of them, and the time they take in going out. They feed all the day until night among the fields of rice. Those which are owners of the shipping doe receive a fee of them that own the fields for letting them feed in them, for they doe cleanse them, eating the grass that groweth among them. When night cometh they call with a little taber, and though they be in sundry Barkes, every one knows their own by the sound of the taber, and goe into it, and because always in time some remayne without that come not in, there are everywhere many flocks of wild ducks and likewise of geese."

He saw the method of fishing with cormorants, which he accurately describes.

Apparently, Chinese roadways at that period were superior to those of Europe, and the lines which follow must recall to many here days of travel over mountain and valley when these same ways were trodden, and the beauty of many lonely spots disclosed. To me there was always a poetry in these paved ways of China, which countless multitudes had trodden. They had something of the marvel of the Roman roads, but one felt they were not made primarily for military purposes, but for trade and peaceful intercourse. This is how our author describes them:

"In all the mountains and hills where there are ways they are very well made, cut with the Pick-axe, and paved where they are needful. This is one of the good works of China, and it is very general in every place of it. . . . Many hills are cut in steps very well made."

Finally he is brought in touch with a novelty which is evidently not much to his liking. "He (the Chinaman) hath a custom to offer in a fine basket one porcelain with a kind of drink which they call *cha*, which is somewhat bitter, red, and medicinal, which they are wont to make of a certain concoction of herbs somewhat bitter." What would our good Portuguese have said could he have had a vision of the time when men and women all over the world drink that same "bitter, red, and medicinal" drink, not only with

delight, but long for it, if it is withheld, and the attempt to abolish "afternoon tea" might end in a revolution?

Surely the next statement—the last I have time to quote from his fascinating record—is an inference, not a statement of what he had seen. "There are some Chinaes that weare very long nails, of half a quarter and a quarter long, which they keep very clean, and these nails doe serve them *instead of the sticks for to eat withal.*"

These rich stores did not seem to be drawn on to as great an extent as we should suppose by subsequent writers. It is true that Robert Burton, with his massive learning, has many shrewd references to China in his "Anatomy." He praises them for not allowing many bachelors to live in their midst. He quotes the Jesuit father Riccius (apparently his main authority) on "that flourishing Commonwealth of China." He is full of admiration, as we shall find Thomas Carlyle was at a later time, of their method of choosing magistrates. "Out of their philosophers and doctors they choose magistrates, their publick Nobles are taken from such as be *moraliter nobiles*, virtuous noble; *nobilitas ut olim ab officio, non a natura*, as in Israel of old, and their office was to defend and govern their Country in war and peace, not to hawk, hunt, eat, drink, game alone, as too many do. Their Loysii, Mandirini, literati, licentiati, and such as have raised themselves by their worth, are their Noblemen only, thought fit to govern a state."* He quotes a Chinese proverb to the effect that they have two eyes, Europeans one, and the rest of the world blind. He makes numerous references to their prosperity, customs, and superstitions.

Later in the seventeenth century we have Sir Thomas Browne writing: "The Chinese, who live at the bounds of the earth, who have admitted little communication and suffered successive incursions from one nation, may possibly give account of a very ancient language; but consisting of many nations and tongues, confusion, admixtion, and corruption in length of time might probably so have crept in,

* "Anat. of Mel.," Part II., Sect. iii., Mem. ii.

as, without the virtue of a common character and lasting letter of things, they could never probably make out those strange memorials which they pretend, while they still make use of the works of their great Confucius many hundred years before Christ, and in a series ascend as high as Poncuus [P'an Ku], who is conceived our Noah."* This sentence is as involved as Sir Thomas's often are, but we can gather from it that he has some hope of discovering in China the origin of language !

Our second great national poet, John Milton, did not allow China to go altogether unnoticed in his epic. He has a metaphor descriptive of the issue of sin and death from the mouth of Hell, and driving thither all they met :

"As when two polar winds, blowing adverse
Upon the Cronian Sea, together drive
Mountains of ice, that stop the imagined way
Beyond Petsora eastward to the rich
Cathaian coast."†

In the vision granted to Adam from the highest hill of Paradise we have a gorgeous passage of magnificent names in which occur these lines :

"His eye might there command wherever stood
City of old or modern fame, the seat
Of mightiest empire, from the destined walls
Of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can,
And Samarchand by Oxus, Temir's throne,
To Paquin, of Sinzean kings, and thence
To Agra and Lahor of Great Mogul."‡

And one further reference shows he knew little about the solidity of Peking carts :

"On the barren plains
Of Sericana, where Chineses drive
With sails and wind their cany waggons light."§

Among Milton's prose works is a "Brief History of Muscovia," in the preface to which he says: "What was scattered in many volumes, and observed at several times by eye

* "Of Languages." Works, vol. iv., p. 197 (ed. 1835).

† "Paradise Lost," x. 289 ff.

‡ "Paradise Lost," xi. 387 ff.

§ "Paradise Lost," iii. 438.

witnesses, with no cursory pains I laid together, to save the reader a far longer travail of wandering through so many desert authors: who yet with some delight drew me after them, from the eastern bounds of Russia to the walls of Cathay." When we turn to the chapter that deals with Cathay we find that he is solely dependent on Hakluyt and Purchas for his information.

These quotations show that what Sir R. K. Douglas wrote was true. "All the names which had been made familiar by Marco Polo were exchanged for modern forms. Cathay, Cambalec, Campsay, Zayton, and Chiukalan had become China, Peking, Hangchow, Chinchow, and Canton; but it was some considerable time before it was generally accepted that the Cathay of the fourteenth century was identical with China, and even as late as the seventeenth century map-makers laid it down as a country lying to the North of China."

None of us will have forgotten our childhood's memories of the great romance written early in the eighteenth century by Daniel Defoe, "Robinson Crusoe," and we shall remember that towards the end of that book the hero finds his way to China and visits Nanking and Peking. Defoe is evidently not favourable to the Chinese, and writes of them in a very insular and parochial spirit. "What are their buildings," he insolently cries,* "to the palaces and royal buildings of Europe? What is their trade, to the universal Commerce of England, Holland, France, and Spain? What are their Cities to ours, for Wealth, Strength, Gaiety of Apparel, rich Furniture, and an infinite Variety? What are their ports, supplied with a few Jonks and Barks, to our Navigation, our Merchant fleets, our large and powerful Navies? Our City of London has more Trade than all their mighty Empire. . . . But the Greatness of their Wealth, their Trade, the Power of their Government, and Strength of their Armies, is Surprising to us, because, as I have said, considering them as a barbarous Nation of Pagans, little better than Savages, we did not expect such things among them; and this is

* "Robinson Crusoe." *Farther Adventures apud finem.*

indeed the Advantage with which all their Greatness and Power is represented to us; otherwise it is in itself nothing at all." Here is no sympathy, and therefore no insight, and it may be that such writing on Defoe's part, in a book so popular and so widely read, may have had a large share in creating common misconceptions that are current about China to this very day. Still worse follows: "I saw and knew that they were a contemptible Herd or Crowd of ignorant sordid Slaves, subjected to a Government qualified only to rule such a people." His picture of the Chinese gentleman is a horrible caricature, and there is only one curious and interesting incident—that of the house "plastered with the earth that makes China ware. On the outside it was perfect white, and painted with blue figures, as the large China ware in England is painted, and hard, as if it had been burnt." Walls and floors within were of tiles, the figures on which were "exceeding fine indeed, with extraordinary Variety of Colours mixed with Gold . . . and after all, the Roof was covered with Tiles of the same, but of a deep shining Black." Perhaps it was of some such house that our Portuguese friend was thinking in his description quoted earlier in this paper.

A very different atmosphere surrounds us when we come to the gentle humour of Oliver Goldsmith. Here, for the first time in the middle of the eighteenth century, do we find a gracious and imaginative use made by an English literary man of his knowledge of China. In the "Citizen of the World" the letters are supposed to be written by a Chinese philosopher, who was a native of Honan. "The Chinese," says Goldsmith, "are always concise, so is he; they are simple, so is he; the Chinese are grave and sententious, so is he." And then with a quaint turn, laughing as much at himself as the Chinese, he adds, "But in one particular the resemblance is peculiarly striking—the Chinese are often dull, so is he!"

There are many sly hits at the general English ignorance of the country; while they boast themselves of their know-

ledge they speculate much on the antiquities of the country, though they know little of its present condition. A contemporary letter of a Mr. James written in 1756, to be found in Nicholls' "Literary Illustrations," gives proof of this. This gentleman had met the Chinese Ambassador, and goes on to write of the people as follows: "Their antiquity makes them a proper study of an universal Antiquary. What I have read of them shows that they are descendants of Noah and his wife after they came out of the Ark, and that they are the likeliest persons in the known world to read the Hieroglyphical Signatures of Thebes and Egypt, not being used to read by an alphabetical character, as the manner was in more enlightened later days."

Goldsmith makes much fun of such learned trifling in his pages, thus: "Fohi and Noah are the same person, since they have each four letters, of which two are the same. Fohi had no father, and Noah's was presumably drowned in the flood, which amounts to the same thing in the end, therefore they are identical." We have quotations from Confucius and Mencius, and tales of China, like that of the truth-telling mirror of Lao. The Chinese philosopher is pictured in a pleasing and gracious way, and he is allowed to criticize and satirize the foibles of English society, at least as much as Englishmen do those of his own land.

In Gibbon's "Decline and Fall" there are several references to China, but to one characteristic paragraph I may be permitted to devote a few moments. In discussing the trade between China and Rome, and the silk brought to the West from that land, he says: "I reflect with some pain that if the importers of silk had introduced the art of printing already practised by the Chinese the comedies of Menander and the entire decades of Livy would have been perpetuated in the editions of the sixth century. A larger view of the Globe might at least have promoted the improvement of speculative science, but the Christian geography was the surest symptom of an unbelieving mind. The orthodox faith confined the habitable world to *one* temperate zone,

and represented the earth as an oblong surface, four hundred days' journey in length, two hundred in breadth, encompassed by the ocean, and covered by the solid crystal of the firmament."* Here is a generous recognition of what international intellectual intercourse might have accomplished had the West only sought to draw wisdom from Oriental springs. In another of his writings Gibbon eulogizes the family of Confucius, which he reckons the most illustrious in the world. "In the vast equality of the Empire of China the posterity of Confucius have maintained above 2,200 years this peaceful honour and perpetual succession. The chief of the family is still revered by the sovereign and the people as the lively image of the wisest of mankind." In the general turmoil of a few years ago, it was at least rumoured that the then head of the family, living in a very humble position in Peking, might be made head of the Chinese State.

In this rapid survey we come next to William Cowper, in whose poems we find two casual references to things Chinese. In the "Progress of Error" occurs the following couplet:

"Gorgonius sits abdominous and wan,
Like a fat squab upon a Chinese fan",

and in the "Epistle to Joseph Hill" the lines:

"Once on a time, an emperor, a wise man,
No matter where, in China or Japan,
Decreed that whosoever should offend
Against the well-known duties of a friend,
Convicted once, should ever after wear
But half a coat, and show his bosom bare,
The punishment importing thus, no doubt,
That all was naught within and all found out"

There is no need to enlarge on Charles Lamb's delightful Chinese fantasy on the discovery of roast pig, but in Leigh Hunt's "World of Books" there is an interesting and curious passage: "China, sir, is a very unknown place to us—in one sense of the word unknown, but who is not intimate with it as the land of tea, and china, and kotous, and pagodas, and mandarins, and Confucius, and conical caps, and

* "Bury's Edn.," iv. 534.

people with little names, little eyes, and little feet, who sit in little bowers, drinking little cups of tea, and writing little odes? The Jesuits, and the tea-cups, and the novel of Ju-Kiao-Li have made us acquainted with it; better a great deal than millions of its inhabitants are acquainted, fellows who think it in the middle of the world, and know nothing of themselves. With *one* China they are totally unacquainted—to wit, the great China of the poet and old travellers, Cathay, the seat of Cathaian Can, the country of which Ariosto's Angelica was princess royal. Yes, she was a Chinese, the fairest of her sex, Angelica."

We remember that Coleridge, writing in 1797, founded on an imperfectly remembered sentence in Purchas his fragment of "Kubla Khan":

"In Xanadu did Kubla Khan
A stately pleasure-dome decree
Where Alph, the sacred river, ran
Through caverns measureless to man
Down to a sunless sea
So twice five miles of fertile ground
With walls and towers were girdled round,
And there were gardens bright with sinuous rills,
Where blossomed many an incense-bearing tree,
And here were forests ancient as the hills,
Enfolding sunny spots of greenery"

In Byron's "Don Juan" (xii. 9) we have:

"The ship
From Ceylon, Inde, or far Cathay unloads"

One other poet, Thomas Moore, derives a line from these same Chinese beauties in the couplet:

"From Persian eyes of full and fawn-like ray,
To the small half-shut glances of Cathay"*

But our great poets have not yet turned to China for inspiration. What would not Browning have made of it! How wonderful would have been some parleyings with certain people Chinese, some monologue of a great sage, or some dramatic incident in Chinese history! One would have given a great deal to possess Browning's analysis, *e.g.*, of

* "Lalla Rookh."

the soul of the Empress Dowager. The inscrutable nature of much in the deepest Chinese character it would take a master like him to unravel.

In Carlyle's "Heroes" we find him sympathizing with Chinese methods, as if they at least had ventured on Plato's plan of making kings philosophers and philosophers kings. "The most interesting fact," he says, "I hear about the Chinese is one on which we cannot arrive at clearness; but which excites endless curiosity even in the dim state, this, namely, that they do attempt to make their Men of Letters their Governors! . . . There does seem to be all over China a more or less active search everywhere to discover the men of talent that grow up in the young generation. . . . These are they whom they *try* first, whether they can govern or not. And surely with the best hope, for they are the men that have already shown intellect. Try them; they have not governed or administered as yet; perhaps they cannot; but there is no doubt they *have* some Understanding without which no man *can*! . . . Surely there is no kind of government, constitution, revolution, social apparatus or arrangement, that I know of in this world, so promising to one's scientific curiosity as this. The man of intellect at the top of affairs; this is the aim of all constitutions and revolutions, if they have any aim."* And now China is trying the experiment with more vigour and, let us hope, prospect of success than ever before.

Among the "Imaginary Conversations" of W. S. Landor is to be found a very long one consisting of eight audiences between the Emperor of China and his Ambassador, Tsing-ti. The latter had been sent to Europe in order to find some zealous religious bigots who might sow dissension among the Emperor's enemies, the Tartars.

The description given of England is very severely satirical, but we do not find very much about China, save by way of contrast, as when the Emperor asks him to amuse the children with part of his adventures, but adds, "Prythee

* "On Heroes"—"The Hero as Man of Letters."

do not relate to them any act of intolerance or inhumanity; the young should not be habituated to hear or see what is offensive to our nature and derogatory to the beneficence of our God." The whole dialogue is well worth study.

De Quincey wrote a pamphlet in 1857 in support of the war against China, which is full of the most atrocious mis-statements and prejudice. The following sentence will suffice:

"In the case of China this apostrophe, *The nations hate thee*!—would pass by acclamation, without needing the formality of a vote. Such has been the inhuman insolence of this vilest and silliest among nations." The adjectives could scarcely have been worse chosen.

As is the case with our great poets, so with our great novelists—no one has taken China for a background, or has endeavoured to interpret to us Chinese thought and life. Obviously the long and intimate connection of India with England gave that land a better opportunity, but China awaits, in the realm of fiction, her equivalents to Kipling, Flora Annie Steele, and other lesser lights. Japan has been more fortunate than she. Mr. Putnam Weale has blazed a trail in "The Human Cobweb," "The Eternal Priestess," and "The Unknown God." In these books there are some very living descriptions of things Chinese, and the reader gets memorable pictures of the great scenes in Peking and on the Yangtse. The atmosphere is often correct, but there is no real insight into Chinese character, or any setting forth of all that is most beautiful and worthy in the life of the land. A great novel revealing to the English people something of the heart of China would be one of the greatest gifts that could be bestowed upon us.*

Dickens only once describes a member of the race—in a

* By a curious coincidence, just as these pages were being written there came into my hands a novel by an American writer (A. H. Fitch) under the title "The Breath of the Dragon," which comes nearer what I have desired to see than any other book I know. It gives a good account of life under the Empress Dowager, and almost all the characters and incidents move in Chinese and not in Western circles. The book is a proof of what can be done, and a promise of more perfect attainment.

filthy opium den in the opening chapter of "Edwin Drood." Thackeray, so far as I know, touches it not at all, save in trifling verse in the ballads, which may form an amusing interlude:

A TRAGIC STORY

There lived a sage in days of yore,
And he a handsome pig-tail wore,
But wondered much and sorrowed more
Because it hung behind him

He mused upon this curious case,
And swore he'd change the pig-tail's place,
And have it hanging at his face,
Not dangling there behind him

Says he, the mystery I've found,
I'll turn me round—he turned him round,
But still it hung behind him.

Then round and round, and out and in
All day the puzzled sage did spin,
In vain—it mattered not a pin—
The pig-tail hung behind him

And right and left, and round about,
And up and down, and in and out
He turned, but still the pig-tail stout
Hung steadily behind him.

And though his efforts never slack,
And though he twist, and twirl, and tack,
Alas! still faithful to his back,
The pig-tail hangs behind him!

If this seems to any learned readers too frivolous, it scarcely needs to be pointed out that such a poem easily lends itself to various forms of allegorical interpretation, which I shall leave to their ingenuity to discover!

In John Stuart Mill's famous essay "On Liberty," in addition to two or three passing references to China, he has one rather significant passage in which he does justice to that people as "a nation of much talent, and, in some respects, even wisdom, owing to the rare good fortune of having been provided at an early period with a particularly good set of customs, the work in some measure of men to whom even the most enlightened European must accord,

under certain limitations, the title of sages and philosophers."* Further, he praises their faculty for impressing their best collective wisdom on the community, but in thus attempting to mould all on one pattern he sees the fatal weakness of the method, and warns his own countrymen against copying so dangerous a *régime*.

Books on China and Chinese affairs, accounts of travel in China, studies in her literature and ideas, have been written in ever increasing numbers within the last century, but what among them will be reckoned as permanent additions to English literature it is, happily, not for me to decide. (The latest and by no means the least significant is from the pen of our learned and versatile president of this afternoon.) Many of the ablest have been written by members of this Society, and it would not be fitting to appraise them amongst ourselves. Curiously enough, the only English poem known to me that is really interpretative of China is written by a man who, so far as I know, has never visited that country. Happily, he is still living, and his messages are full of stirring thoughts and energizing power to those who receive them. In his volume of poems entitled "Towards Democracy" Edward Carpenter has given a marvellous picture of that land, and has sought to bring it nearer to the imagination and heart of the English people. It was written in the year 1900. I cannot quote it all, but enough, I trust, to show you its power. Carpenter generally writes in the manner of Walt Whitman, and he does so here:

"Far in the interior of China,
Along low-lying plains and great rivers, valleys, and by lake-sides, and
far away up into hilly and even mountainous regions,
Behold! an immense population, rooted in the land, rooted in the
clan and family
The most productive and stable on the whole Earth.

A garden, one might say—a land of rich and recherché crops, of rice
and tea, and silk, and sugar, and cotton and oranges;
Do you see it?—stretching away endlessly over river-lines and lakes,
and the gentle undulations of the lowlands, and up the escarpments
of the higher hills;

* J. S. Mill, "On Liberty," chap. iii.

The innumerable patchwork of cultivation, the poignant verdure of the young rice, the sombre green of orange groves, the lines of tea-shrubs, well-hoed and showing the bare earth beneath, the pollard mulberries, the plots of cotton and maize and wheat, and yam and clover,

The little brown and green-tiled cottages with spreading recurved eaves, the clumps of feathery bamboo, or of sugar canes,

The endless silver threads of irrigation-canals and ditches, skirting the hills for scores and hundreds of miles, tier above tier, and serpentine down to the lower slopes and plains

* * * * *

The endless hills and cascades flowing into pockets and hollows of verdure, and on fields of steep and plain,

The bits of rock and wild wood left here and there, with the angles of Buddhist temples projecting from among the trees,

The azalea and rhododendron bushes, and the wild deer and pheasants unharmed,

The sounds of music and the gong—the *Sinfa* sung at eventide—and the air of contentment and peace pervading,

A garden you might call the land, for its wealth of crops and flowers,
A town almost for its population " *

The poet then goes on to describe its condition, "rooted in the family," touched but lightly by Government and by religious theorizing:

' By the way of abject common sense they have sought the gates of Paradise and to found on human soil their City Celestial '

Then he concludes:

And this is an outline of the nation which the Western nations would fain remodel on their own lines

The pyramids standing on their own apexes wanting to overturn the pyramid which rests four square on its base "'

The general outcome of this examination of our literature is to display the poorness rather than the richness of its acquaintance with China, and the strange lack of appreciation on the part of literary interpreters of the wonderful store of material that lies ready to their hand. They have enough history, description, and translation to supply them with a background on which their imagination may work, even without a visit to the magical land itself. But what a land it is! Soon we shall not be able to find medievalism anywhere as we can there. Even now, I suppose, things are

altering with such rapidity that it is not easy to do it so well as six years ago.

With what marvellous pictures are our minds stored who have seen it all ! Those great street scenes in the crowded cities ; the vast grandeur of Peking, the sunrises and sunsets on the stupendous Northern plain ; the nights in the courtyards of inns, with Rembrandt-like effects of light and shadow ; and the weird suggestions of it all, as if somehow it called up familiar scenes out of our own past.

Then the scenery of rivers, lakes, mountains, beautiful a thousandfold more than we had dreamed. Visions abide with us of city fronts almost magical in the semi-darkness, their sordidness kindly hidden, and only their majestic grandeur and impressiveness revealed ; of exquisitely situated pagodas and sleepy temples ; of noble vistas over wild mountain ranges and brooding plains.

And then the people—their endless fascination ; their sterling qualities of character ; their patience ; their frequent brilliance ; their courtesy ; their depths of possibility. Oh, if one had only the power to set it all out in poetry, fiction, or drama, so as to touch one's country men and women ! And to think that so many judge China from some play of the class of " Mr. Wu," or from the miserable creations of Chinese scoundrels in popular books of detective stories !

What is probably wanted, more than anything else, is an interpretation in English poetry or fiction from the pen of a Chinese author who knows his own people, and can enable us to see into their souls. We eagerly await the day—surely not far off—when someone from China will do for his people what Rabindranath Tagore has done for India.

If the practical outcome of this paper could be that we should arouse some of our friends who have the real literary gift to turn to China for their next subject, or if some of us who possess that gift would so use it, we might be rendering a splendid service to the cause of international fellowship, to the uplift of the whole world, and to the best interests of that land and people which, next to our own, some of us here love best in all the world.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

The CHAIRMAN (Dr. TIMOTHY RICHARD) having expressed his high appreciation of the paper,

Mr. GEORGE JAMIESON rose to propose a very hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer. With great industry, he said, Mr. Martin had travelled through the whole range of English literature and culled from it here and there extracts bearing on China. The paper began with an account of how certain interesting tales of China had been preserved to us. In the Elizabethan period, when great commercial and maritime development was proceeding, after the discovery of the New World and the road to the Far East, when travellers were bringing back stories of distant lands, it so happened that there was a quiet clergyman living in Suffolk who, although he had never made a voyage in his life, was interested in the voyages of others. He gathered round him these travellers and got them to tell him their stories and to lend him their ships' logs. Thus, he collected stories of the whole world, among which a few referred to China. In that way references to China were preserved which otherwise would not have been available, and Hakluyt's accounts were fortunately free from a great deal of the imagination which characterized other writers' descriptions. The speaker considered that Gaspar da Cruz's description of Canton was still a very good one, recalling scenes which were familiar to most of them. That, incidentally, was another source of information which by the industry of this unpretentious clergyman had been preserved. But subsequent authors did not know much about China, nor did they take the trouble to inform themselves, for the next hundred years or so. The majority of the writers who had touched upon the subject of China had given an ounce of fact for a pound of fancy. In the case of Milton, for instance, following upon that magnificent description of Satan's voyage through Chaos and Darkness, when finally he reached the rim of the new-born world, the poet likened him to a vulture finding his way from the Far North to the plains,

"To gorge the flesh of lambs and yearling kids . . ."

but, on his way, lighting

" On the barren plains
Of Sericana, where Chineses drive
With sails and wind their cany waggons light."

If by Sericana the poet meant the Ordos Desert, he would not have been far out, but he would not have found many "Chineses" there. Besides, he need not have gone all the way to Hindustan; on the fertile plains of China the vulture would have found prey enough to batten upon. With regard to Coleridge, it was true that Khubla Khan had a summer palace in Shangtu, but as for Alf, the sacred river, and so on, he thought that was all fancy. This was one of the many instances of fact and fancy being mixed together, as occurred in so many references to China.

Dr. LIONEL GILES, the Secretary of the Society, endorsed what Mr. Jamieson had said in praise of the lecture, and seconded the vote of thanks. He said he agreed with the Lecturer's favourable estimate of Goldsmith's "Citizen of the World." It deserved to be much more widely read than it was at present, though rather for the purpose of studying English manners and customs of the eighteenth century than of obtaining correct information on China. There were some amusing blunders. For instance, the name of the hero, Lien Chi Altangi, was an impossible compound. "Lien Chi" might perhaps pass muster as a real Chinese name, but why tack on the Turkish "Altangi"? Again, the oaths he swore—"Head of Confucius," "Sun of China"—and the way he addressed his friend—"O Fum, thou son of Fo"—were Oriental perhaps, but certainly not Chinese. Then there was the Chinese bride, who spoke of going out shopping with her mamma, and purchasing ribbons from a female milliner! There were also several sayings of Confucius in the book which would not be found in the Chinese Canon. With regard to Dickens, Mr. Martin had stated that the only reference to China was to be found in the opening chapter of "Edwin Drood." That was not quite literally correct, although to all intents and purposes it was true. It might interest Mr. Martin to know that the hero of "Little Dorrit" was stated to have spent more than twenty years in China. Arthur Clennam, the gentleman in question, was one of those colourless nonentities whom we find serving as a foil to Dickens' more highly coloured creations. As to his having been in China at all, we must simply decline to believe it. Not a single reminiscence of that wonderful country or her no less wonderful people escaped his lips from the first page to the last. Dr. Giles went on to say that his real purpose in rising was to bring to the notice of those present a small book published in the reign of Queen Anne, in 1711, entitled "An Account of the Trade in India," by Charles Lockyer. "India" was a vague term applied in those days to the Far East generally, and that was perhaps the reason why the work seemed to be so little known to students of China. Two chapters were taken up almost entirely by a description of Canton, and

it appeared to be the most excellent account that had been produced up to that date, or for as long as a century afterwards. The following paragraph seemed to confirm Gaspar da Cruz's description of the whiteness of the walls of dwelling-houses there:

Papered Walls.—"Instead of white Washing, they cover the Walls of their Chambers with a sort of thin white Paper, which the Stationers paste on, for a small matter; it looks very well, but will not last."

The following further extracts might be interesting:

Canton.—The City Wall is of Stone to a great thickness, very high, and fortified with Guns and Outworks at irregular distances. The Guns are marked with China characters, whence I doubt not of their being made here; they are about 8 or 9-Pounders, some mounted on short Carriages, others without any, some very much Honeycomb'd, and all out of order. . . .

Food.—Rice is their general Diet, which they shove out of small Bowls so greedily into their throats that 'tis impossible for them oftentimes to shut their Mouths. They are likewise fond of several Kinds of Meat, that we think but one Degree better than Poison. Dogs, Cats, Rats, Snakes, and Frogs are Daintys; the last bear almost double the Price of other Flesh in the Bazaars. . . . Rats are good meat to unprejudiced Eaters, Snake-Broth is very nourishing to sick Persons; but for Dogs and Cats I can speak nothing experimentally.

Fruits.—The Fruits they abound in are Oranges, Water Melons, Limes, Pairs, Red Plumbs, Pine Apples, Plantains, Bonanos, Chestnuts, Pumplemusses, and in general whatever the most fertile Parts of India produce, only coconuts and Palm Fruit they want. The Pumplemus is like a pale Orange, contains a substance much like it, and is five times as big. Some have white, and others red cloves within, but the Colour makes no Alteration in the Taste.

Tartars and Chinese.—I could see no Difference in the Men of those Nations. They are of an equal Bulk and Stature, and so well alike in Features, that tho' I was 5 months among them, I could not distinguish one from another by his Face.

Plays.—Their finest Plays are but Sadness well acted; nor would a Stranger think their best Singing any other than artificial Crying; for they raise and fall their Voices in such harsh, squally and ungrateful tones, that there is neither Head nor Tail to be found in it. Their Plays are wholly Tragick, acted by Eunuchs with great Passion, and are entertaining to Strangers, tho' they know nothing of their Language; for there is something of Novelty in every Act, which Gesture alone very agreeably imprints in our Minds.

Manners.—The better Sort of People are Civil and Complaisant to Strangers; but the Commonalty often Rude and Troublesome. When I have been buying of Toys in their Shops, of which here are such Variety, that a Man cannot tell when he has all, the Doors

in an instant have been throng'd with a larger gazing Mob, than in London attends the Morocco Ambassador. They are here civilier than at Amoy, where I have been told the Boys often throw Sticks and Stones, and otherwise insult Europeans, without Correction from their Parents.

Dress.—The Tartars oblige 'em to shave their Heads, all but about the breadth of a Crown, where the Hair is carefully preserved to be plaited, and hang like a Whip down the Back. The longer this is the more Beauish they are counted, therefore they often help it with Art.

The Beaus, or Men of Dress, are never compleat without short Boots on, made of quilted Sattin, with Soles an inch thick, no Heels, and a fine Border on the Tops. Nor do they ever go abroad without Fans, instead of Canes in their Hands, which has given Birth to a Saying frequent among them, that the Tartars came on them with Swords, when they had nothing but these Women's Weapons to oppose them with; thereby justly attributing their Subjection to their Effeminacy. When they go abroad in Winter, they keep their Fingers warm with live Quails instead of Muffs.

Lanterns.—In the Feast of Lanthorns, I counted seven Hundred in one short Street; some of them were very large, with little ones hanging round them, like a Paper Hen and Chickins in a Farmer's Hall; and others in such figures as their Fancys lead them to. I know nothing but the Candles in Cheapside, on a Rejoycing Night, comparable to it in England.

Mosquitoes.—Muschetos, or Gnats, are so plenty in the Summer, that what with their Bitings, and Musick, it is a hard matter to sleep among them. Gauze curtains are a mean defence, and smoking the Rooms signifies nothing; so that the only Remedy is Patience perforce. One thing is remarkable in them, they don't disturb their old Acquaintance half so much as new ones, who in the morning will be as spotted as if they had been ill of the Small Pox, when others of a longer Standing in the Country shall not have a mark about them. . . .

The CHAIRMAN observed that he took it they had already thanked Mr. Martin for his lecture. They might also thank Dr. Giles for the excellent appendix which he had given them. He would like to congratulate the Society on the work they were doing. As the Japan Society had resulted in an alliance between Great Britain and Japan, so he hoped that at no distant date the China Society would result in an alliance between Great Britain and China. (Applause.)

Mr. ARTHUR DIÓSY referred to the honour which had been done the meeting by the presence of Dr. Timothy Richard. He need say no more than that. All who had the interests of China at heart knew what Dr. Timothy Richard's name meant to China, what he had done for China, and what he was still doing.

THE GREAT POWERS AND THE NEAR EAST

BY A TRAVELLER IN THE BALKANS

1. "Turkey, Greece, and the Great Powers," by G. F. Abbott. London, Robert Scott. 7s. 6d. net.
2. "A Ride through the Balkans," by Agnes Ethel Conway. London, Robert Scott. 5s. net.

As a person who has endeavoured to make a somewhat careful study of the conditions prevailing in that part of Europe about which these two books are written, it has always struck the present writer that among the considerable number of persons who have travelled in the Near East there are but comparatively few who have grasped the real meaning of what they have seen and heard. It is therefore a matter for great satisfaction to hear from the pen of a distinguished publicist like Sir Martin Conway, who provides a charming introduction to his daughter's book, that "such persons have no power of sight. In the presence of the Parthenon they behold only so much masonry. They have no mental vision to thrill to the exquisite beauty of those stones or to apprehend them, not as in the mere foreground of to-day, but far off down the long avenue of the centuries in the great distance where the heroes dwell. To see anything you must bring with you the special power of sight and insight that is demanded by the particular object."

Though this world-famous explorer proclaims that the traveller father of a travelled daughter has to obey orders—

to supply a demanded introduction—and that the responsibility lies where the order emanates, in this case that responsibility will certainly not be one to weigh heavily upon whatever shoulders it may rest. Indeed, whilst the most important function of a modern preface may be merely to explain the objects for which the book has been written, and to state the manner in which the information has been acquired, the “reflections” of Sir Martin Conway are so full of reality, and his daughter’s volume is so fresh and attractive, that it can only be to the great credit of both parties that there was such a volume to be introduced and such a born essay-writer to introduce it. For example, he tells us, with a truth which can only be understood by those who have experienced it, that “till you come where you have to sleep upon the ground you are not really free of the bondage of the crowd. To mount your horse in the morning, with all your goods upon a beast of burden and only rough tracks or none to follow, and not to be sure where you will find shelter next night—that is freedom, especially if you are without a camp or equipment and must rely upon the hospitality of a simple folk living in primitive fashion.” And, again, there are few sights more pathetic “than that of an ageing individual, some man of business who has worked hard and made money, and at last taken a holiday with wife and grown-up family and launched forth to see the world. How it bores him! He has no eyes to see it with. The eyes he might have had have not been developed, and now it is too late to develop them.”

Mr. Abbott’s and Miss Conway’s books are entirely different in their objects, their scope, and their contents. But none the less the two volumes have certain points in common. To begin with, they are both written by comparatively young people—young, suitably educated young, to whom, as Sir Martin Conway says, the outlandish world opens its arms and its heart. What is even more important, both the authors whose works are under review have been able to see, to hear, and to record, things which

might well have escaped the notice of others possessed of equally favourable opportunities. And, lastly, judging from what they each say and from the way in which it is said, our author and authoress, who deal with entirely opposite sides of what is more or less the same question, have carried out their respective works in a manner which proves that they are unconventional people desirous of acquiring information and of imparting it to those who know the various Balkan peoples only by newspaper repute and as kind of half-civilized persons, violent, dangerous, and untrustworthy.

Mr. Abbott's volume, which he aptly describes as "A Study in Friendship and Hate," is made up of two sections more or less equal in length. The first deals historically with the attitudes of the Great Powers towards Turkey, and the second relates to the different rôles of England, France, Russia, Germany, and Austria, towards the Greeks and towards Greece. In each case the subject in question is very ably reviewed, and the whole book is written and presented to the public with a care and a skill which must make it a valuable work of reference to those desirous of studying the numerous questions with which it deals. In fact, as a general criticism it may be said that the references are so copious and the authorities quoted so numerous that the reader seems constrained to recognize his ignorance and to feel he may indeed live and learn.

Whilst the whole volume proves that Mr. Abbott is a student of and authority upon history, it is obvious that to the everyday man the accounts given of more modern events are the parts of the volume of the more intrinsic interest. It was therefore quite natural for the author to devote chapters respectively to France and the Turks, Russia and the Turks, England and the Turks, the Germanic Powers and the Turks, and then to summarize what took place after the outbreak of the war in one short chapter called "Turkey's Choice." These chapters, which constitute a summary of the relations existing between

the Powers and the Government of the Sultan from the sixteenth century up to the present day, are full of attraction to the ordinary reader as well as to the student. But in justice to the public, and especially to those who have not been able to follow the trend of European events, it must be pointed out that almost throughout the whole of his volume the author has little that is good to say of Russia and Russian policy in the East, and that he finds in the Franco-Russian Alliance and in the Anglo-Russian Entente the reasons for many of the events which led up to and resulted in the policy adopted by Turkey after the outbreak of the war.

In dealing with the problems which confronted the Ottoman Government between August and November, 1914, Mr. Abbott explains the reasons which caused the Porte to vacillate and finally to adopt a choice which he says "came about in strict accordance with the law of causation." The author sees and visualizes the position, as a student is entitled to do, from the Turkish point of view. But whilst, if he has once decided to deal in detail with the question during the war, no complaint can be made against Mr. Abbott for raising points possessed of a bearing upon the then existing situation; in my opinion the author (it need hardly be said unconsciously) appears to make almost too many allowances for a Government which has not only thrown in its lot upon the side of our enemies, but which has already been responsible for many a disaster to its own people. For obvious reasons, therefore, I do not propose here to follow Mr. Abbott into details, and I would only quote as a single passage referring to our seizure of the two Dreadnoughts, built for the Ottoman Government, directly after the outbreak of the war. Mr. Abbott says:

"She [Germany] hastened to turn our gratuitous blunder to account by filling the gap left in the Ottoman Navy with units from her own fleet (the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* more than made up for the loss of the *Sultan Osman* and the

Reshadie) and presented to the starving State the wherewithal to pay its officials their long-overdue salaries."

The manner in which in this case we executed our undoubted right of taking over, in time of war, any battleship in process of construction in this country, and the fact that no adequate steps appear to have been taken to explain our reasons and rights to those who had subscribed money to defray the cost of building these ships, are open to the most serious criticism. But to speak of the adoption of a necessary and entirely desirable measure (even if it were carried out in a wrong way) as a "gratuitous blunder" is almost as unjustifiable as it is incorrect to say that the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* more than made up for the loss of two first-class, better armed, and more modern warships than even the *Goeben*.

In my opinion the section of the volume dealing with Greece is more interesting and even better done than that devoted to Turkey. This is partly the case because the subject is smaller, but principally because the author is obviously still more at home in Greece than in Turkey. But here again, legitimate as are many of his observations upon the conduct and management of the Allied policy at Athens, Mr. Abbott loses no opportunity of making excuses for and presenting in the most favourable light the attitude of a ruler who, to say the least of it, is not possessed of favourable sentiments towards the Allies. Indeed, be his justification what it may, the author, whilst recognizing the ability and patriotism of M. Venizelos, clearly indicates, though he does not say, that he thinks in a military question the Greeks have been right in being "disposed to let themselves be guided by the judgment of a soldier rather than by that of a layman, however clever."

In the ordinary way an author is, of course, entitled to form and to present his opinions to the public as may seem to him to be desirable. There is, therefore, no reason, and there is no space here, to criticize or to approve of the various points which are made by Mr. Abbott in the Greek

section of his volume. In the opinion of the present writer it is, however, desirable to allude in two instances to the manner in which facts of enormous importance are treated. In dealing with the special rights of the "Protecting Powers" in Greece, Mr. Abbott may be correct in inferring that, when these rights were actually invoked by the Allies, the policy of the King was supported by a large majority in the Chamber—a majority, however, obtained simply because M. Venizelos had prevented his supporters from taking any part in the election of December, 1915. But if a point is to be made of this at all, and if the attitude of the Allies is to be criticized in this respect, particular stress should have been laid upon the fact that, had they been utilized at the proper time, the rights of England, France, and Russia as the "Protecting Powers" of Greece were amply sufficient to compel the King to govern by constitutional methods. Thus in 1832 Greece was placed "under the guarantee" of the three countries. In 1863 it was agreed that she should form "a monarchical, independent, and constitutional State." Again, when it was arranged at the same time that the Ionian Islands were to be united with the Hellenic kingdom, it was settled that these islands were also to be comprised in the above-mentioned guarantee. Once more, in 1881, when the frontiers of Greece were greatly extended it was expressly stated that the inhabitants of the then new Greek territory were to "enjoy exactly the same civil and political rights as subjects of Hellenic origin."

In dealing with Græco-Serbian relations Mr. Abbott says: "Repeated assertions to the contrary notwithstanding, her treaty with Serbia imposed upon Greece no obligation legal or moral. It was a purely Balkan arrangement, providing for no complications outside the Balkan area." The first and obvious answer to such a sweeping assertion is that, if this be the case, it seems difficult to understand why the Greeks did not immediately publish the terms of the treaty itself. Moreover, unless that document expressly provided *against complications outside*

the Balkan area, it cannot fail to have come into operation directly Serbia was attacked by Bulgaria, and as soon as Serbia (or her Allies) arranged for the contingent which it agreed should be forthcoming from her side in case of the advent of circumstances necessitating the enforcement of the arrangement. In short, whatever may be Mr. Abbott's sources of information, the present reviewer is inclined rather to accept the opinion of Mr. John Mavrogordato, who in the course of an excellent article in the *Edinburgh Review* for January, 1917, quotes M. Maccas as his authority for saying "that until August, 1915, the validity of the defensive alliance between Greece and Serbia in the case of a Bulgarian attack had never been so much as questioned even by the most fanatical opponents of Venizelos."

To summarize, it may be said that, whilst Mr. Abbott has written without regard to war conditions—conditions which may or may not render it undesirable to express an opinion upon or to examine events the full consequences of which are still unknown—the earlier portions of "Turkey, Greece, and the Great Powers" are so carefully and well done that this volume must remain a highly important work for many a day. Thus, although many readers may regret that the author did not either content himself by bringing his account only up to the outbreak of the war or else postpone its publication until after the declaration of peace, there can be no fair-minded critic who will fail to recognize that Mr. Abbott has treated an all-important subject in a manner which could not have been attempted by a man who was not *au courant* with the history, the politics, and the problems of the ever-vexed Near Eastern Question.

As may be inferred from the title and subtitle, "A Ride through the Balkans—on Classic Ground with a Camera," Miss Conway's book contains, not an account of Balkan politics, but rather a description of the things which she actually saw during a journey made in the spring of 1914. The authoress, who went out "to pursue a very definite piece

of archaeological work," so to speak, broke loose from her fetters, and instead of confining herself entirely to archaeology, subsequently made extended journeys in areas which had then recently been the scenes of war. It is perhaps this veritable "strike"—this mental insubordination—which makes Miss Conway's book so attractive, for, unbound by any conventions and unhindered by any fears, this young lady and her friend, E., ventured to do and to say things which would have been impossible for a resident or a person possessed of a recognized position in countries where unconventionality is not appreciated.

From Athens the travellers went to Constantinople. Here the authoress imbibed the true spirit of the place, recognized the fascination of the Galata Bridge, and realized that Santa Sophia looks far more beautiful as a mosque than it could do as a Christian church. During their stay in the Ottoman Empire, Miss Conway and her friend went from Constantinople to Brussa, and travelled with the Turkish ladies, both by train and boat, and were surprised at the way they smoked in public. They saw an elderly woman sitting in the women's part of the train pull aside the curtain dividing her from the men, get a light from a male cigarette, and relapse into veiled seclusion! Such a sight, which can hardly typify the conduct of the Moslem woman even under the most modern of Young Turkish Governments, must have been an experience almost as exceptional as was that of these European ladies when they were conducted into the male portion of a Turkish bath at Brussa!

During a brief visit to Salonika Miss Conway found out that "no Bulgarian" was then "allowed to land in Greek territory"—a condition of things which, here as elsewhere, led to a very thorough search of baggage lest she might be a representative of that hated nation in disguise. From there she crossed the Gulf to Litocheri, and after making two extended tours in old Greece, finally landed at Prevesa, travelling thence by way of Yanina to Santa Quaranta at

the time of the revolution in Southern Albania. During this journey, which was thus made at a very interesting and exciting period, the travellers had their breakfasts and their boots cleaned for the expenditure of the large sum of three pence, studied and talked about the political situation, and in a plutocratic manner hired a special boat to travel from Santa Quaranta to Corfu!

Having passed Avlona and Durazzo by night, the two adventurers reached Cettinje, where they attended funerals by day and sat in the cafés until long past midnight. Clean as it was, they did not, however, like the Montenegrin capital as well as either Yanina or Scutari. In this latter city our former archæologists become thoroughgoing politicians. They talk of the situation with Colonel Phillips, who did such excellent work as its Governor, they *discover* that the Albanians are the oldest race in Europe and that Scutari ought to belong to them, they choose German as the language to address a sentry who turns out to be British, and they attend an evening party at the English mess, where they meet the representatives of numerous nationalities, then living on terms of perfect harmony, but now, alas! either dead or else fighting as enemies in the bloodiest war the world has ever known.

The task the most difficult of accomplishment, even by an experienced writer, is that entailed in the necessity of saying something new, something interesting, and something fresh about places and experiences which have already been fully described. "A Ride through the Balkans" is apparently only Miss Conway's second book, but the descriptions which it contains, the atmosphere in which she sees things, and the knowledge which she brings to bear, are so effective or so far-reaching that her volume is either amusing or interesting from cover to cover.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

MOHAMMEDANISM. By Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje. (*Putnam.*)

It is a piece of good-fortune for the English reader that this work by an eminent Dutch professor, one of the most competent scholars of Islam in Europe, has made its appearance in the English language. His writings have hitherto been printed either in Dutch, French, or German, and only two of them have been published in English translations. The present work owes its origin to the fact that the author was invited to lecture on Mohammedanism by a Committee for Lectures on the History of Religions, which was formed in America in 1892 and has since that date selected various professors to deliver lectures on the religious systems that form their special study in each case.

There are few authorities on Mohammedan questions that can speak with such accurate knowledge of the literature of his subject and such intimate acquaintance with the living facts as Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje, Professor of Arabic in the University of Leiden; and he represents a detached and impartial view of Islam, such as finds little expression in English works on the subject. We have plenty of attacks on this rival faith by Christian missionaries and controversialists, and some apologetics by Muslim, such as the Right Hon. Ameer Ali, or by partisans such as Professor T. W. Arnold (who comes in for some castigation in the present volume) or Mr. S. H. Leeder, but the judicious attitude of the true scholar is little represented in English publications. Professor Snouck Hurgronje is a fanatic on neither side. He expresses his belief in the sincerity of Mohammed, and condemns as unjust the opinion of those biographers who, while "they do not deny the obvious honesty of his first visions, represent him in the second half of his work as a sort of actor, who played with that which had been most sacred to him"; on the other hand, he does not hesitate to criticize the "various weaknesses which disfigured this great personality." In like manner he holds a just mean between a slavish reliance on early traditions and the extreme scepticism of scholars like Caetani and Lammens, who seek to minimize the part played by religious considerations in the early days of Islam; our author well says: "However great a weight one may give to political

and economic factors, it was religion, Islam, which in a certain sense united the hitherto hopelessly divided Arabs, Islam which enabled them to found an enormous international community; it was Islam which bound the speedily converted nations together even after the shattering of its political power, and which still binds them to-day when only a miserable remnant of that power remains."

Unlike many professors of Arabic in Europe, whose knowledge is derived solely from books, Professor Snouck Hurgronje has spent a considerable number of years in the East; in 1884-85 he lived for eight months in Jeddah and Mecca, and wrote a vivid and detailed account of the life of the holy city, not during the time of pilgrimage, as Burton and other travellers had done, but under the normal conditions that prevail during the greater part of the year. His book on Mecca thus supplements that of Burton, and contains a mass of information not accessible from any other source; it gives a history of the Sharifs and their government of Mecca, a description of the daily life of the inhabitants in their social and domestic relations, explains the organization of the courses of study followed by the theologians and students, and gives an account of the foreign residents, particularly of the Javanese. The Dutch Government, recognizing the difficulties connected with the administration of countries containing a large Mohammedan population, appointed him their expert adviser on all matters connected with Islam, with the title *Adviseur voor Inlandsche Zaken*, and in a similar capacity he is still attached to the Dutch Colonial Office. The opportunities that such a position afforded him for acquiring information, enabled him to collect materials for his great work on Aceh, that Mohammedan state in Northern Sumatra which has at intervals given so much trouble to the Dutch Government; this is the only work of his that has been translated into English (London, 1906), with the exception of his "Holy War made in Germany," which appeared shortly after the outbreak of the present war. This is not the place to give a bibliography of the works he has written for the enlightenment of his fellow-countrymen; suffice it to say that they are of exceptional value to the student of Islam in the Malay Archipelago. But he addresses a wider audience in the articles that he has contributed from time to time to the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* and to the *Revue du Monde Musulman*—and in the work under review. The reader may thus feel assured that when he takes up this book, he puts himself under the guidance of a "master of those who know."

The scope of the work embraces the whole Mohammedan period from the time of the Prophet to the present day. The first chapter deals with the origin of Islam, and gives a careful analysis of the character and career of Mohammed, considered in the light of the most recent researches into the sources for his biography. Chapters II. and III. give a sketch respectively of the religious and the political development of Islam; and the volume closes with a chapter entitled "Islam and Modern Thought," in which there is much to interest the English reader, for the problem of bringing the vast Mohammedan populations under British rule into line with the methods and ideals of modern civilization is one of the most

difficult that English administrators have to deal with. The author passes in review the various Mohammedan institutions that serve as obstacles to progress, and indicates the lines on which it is possible for each of these obstacles to be overcome; he rightly puts aside the purely dogmatic part of such antagonistic elements as being of no greater importance than any other medieval dogmatic system that has its millions of adherents in the Christian world. The ritual laws create less difficulty in modern times than before, now that there is no external compulsion under non-Mohammedan rule. The personal law which permits polygamy and slavery no longer carries the same weight with Mohammedans themselves as it did in the past, and these two institutions are in no way indispensable to the integrity of Islam, as is shown by their decay in self-governing Mohammedan States of the present day. The legal prescriptions concerning Jihad, the so-styled "holy war," have already been thrust into the background by the logic of facts, and by the passing of political power in the world into the hands of non-Mohammedan States. The author finally makes an appeal, which ought to meet with a generous response from English readers, for a sympathetic attitude towards the efforts which the finer spirits in the Muslim world are making for reform. "England, France, Holland, and other countries governing Mohammedan populations are all endeavouring to find the right way to incorporate their Mohammedan subjects into their own civilization. . . . Both parties are almost equally concerned in the question, whether a way will be found to associate the Moslim world to modern civilization, without obliging it to empty its spiritual treasury altogether. . . . We can but hope that modern civilization will not be so fanatical against Moslims, as the latter were unjustly said to have been during the period of their power. If the modern world were only to offer the Mohammedans the choice between giving up at once the traditions of their ancestors or being treated as barbarians, there would be sure to ensue a struggle as bloody as has ever been witnessed in the world. It is worth while indeed to examine the system of Islam from this special point of view, and to try to find the terms on which a durable *modus vivendi* might be established between Islam and modern thought." He concludes with some weighty counsel, which we commend to the earnest consideration of English statesmen and all who are concerned with the Mohammedan world: "All agree that Mohammedans, disinclined as they are to reject their own traditions of thirteen centuries and to adopt a new religious faith, become ever better disposed to associate their intellectual, social, and political life with that of the modern world. Here lies the starting-point for two divisions of mankind which for centuries have lived their own lives separately in mutual misunderstanding, from which to pursue their way arm in arm to the greater advantage of both. We must leave it to the Mohammedans themselves to reconcile the new ideas which they want with the old ones with which they cannot dispense; but we can help them in adapting their educational system to modern requirements and give them a good example by rejecting the detestable identification of power and right in politics which lies at the basis of their own canonical law on holy war as well as

at the basis of the political practice of modern Western States. This is a work in which we all may collaborate, whatever our own religious conviction may be. The principal condition for a fruitful friendly intercourse of this kind is that we make the Moslim world an object of continual serious investigation in our intellectual centres."

If a general criticism of Professor Snouck Hurgronje's outlook may be offered, it would appear that, considerable as his acquaintance with Mohammedans is, it does not seem to have extended to those Mohammedans who in modern times have most successfully assimilated the culture of the West—e.g., those Indian Mohammedans who are as much at home in the society of educated Europeans as our own fellow-countrymen. Had the author enjoyed a more intimate acquaintance with this more modern and elevated type of Muslim culture, he might have taken a more hopeful view of the prospects of Mohammedan society. But it is interesting in this connection to note what he has to say on the civilizing influence of life under an ordered European government upon the most unpromising material. Speaking of the population of Hadramant in Southern Arabia, he says that a poorer and more miserable population can hardly be imagined; the worst elements of the old Arab paganism hamper all moral and social progress; the chiefs spend their time in ceaseless and inhuman vendettas, and the religious leaders are fanatics of the most narrow-minded and bigoted type; chronic famine, resulting from the anarchy prevailing in the country, forces many of the Hadramites to emigrate, particularly to the Dutch Indies. Now, here, "though the Government has never favoured them, and though they have had to compete with Chinese and with Europeans, they have succeeded in making their position sufficiently strong. Under a strong European government they are among the quietest, most industrious subjects, all earning their own living and saving something for their poor relations at home. They come penniless, and without any of that theoretical knowledge or practical skill which we are apt to consider as indispensable for a man who wishes to try his fortune in a complicated modern colonial world. Yet I have known some who in twenty years' time have become commercial potentates, and even millionaires."

These words are an interesting commentary on the proclamation of Sir Stanley Maude at the time of the entry of the British troops into Baghdad: "It is the hope and desire of the British people and the nations in alliance with them that the Arab race may rise once more to greatness and renown among the peoples of the earth." Probably few persons who read this proclamation when it appeared in the English press know how much ground there is for entertaining such a hope; and still fewer realize how far it is possible for the English people to co-operate in the task of the regeneration of Mohammedan peoples. To those who are interested in this important problem we would commend the study of the present work.

THE MIDDLE EAST

FROM THE GULF TO ARARAT. By G. E. Hubbard. (Edinburgh and London: *William Blackwood and Sons.*)

FROM MOSCOW TO THE PERSIAN GULF. By Benjamin Burges Moore. (New York and London: *G. P. Putnam's Sons.*)

(Reviewed by *L. W. King.*)

These two books, both of which describe journeys in the Middle East undertaken before the war, contain much that is of interest at the present moment. We are all thinking just now of Mesopotamia and Persia, and special correspondents have told us something of the difficulties our troops have overcome on General Maude's victorious advance up the Tigris and during the pacification of Southern Persia under Sir Percy Sykes. But the messages they have sent us are necessarily confined in the main to military operations. The exigencies of the cable do not admit of much descriptive detail, and the reader must perforce construct his own background to the brief outline which his newspaper supplies. If he cannot draw upon his own experiences, his best plan is to study the record of some recent traveller who has the faculty of conveying to others his own impressions of the country he has seen. The authors of both these books possess that faculty, but as their motives for travel differed, their impressions are naturally not the same. Their routes, too, supplement each other, for they did not even cross, the one leaving the Gulf up the Shatt el-Arab, the other reaching it at Bushire. One feature both books have in common, and it is an important one for our purpose. They are both admirably illustrated by photographs, those of Mr. Moore being particularly good.

Mr. Hubbard's journey was of an official character, for he accompanied the Commission which delimited the Turko-Persian frontier in 1913-14. The object of the Commission was to settle all points of uncertainty as to the frontier, which had given rise to continual friction since the earlier Commission of 1848. In recent years Turkish violations of Persian territory had been frequent in the north, and after the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian agreement they became matters of concern to Russia as well as to the injured party, a Turkish force on one occasion coming into collision with Russian garrison troops in Azerbaijan. Things became worse in 1913, with the weakening of the Persian Constitutional Government, and British and Russian mediation was called in. As a result the Delimitation Commission was appointed, on which Mr. Hubbard acted as Secretary to the British delegates. His book gives us a very graphic account of their labours, which were brought to a close in the autumn of 1914, a few weeks after the outbreak of the war. They had then constructed the last of their boundary-pillars under the shadow of Mount Ararat, and the remaining Commissioners of the party made the best of their way back, each to his own country. It may be added that the British delegates found every way closed to them except Archangel, and so, for the first time probably since the days of our early merchant adventurers, Englishmen followed the route from Persia to their native land via the Arctic Sea.

How expeditiously the work of the Commissioners had been carried out may be gathered from the fact that in well under twelve months they had made a complete new survey of the frontier, extending for no less than 1,180 miles. It had included every principle of delimitation known to science. In its broadest sense the frontier is geographical, since it follows the great mountain range which, stretching S.S.E. from Ararat, separates the Persian plateau from the Mesopotamian plain. But there is no single nor continuous watershed, and in detail the boundary was determined by racial, linguistic, religious, and sometimes purely artificial, data. It goes without saying that the party followed no beaten track, and the record of their work has thus the advantage of considerable novelty.

Mr. Moore's route, on the other hand, was rather more prosaic in character. For nearly two-thirds of it, from Moscow to Askabad, he followed the railway; but it runs east of the Caspian and Aral Seas, and has such stations as Tashkent, Samarkand, Bokhara, and Merv. And in Persia he travelled by carriage.

He crossed the Elburz Mountains to Meshed, and after driving westwards to Teheran, turned southwards to Ispahan and Bushire, visiting the ruins of Pasargadae and Persepolis on the way. But the fact that he followed the highroad had its advantages, for he stayed at many of the great cities of the Middle East. Mr. Moore is an American, and he travelled purely for pleasure. He tells us that all the books he had read about Persia had been more or less rose-coloured, and had in turn coloured his visions of the land of Iran. His book he describes as "the journal of a disappointed traveller," and it must be admitted that the picture he paints of both Persia and the Persians is far from rose-coloured. He was put out by many of the small incidents and accidents of Eastern travel, and he states frankly all that was disagreeable. But he has an eye for country, and a distinct gift for descriptive writing. Hence the reader will gain a good idea from his book of the conditions in Persia before the war; but he must make some allowance for the author's disenchantment.

FICTION

THE ETERNAL HUSBAND, and other stories. By Fyodor Dostoevsky. (*William Heinemann.*) 4s. 6d. net.

Admitting that Dostoevsky is difficult to understand at a first reading, one might well begin the study of his work with such a volume as this, in which, from the more restricted scenario and far smaller crowd of actors in each story, it is more easy to get at the root motive of the drama presented. Here are three stories, two of very fair length, and one quite short; in each is minute analysis, virile characterization, and the taint of melancholy from which one never escapes in the work of this inspired man—or lunatic. Possibly the best of the three stories is the "Gentle Spirit," which fills the last few pages of the book; it is in any case a very remarkable character-study, and a mighty lesson as well.

There is little to praise in the translation, which at times gives, if not ungrammatical phrases, bits of bad English; it is, however, Dostoevsky, which is merely another way of expressing the fact that this work is evidence of genius.

E. C. V.

THE SHADOW LINE. By Joseph Conrad. (*J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd.*)

The obvious comparison suggested by "The Shadow Line" is "The Ancient Mariner," but I do not know that there is much point in making the comparison, except for the purpose of conveying the bare lines of the story. The import of the story is very different from that of Coleridge's tale. The Ancient Mariner had never any doubts as to why his voyage was so terrible, and the dead albatross tied round his neck is no more tangible than the sense of retribution which all the events which happen convey. It is the intangibility of the malevolent influences which pursue the ship in "The Shadow Line" that provide the sensation of this story, and the narrator's feeling of having blundered unpremeditatedly into his awful, death-haunted command. The shadow line is the line that divides youth from what lies ahead, the line that cuts across youth's beautiful continuity of hope, "warning one that the region of early youth must be left behind." In perceiving it there come moments of boredom, weariness, and dissatisfaction, moments when the past and the present seem full of emptiness, and the inclination to throw up one's job for no reason conquers. Such a moment induced a mate, who tells the story, to throw up his job, and left him, a discharged seaman in an Eastern port, waiting for a homeward mail. Suddenly a command is offered him. The way it is offered, the mysterious circumstances of its approach—above all, the presiding figure of the stolid, far-sighted, impersonal Captain Giles, who hauled his watch up from a deep pocket "like truth out of a well," are described with that power of investing the commonplace with consequence that Mr. Conrad possesses. The second part of the book describes the new captain's first voyage on his ship, which is driven back again to port by what seems to be the malign influence of his predecessor. Everything that happens on the voyage seems to confirm the first mate's sick obsession that the former captain, now dead and buried at the entrance to the Gulf, meant that the ship should follow him and be lost with all hands. Fever spreads among the crew, until not a man is left except the captain and the steward (who has a weak heart) to haul the sails. Deceitful breezes come and go, the store of quinine is found to have been tampered with and a filthy drug substituted for it; an impenetrable blackness and silence descends upon the ship at night, "like a foretaste of annihilation." The spell is at last exorcised by the first mate's screech of defiance at what seems to be the final moment of strain, and the captain steers a wildly rushing ship back to port full of fever-stricken and dying men. I think the book is one of Mr. Conrad's best. The figures of Captain Giles and of Ransome, the steward, are unforgettable.

J. C. W.

RUSSIAN ART

THE RUSSIAN ARTS. By Rosa Newmarch. (*Herbert Jenkins, Ltd.*)
Price 5s. net.

Mrs. Newmarch planned this book nearly twenty years ago, when she made some notes while working in the Imperial Public Library at Petrograd.

Since then, as she says, a complete change has come over the æsthetic ideas of the Russians. "The prosaic, altruistic realism of the second half of last century, which was part of the reaction from the dilettantism of earlier years, and partly the outcome of the awakened sympathy of the classes with the masses, has given place to new impulses, to which I have only done imperfect justice in the last chapter of my book."

In spite of a second visit to Petrograd in the early autumn of 1915, she adds: "With many phases of the twentieth-century movement I feel in complete sympathy, but I cannot concur in the opinion of some contemporary critics that the New Men have utterly extinguished the Old Men, and obliterated for ever the spirit which gave birth to their works."

This book is planned according to the views expressed in the Introduction, from which we have just quoted. It contains chapters on Architecture, Decoration and Iconography, Illumination Engraving, the Period of Official Art, Painting, Sacred Art, Sculpture, and the New Art. The treatment of these subjects resembles that of popular Russian works on art, and thus constitutes a useful handbook for those who are absolutely ignorant of the Russian arts; but, even as such, it has its drawbacks. It is a picture-book rather than an art-book. The reproductions of Russian paintings and other decorative work are all in black and white, and in view of the fact that the strong point of Russian art is the colouring, it is impossible to gain from these illustrations any precise idea of the originals. There is another fact that makes this more regrettable, viz., that the English public has had scarcely any opportunity of making first-hand acquaintance with the works of Russian artists, as hardly any exhibitions of Russian art have been held in this country. Notwithstanding, this book contains abundance of useful and interesting information. As in a pantomime "Wooden Russia" presents itself to our vision. Then comes the Stone Period; then, after Oriental and Byzantine influence, Western culture becomes dominant; but all these are blended together to produce Slav art. Has Mrs. Newmarch succeeded in giving a glimpse into the soul of this art? Although she has some striking passages, we find little revelation to bring us in close contact with the æsthetic impulses of Russia.

What would have been the fate of Russia if she had embraced Christianity through the Roman, rather than through the Greek, Church? Would this have brought her in contact earlier with the Western nations, so that she should have come under the influence of the Renaissance? Was Byzantine influence pernicious? What, exactly, were the consequences of the Tartar yoke? What is the differentiation of Oriental

art? And to what extent has this differentiation affected the art of Russia? What of the Russian winter, the geographical situation and scenery of the country?

These are questions which are perhaps outside the scope of Mrs. Newmarch's book. Nevertheless, we should certainly have expected a little more analysis and some more folk-lore, as constituting a background of art.

Of the Oriental influence on the Russian architecture, which, in this volume, is also called "Caucasian," the influence of Armenian architecture should not be forgotten. According to the archaeologists, the St. Sophie of Kiev is built in the Armenian style.

I may also point out that the celebrated Russian mariner, Ivan K. Aivazovsky (1817-1900), whom Mrs. Newmarch calls "an impassioned poet of the ocean in its calmest and wildest moods—a Swinburne among painters," was of Armenian nationality.

When all is said, we have before us a useful book, evincing pains taking labour, summarizing the work of different periods and various arts, with historical, literary and other references, thus extending English knowledge of Russia.

ABRAM RAFFI

ARTICLES TO NOTE

INDIA.

- The East and the West* (April) "India after the War," by Rev. K. W. S. Kennedy, M.D.
The Quarterly Review (April) "The Industrial Movement in India," by W. H. Moreland, C.I.E., "Indian Cotton Duties," by Lord Sydenham, G.C.M.G.
Revue des Deux Mondes (May) "Les Yeux de l'Asie (les fumées de cœur)," by Rudyard Kipling.
Modern Review, Calcutta (April) "H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar's Administrative Record," by St. Nihal Singh.
Indian Review, Madras (March) "Post-War Reforms: A Symposium."
Pioneer Mail (April 7) "Indian Weights, Measures, and Money."

THE FAR EAST.

- The Geographical Journal* (May) "Easter Island," by Mrs. Scoresby Routledge.
The East and the West (April) "Towards Unity in China," by F. Morris, Bishop in North China.
The Far East, Tokyo (March 31) "The German Exodus in China."

THE NEAR EAST.

- Edinburgh Review* (April) "The Dardanelles Report," by Z., "The Jewish National Movement," by Lucien Wolf.
Quarterly Review (April) "Cyprus under British Rule," by Sir John P. Middleton.
Fortnightly Review (May) "The Future Frontiers of Turkey," by Sir Thomas Holdich, K.C.M.G.
The Near East (May 4) "A New Situation in the Balkan Peninsula," by H. Charles Woods.

RUSSIA.

- Contemporary Review* (May) "Some Impressions of the Russian Revolution," by Sir Paul Vinogradoff, "The Prospect in Poland (I.)," by O. de L.
Nineteenth Century (May) "The Russian Revolution. A Review by an Onlooker," by John Pollock.
Twentieth Century Russia (April) "Russia and Asia," by Sir H. H. Johnston.
Fortnightly Review (May) "The Russian Upheaval," by Dr. E. J. Dillon.

GENERAL.

- Fortnightly Review* (May) "A Torchbearer (Archdeacon Wilberforce)," by Constance E. Mand.
Church Quarterly Review (April) "A Defence of Classical Education," by the Warden of All Souls College, Oxford.
Edinburgh Review (April) "The Two Paths of Empire," by Editor

THE DEATH OF ZAMENHOF

THE AUTHOR OF ESPERANTO

By the death of Dr. L. L. Zamenhof, Chevalier d'honneur of France and of the Order of Isabella of Spain, who has recently passed away at Warsaw, in his fifty-ninth year, the world has lost a linguistic genius of the very highest order, and a world-wide benefactor.

Zamenhof gave to the world a simple, easy, regular, and euphonious help-language which he hoped would prove as beneficial to all civilized nations as "Hindustani" had proved to the Hordes of "the warring world of Hindustan."

Thus, from the East came the idea as well as the practical proof of the possibility and utility of a simple international help-language "easily understood of the common people."

In the West many attempts to introduce such a language have been made since the days of Sir Thomas Urquhart (1653), with his famous "Logopandekteison." But these attempts were all merely plans or projects, with the exception of "Volapük" and "Esperanto," which were languages carefully elaborated from the beginning to the end.

In spite of the difficulty of its construction, etc., Volapük had a brief success, and its downfall has, quite erroneously, been attributed to the appearance of a rival in the shape of Esperanto. This is not true. Esperanto was never a rival of Volapük, and never entered into the field against it.

As there have been so many misrepresentations on this point, it may perhaps be of use and of interest to explain why and how Volapük fell.

It failed for a very simple reason.

When the many-nationed rank and file who, in their desire for a common language, had taken the trouble to learn this very arbitrary and somewhat complicated tongue came together to discuss their common concerns, they found to their dismay that they could not readily understand one another. Changes were accordingly suggested, and the Chiefs of the movement quarrelled amongst themselves as to the best means of rendering the language more intelligible; and, in consequence of these quarrels, the movement collapsed.

It is true Esperanto was ready in 1878, but, hearing of Volapük, which was published in 1880, Dr. Zamenhof kept back his own inven-

tion, hoping that Volapük might accomplish all that was desired; and it was only when Volapük proved a failure that in 1888 Dr. Zamenhof modestly put forward his plan, under the title, "An International Language, by Dr. Esperanto." It may be explained that the word "Esperanto" is the active participle of the verb "esperi," to hope, and means "the person who is hoping," or "the hopeful," and this has become the name of the language invented by Zamenhof.

It was soon found that those who learnt this language could easily understand one another, no matter to what nationality they belonged, and the language has now been "selected as the International Language, not by academical discussions (of their very nature unpractical and unending in a matter such as this), but by the needs of the case, by the success of a daring experiment, by the far-seeing practical mind and consummate genius of Louis Lazare Zamenhof, the modest oculist of Warsaw, 'the Esperanto.' " The language has now obtained such world-wide sympathy and support, East and West, that its general use as a second language by all civilized countries is obviously only a question of time. It is not intended to supplant or take the place of any Classical or National language whatever, and as a matter of fact it helps foreigners to learn English and Britons to learn foreign languages. Dr. Zamenhof visited England twice, once after the great Esperanto Congress in Boulogne in 1905, when he crossed for a few hours to Folkestone and Dover, and was received by the Mayors and Corporations, and afterwards he came to this country for the third International Esperanto Congress in Cambridge in 1907, after which he was received at the Guildhall by the Rt. Hon. Sir Vezev Strong on behalf of the Lord Mayor, and was entertained by Sir Samuel Herbert and other members on the Terrace of the House of Commons.

We may note that Dr. Zamenhof was descended from a Jewish family renowned for its linguistic attainments. His grandfather Fabian was honoured by the Russian Government, and his father was Chief of one of the largest high-schools in Warsaw, and attained the rank of State Councillor. The *Jewish Chronicle* (April 20) writes:

"It was the polyglot character of his native town which suggested to him as a young man the idea of an international form of speech. Four different languages were spoken in Byelostok, and to this fact young Zamenhof attributed the constant dissensions and misunderstandings which disturbed the peace of the inhabitants. Alongside of his medical work, he threw himself with great zest into the study of languages. At one time Hebrew appealed to him as a possible universal language; then he worked at Yiddish. Finally, he came to the conclusion that no language could become a world-wide medium of communication which was not of a neutral character. In 1878 he succeeded in building up such a language on the basis of the Romance and Teutonic roots of modern European tongues. But it was not until 1887 that he gave the world his first brochure, published anonymously under the pen-name of 'Doktoro Esperanto' (Dr. Hopeful)."



WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME, BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

AMONG the most prominent people in London are the delegates from Overseas who are making "The Empire in Council" a reality. And among the delegates those who represent India—H.H. the Maharajah of Bikanir, Sir James Meston, and Sir S. P. Sinha—are playing a specially prominent part. The meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet and Imperial War Conference have made history. The inclusion of India has been widely and warmly acclaimed, and considerable progress effected with regard to her position in the Empire; "partner" is taking the place of the word "dependent." In reply to a message of loyalty sent from the first formal meeting of the Conference, His Majesty the King-Emperor declared that he was "glad to note that India is represented for the first time at the Council Board," and expressed the hope that the deliberations would lead to "the closer knitting together of all parts of his Empire in their united efforts to bring the present war to a victorious conclusion." At a subsequent meeting the Prime Ministers of Canada and New Zealand brought forward a resolution, which was passed unanimously, that India should be fully represented at all future Imperial Conferences. Indeed, it has been strongly emphasized that "a most striking feature of the meetings has been the cordiality displayed by the Dominions towards the Indian representatives and Indian participation," an important and significant fact in view of difficulties between India and some of the Dominions Overseas. On many occasions when the delegates from India have spoken to most varied audiences in different parts of the country, they have markedly emphasized this fact, and rejoiced in it.

The Secretary of State for India, in a message to the Viceroy, announced that His Majesty's Government will take the necessary steps to carry out the unanimous desire of the representatives of the Dominions that India should be fully represented at all future Imperial Conferences. The climax of this historic Conference was the presentation of an Address to His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle on May 3. In the course of his reply His Majesty said:

"It has afforded me the utmost satisfaction that representatives of India have been members of your Conference, with equal rights to take part in its deliberations. This meeting round a common board and the consequent personal intercourse will result in the increasing growth of a spirit of larger sympathy and of mutual understanding between India and

the Overseas Dominions. Your present gathering is a giant stride on the road of progress and Imperial development, and I feel sure that this advance will be steadily continued."

Among the resolutions of the Conference, already published in summary, two concern India: the first deals with full representation to future Conferences; the second runs as follows:

"That the Imperial War Conference, having examined the Memorandum on the position of Indians in the Self-Governing Dominions presented by the Indian representatives to the Conference, accepts the principle of reciprocity of treatment between India and the Dominions, and recommends the Memorandum to the favourable consideration of the Governments concerned."

In addition to the actual work of the Cabinet and Conference, which has been arduous, the discussion of certain questions has been delegated to sub-committees, but in spite of these imperative demands, the delegates have found time to attend many important functions and to receive honours and distinctions. They have been entertained at Buckingham Palace by their Majesties the King and Queen; at the House of Commons by the Empire Parliamentary Association, under the presidency of the Lord Chancellor, the toast of "The Indian Delegates" being proposed by the Secretary of State for India; by the Empire Press Union; by the London Chamber of Commerce (East India Section).

The Freedom of the City of London was bestowed upon the Indian delegates with all the ceremony and solemnity of the City's ancient tradition; Manchester has awarded them similar honours, and Edinburgh made His Highness a Freeman of the city. Other cities are arranging to follow suit. These important functions have involved speech-making, which has been characterized by loyalty and frankness. His Highness has won the reputation of being both a soldier and a statesman, and the clear way in which he and his colleagues have put before varied audiences the position and aspirations of India has made a deep impression. The Maharajah entered a strong protest at Manchester against the idea of a British republic, declaring that India was, by ancient tradition, devotedly loyal to the person of the Sovereign. To Parliament he said: "To the Mother of Parliaments Indians look for sympathy and help to achieve further progress, and in due time realize their cherished aspirations." To the City of London: "Those who still say that India is governed by the sword do a grave injustice to both countries. British rule in India rests on a much firmer foundation; it is based on principles of justice and equity, humanity, and fair play."

Among other gatherings in honour of the Indian delegates the reception given by the National Indian Association and the Northbrook Society at 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, was marked by a characteristically Indian atmosphere, of which Sir S. P. Sinha and his colleagues expressed keen appreciation; and the special performances at St. James's Theatre, under the auspices of the Union of East and West, of "Chitra" (Tagore) and "The Hero and the Nymph" (Kalidasa) brought East and West into touch with India's great ancient and modern poets. The Right Hon. E. S. Montagu, formerly Under-Secretary for

India, made a forceful speech congratulating the delegates on the important work which had fallen to them to do as the first representatives of India in the Councils of the British Empire, and declared that such presentations of the ideals and literature of India as the plays gave "made for a sympathy, an understanding, and a consideration favourable to the establishment of institutions in which full expression would be given to her national aspirations."

In his lecture before the Royal Colonial Institute on "The Place-Names of the Empire," Sir Charles Lucas pointed out that the real point of the multiplicity of Kingstons, Queenstowns, Georgetowns, Victorias, Windsors, Prince of Wales's, etc., found Overseas is that the Empire is the product of a monarchy, and the peoples of the Empire are at pains to advertise the fact. The Crown, he insisted, is its great asset, and probably its greatest connecting link. The King represents and embodies the State, and, in the case of India, he added, there could never conceivably be the same loyalty to the changing head of a republic or to a House of Commons as to a King-Emperor.

The Secretary of State for India presided at the meeting of the Royal Society of Arts (Indian Section), when a paper on "Opportunities for Original Research in Medicine in India," by Sir C. Pardey Lukis, was read by Sir Havelock Charles. Tribute was paid to the foresight and energy of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in recognizing the importance of the health of dwellers in the Overseas possessions of Britain; in this way research in tropical medicine was fostered, and its beneficial effect is seen to-day. Praise was bestowed upon men who during the last twenty years have done valuable service by taking advantage of the unique opportunities India offers. There are in India three research laboratories, Kasauli, Bombay, and Madras, and Pasteur institutes at Kasauli, Coonoor, and Rangoon; one at Shillong and another at Parel will be opened in the near future. Of the Malaria Bureau at Kasauli, under the charge of Major Christophers, Sir Pardey spoke with keen appreciation, declaring that, "provided India continues to attract men with a leaning towards the scientific and research sides of their profession, there is no limit to the possibilities of the future." Mr. Austen Chamberlain remarked that "whether one looked at the problem in the light of the vast mass of humanity whose interests were at stake, or in the light of the numberless problems still unsolved which awaited the willing worker, India offers a splendid field for research and for the service of mankind." He urged the need for sending the best men to do this important work. Sir Patrick Manson, Sir Malcolm Morris, Surgeon-General Evatt, Major R. McCarrison, Sir Thomas Holdich, and Mr. Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, took part in the discussion.

The paper by R. S. Pearson, Forest Economist at the Research Institute, Dehra Dun, on "The Recent Industrial and Economic Development of Indian Forest Products," evoked considerable interest,

particularly from the commercial point of view. It dealt with such products as matches, paper-pulp, rosin, turpentine, gum, oleo-resin, and the antiseptic treatment of timbers. Sir Robert Carlyle, who presided, declared that in the development of India's resources, there was nothing to compare with forests. At present about 2d. an acre gross revenue was being earned, while the possibilities were beyond telling. Sir Louis Dane gave an interesting and amusing account of the development in the Panjab, where, in spite of difficulties and prejudice and uncertain action by the Government of India, notable success had been attained.

"It will be for Britain to fulfil the proud destiny of restoring Arabia to her geographical place," said Sir Thomas Holdich in the course of his lecture on "Bagdad" before the Central Asian Society last month. According to his forecast, Hedjaz, Syria, and Mesopotamia will emerge from Turkish misgovernment as separate and distinct Arab political entities, self-governed and self-protected, but he considered the distance between them too great and communications too difficult for federation. Medina, Damascus, and Bagdad will be revived, he thinks, as centres of administration, apart from the administration of Central Arabia, and Bagdad may become once again the home of Oriental literature and art. "We shall have to see to it that the Mesopotamian provinces are well guarded and well administered," he added, "that the remarkable opportunity for agricultural renovation is brought to a successful issue, and that well defined and scientific boundaries are drawn between Mesopotamia and the administrative territories of Turkey or of Russia (as the case may be) to the north and north-west, ere we can afford to leave the Bagdad Railway and Mesopotamian culture, both human and agrarian, to the care of the people of the country."

According to Dr. Weizmann, when speaking on "The Future of Palestine" at the Lyceum Club last month, the Zionist Movement is the renaissance of Jewry. He pointed to the fact that in the network of good Jewish elementary schools in Palestine Hebrew is the language spoken, and that the Jewish colonists not only pray in Hebrew, but live in it. "Once a people has found its language it has found three-fourths of the materials necessary for building up a nation." The invasion of Palestine by a British army, he declared, is a significant event. It will carry European civilization to the source of the Jordan, and then there will be a natural flow of Jews into Palestine, who will not only build up a Jewish nation, but contribute to human progress.

An echo of the amazing revolution in Russia was heard in London when the "Freedom of Finland" was celebrated by the Finns in this country. The keynote of joy and hope was that Finland, set free from tyranny, would be able to progress on the practical and successful lines of true democracy which she has made her own and which are an example to the rest of Europe. Less than one per cent. of illiteracy, and education not compulsory, and women not only voters, but legislators! Finland leads the way!

A. A. S.

MILITARY NOTES

BY LIEUT.-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL

WHEN the Emperor William I. introduced the system of universal compulsory military service into the German Empire, he laid an axe to the root of the tree of absolute monarchy. The institution of standing armies composed of professional soldiers during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries transferred the military power of the State from the feudal aristocracy to the Crown, and the monarchs soon learnt to avail themselves of the royal standing army for the purpose of curbing the power of the nobles and for crushing the liberties of the people. In Spain, in France, in the Netherlands, in Italy, the first use made of the new force was to suppress whatever had survived of free institutions and popular liberties. Louis XIV. in France was able to say, "*L'État c'est moi !*" The royal army looked to the King for its pay, its promotion, and its privileges, and formed a caste apart from the rest of the nation. There was no sympathy, but rather antagonism, between the military and the civil elements of the population. The monarch could rely upon his troops to crush any attempt to moderate his prerogatives or to limit his authority. But now the old standing army of professional soldiers is already a thing of the past. The inception of the new system of national armies was chiefly due to the desire of the Hohenzollern dynasty to augment the military power of Prussia ; but its authors in doing so inflicted, though they little

suspected it, a mortal blow on regal authority. The army is now the nation in arms—“*Das Volk im Waffen*”—and should a difference of opinion happen to arise between the ruler and the ruled, the army will inevitably take the side of the people, because it is one with them. This is what has happened in Russia, where the most absolute and the most ancient autocracy in Europe has fallen in a day, without a stroke being struck in its defence ; and this is what will happen in other countries.

Russia has not so far played a part commensurate with the strength of her army or with the resources of her territories in the present war, nor comparable to her achievements in former wars. As the net result of two years' campaigning, she has lost the whole of Poland to the Germans, and has been able to give but little effective aid to her Serbian and Roumanian allies. In Asia her arms have been more fortunate ; her troops have conquered and occupied the whole of Turkish Armenia, crushed the German intrigues and activities in Persia, and joined hands with the British forces under General Sir Stanley Maude, operating against the Turkish cities in Irak.

The meeting of the Cossack and the Sepoy has for almost a century furnished material for the predictions of political prophets, and political strategists have long debated the question whether the meeting would take place on the banks of the Oxus or of the Indus. But, as usual, the unexpected has happened, and the Cossack and the Sepoy have met on the banks of the Tigris, and, what was still more unexpected, have met as friends, and not as enemies. The bugbear of a Russian invasion of India, which for some decades occupied the columns of the Anglo-Indian Press and the thoughts of the Anglo-Indian public, has now been laid to rest by the far-sighted policy of Sir Edward Grey and by the blundering diplomacy of the German Foreign Office. There is plenty of room in Asia for both British and Russian expansion ; and by pursuing their aims and objects as allies, and not as rivals, Great Britain and Russia will

save millions of money and spare millions of human lives, and eventually arrive at the same result as would have been reached if they had engaged as enemies in a long and exhausting struggle for supremacy.

But the Cossack and the Indian Sowar have already foregathered some thirty years ago, when Sir Peter Lumsden, with an escort of Indian troops, met a Russian Delimitation Commission on the border between Turkistan and the Amir of Kabul's dominions, when General Komaroff bullied and browbeat the Afghans *vi et armis*, and Mr. Gladstone and Lord Ripon took it lying down. Then the Indian trooper, who enlisted for love of a soldier's life, looked with surprise bordering on contempt on the scanty pay and hard fare of the Russian conscript, and felt no fear at the prospect of meeting him in the field.

Our Indian Army is now the only regular army in the world the ranks of which are not filled by conscription. If the King-Emperor's Indian subjects furnished their quota of recruits for the colours in the same proportion as the citizens of a European State, His Majesty might dispose of the services of thirty millions of trained soldiers ! But for the present the voluntary system in India gives us all the soldiers that the Empire needs. The distribution of the recruiting areas is irregular, and the proportion of recruits to the numbers of the population in the different provinces is a very varying quality. One single Province—the Punjab—furnishes one-third of the soldiers in the Indian Army ; other Provinces, like Bengal and Burma, which have millions of inhabitants, supply no recruits at all. India south of the Kistna a few years ago furnished the forty thousand Sowars and Sepoys of the old Madras Army ; but now, since the dissolution and disbandment of that army by the Government of India, the same area furnishes to the ranks of the Indian Army less than ten thousand fighting men. But the Madrasi Tamil makes a good and hardy soldier, as the records of the Queen's Own Sappers and Miners and the history of past campaigns

in India testify. In former days it might truly have been said of India, in the words of Pompeius Magnus, that wherever a British officer stamped with his foot legions would rise up ; but during the last half-century the increased prosperity of the mass of the Indian people and the opening of innumerable new avenues to employment in civil life have considerably diminished the flow of recruits into the Army. However, the latest augmentation of the pay and pensions of the native ranks, and the increased prospect of active service, ought to act as a stimulus to recruiting. And there are vast sources of supply which have not yet been tapped by our recruiting system inside our own territories ; besides which we might obtain many recruits from the Pathan tribes beyond our north-western border, and from the Gurkhas of Nepaul.

It might be well worth while to revert to the old system of raising irregular regiments as auxiliaries to the regular army which existed under the Honourable East India Company's régime. The irregular regiments were both cheaper and more efficient than the regulars, and a larger proportion of them remained faithful to their salt during the mutiny of the Bengal Army. They attracted the best class of recruits, because the absence of the minutiae of drill and uniformity of dress was congenial to the Oriental temperament and habits ; and as the native officers had the actual command of their troops and companies, the authority and responsibility which they enjoyed attract men of birth and wealth into our services. Some of the Risaldars, for instance, owned all the horses in their squadrons. The British officers of the regiments were but three—a Commandant, a Second-in-Command, and an Adjutant. The Second-in-Command had no other duty than to take charge in the temporary absence of the Commandant. The title was not a fortunate one, for in a well-regulated army there can be no division of command. But it has been imported from India into our British regiments.

So the title of Second-in-Command implies an ambiguity

which would render it especially suitable as an addition to our War-Office vocabulary. Lord Haldane's "clear thinking" was not accompanied by plain speaking, and the term of "Special Reserve" wherewith he christened our old militia regiments, when he converted them into Depot Battalions for the Line, conveys no special idea at all. In other armies, a reserve battalion means a battalion composed of reservists, and a battalion which only receives and trains men and furnishes drafts to battalions in the field is called a *dépôt* battalion. The term "Service Battalion," used in our Army List, might be taken to mean Home Service, or Foreign Service, or Field Service—it does actually mean the latter, but why not say so? But it is, after all, futile to worry over these "terminological inexactitudes," to borrow a phrase from our politicians, which very happily expresses their own favourite form of speech, when we think of the manifold duties and multifarious details of the work performed by our War Office during the past thirty-three months. It has created armies out of nothing, as if the fabled dragon's teeth of the old Grecian myth had been sown in the soil of Britain, has supplied them, equipped, and trained them for the field, and evolved an organization for them which may be open to criticism from military theorists, but which, at all events, works smoothly and harmoniously. Considering our utter unpreparedness at the beginning of this great war from a military point of view, the British War Office may be said not only to have saved the situation, but to have saved the Empire.

THE INDIAN REPRESENTATION ON THE IMPERIAL WAR CONFERENCE

BY SIR ROPER LETEBRIDGE, K C I E

"Germany's greatest disappointment in this war has been India. She expected sedition, distraction, disaffection, disloyalty, and the forces of Britain absorbed upon the task of subduing it. What did she find? Eager, enthusiastic, loyal help for the Empire. I think they are entitled to ask that these loyal myriads should feel, not as if they were a subject race in the Empire, but as partner nations."—*Mr. Lloyd George at the Guildhall, London, April 27, 1917*

As Secretary of State for India, Mr Chamberlain has been singularly happy in his appointments, both in those made directly by himself, and those he has sanctioned. And this soundness of judgment has never been more conspicuous than in the recent selections for the most important and dignified posts that have ever been held by Indian statesmen, whether of Indian or of British birth—the posts of the representatives of India in the Imperial War Conference.

At the banquet given to the Indian delegates by the Empire Parliamentary Association in the Harcourt Room at the House of Commons on Tuesday, April 24—with the Lord Chancellor in the chair, supported by the Prime Ministers of Canada, New Zealand, and Newfoundland, by General Smuts as representing the Union of South Africa, and a large number of other Imperial and Dominions notables—Mr Chamberlain pointed, with legitimate pride, to the fact that this memorable occasion marks a conspicuous stage in the development of the relations of the different parts of the Empire. For, for the first time in its history, the direct representatives of India were sitting, as such, in council with the representatives of the other Dominions, and taking their part in the discussion of great Imperial problems. "It was," he said, "for those in this country, charged with the ultimate responsibility for Indian Government, to help the realization of the natural aspirations of the Indian peoples."

And again, at a similar banquet given on Thursday, April 26, by Mr Charles Campbell McLeod, the Chairman of the East India section of the London Chamber of Commerce, Mr Chamberlain declared that "the development of India is not only an economic, but also a political necessity of the first consequence; we must do all we can to help it on."

At the same banquet, the chairman, Mr McLeod, in proposing the toast of the occasion, "The Indian Delegates," pointed out that Mr Chamberlain had shown a thoroughness in dealing with Indian affairs

that was characteristic of his whole career; and, he added, it had been accompanied by a courtesy and firmness which had been of immense value to India. As an instance of this, he alluded especially to the masterly way in which Mr. Chamberlain had dealt with the passing tiff between Lancashire and India that had lately arisen over the question of the enhancement of cotton duties. He avowed his belief that both Lancashire and India would, among the results of the war, obtain vast new markets in Mesopotamia, Syria, and those parts of Africa that have hitherto been crushed under the German heel, and that the markets of India herself would be enormously increased in value by the developments that were promised.

In a Secretary of State for India, the qualities that makes for success are courage tempered by human sympathy, and tact illuminated by transparent sincerity; and these qualities are possessed by Mr. Chamberlain to a degree perhaps unknown in any of his predecessors in that responsible and difficult office. Sir Henry Fowler, afterwards Lord Wolverhampton, when confronted with a cotton-duties crisis not unlike that which Mr. Chamberlain has recently had to face, showed that he possessed these qualities. He boldly asked the House of Commons to remember its fiduciary duties to the Indian peoples for whom the British Government are trustees, and appealed, not without remarkable success, to the conscience and honour of each individual member of the House: "We ought each and all of us to regard ourselves as members for India!" But Mr. Chamberlain, in his trust of British honour and conscience, went even a step further than Sir Henry Fowler—he appealed to the honour and conscience of the very Lancashire men who were themselves most closely affected by the duties, with the result that large numbers consented to accept the duties loyally, pending the full consideration of all Imperial fiscal questions after the war.

It was obviously right and proper that the Indian delegates to the Imperial War Conference, now that they are fully recognized as real delegates, and not mere assessors, should adequately represent (1) the British Administration, (2) the educated classes of British India, who are fitting themselves to become the recognized mouthpieces of the dumb millions of two-thirds of the Indian continent, and (3) the Princes, who are the actual rulers of the remaining one-third of India. It is, I think, generally held in India that no more typical or distinguished representatives of these could be found than the gallant soldier-statesman the Maharaja of Bikanir, the most learned and able jurist of Bengal Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha (President of the National Congress in 1915), and Sir James Meston, who is now Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, after having held with credit most of the great posts open to the Civil Service of India.

Mr. Chamberlain, when proposing the toast of "The Indian Delegates" at the House of Commons on Tuesday, April 24, coupled with it the name of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir. "Nowhere," he declared, "is passionate loyalty to the King-Emperor more strong than among the Ruling Princes of India. From no part of the Empire had

more universal or more generous offers of support been made, and fulfilled, than from among the Indian Princes and Chiefs. The Maharaja of Bikanir was the model of a great Indian ruler, devoted to his King-Emperor and to the Empire; himself a soldier in many fields, a statesman in India and in conference here, himself a contributor of a force which had won honours in Egypt."

I believe that Bikanir was the first State in the world to raise and organize a Camel Corps; and that branch of the Service is particularly popular among His Highness's subjects. The Bikanir Camel Corps is famous throughout the civilized world, and with other Bikanir troops has done good service in many fields.

In my "Golden Book of India" I have shown that the Maharaja rules over a territory that is nearly twice as large as the combined areas of the kingdoms of Saxony and Wurtemberg; and that his dynasty—in common with those of his illustrious kinsmen of the Rájput *Suryavansa* ("descendants of the Sun"), the Maharana of Udaipur and the Maharajas of Jaipur, Jodhpur, and Idar—has a more ancient lineage than perhaps any other ruling families in the world. The Maharaja's ancestor, Bika Singh, the Rahtor Rajput who founded Bikanir, was the sixth son of Jodh Singh, Maharaja of Jodhpur, descended from Umalrai, who was fifty-sixth in descent from Ráma, the hero of the *Rámáyana*. For centuries before A.D. 1194 the family had been the rulers of the vast Empire of Kanauj, frequently Lords Paramount of all Hindustan. Bika Singh's sister was the famous Princess Jodh Bai, the Empress of the Great Mughal Jahangir—a marriage that was regarded by the haughty Rajputs as a serious *mésalliance*, with which much romance and much fighting were connected.

Mr. Chamberlain has borne testimony to the remarkable value of the Maharaja's contributions to the deliberations of the Imperial War Conference, of which we shall learn more hereafter; while his Highness's recent speeches at the public functions, which have been recorded in all the London papers, have greatly impressed and delighted British public opinion. In particular, the chivalrous warmth of his denunciation of Mr. Wells's ill judged letter about "Republican committees" has been applauded by almost every newspaper in the kingdom; and it has subsequently received striking confirmation by the remarkable telegram from the Maharaja of Jaipur, that appeared in the papers of May 8, declaring that all the Princes of India endorse the opinion of the Maharaja of Bikanir. On the other hand, it is felt that no praise could be too high for the exceedingly tactful and delicate way in which, on the occasion of his receiving, with his brother-delegates, the honour of the freedom of the city of Manchester, he pleasantly alluded to the "small differences of opinion on certain economic questions" that had sometimes arisen between Lancashire and India, which he thought were now in a fair way of being amicably settled, to their mutual benefit.

And Sir James Meston, on the same occasion in Manchester, appropriately observed that the pride which India legitimately feels at being for the first time directly represented in the Imperial Conference, will

undoubtedly be enhanced by Manchester's cordial reception of her representatives.

At the banquet given to the delegates by the Empire Press Union on April 25, with Lord Burnham (proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph*) in the chair, Sir James Meston declared categorically that "if they had known in India what they knew now, they could have done a great deal more in resources, in treasure, and in other ways, to assist in the great struggle. What India wanted was a lead and a guide in mobilizing her great resources, which she would place unstintedly at the disposal of the Empire." And at the same banquet, referring to Mr. Chamberlain's statement that arrangements were being made for a Parliamentary visit to India, Sir James urged that "there should also come to India at the same time a deputation from the Empire Press Union, to see what real India was."

At the House of Commons on April 24, the Maharaja of Bikanir found a suitable opportunity of putting before the British public a delightfully frank and graphic account of the warm and enthusiastic loyalty that is felt as a part of their religion by every Indian, Prince and peasant alike, to the Empire, and especially to the beloved person of their Emperor; and he dealt, with equal force and judgment, with the aspirations of the Indian peoples "to see our country, under the guidance and with the help of Great Britain, make a material advance on constitutional lines in regard to matters political and economic, and ultimately to attain, under the standard of our King-Emperor, that freedom and autonomy which you in this country secured long ago for yourselves, and which our more fortunate sister-Dominions have also enjoyed for some time past."

He frankly and honourably admitted that "no reasonable-minded person will contend that India is ripe at the present moment for self-government in the full sense of the term"; but he looked with confidence to a substantial step in advance at the conclusion of the war, trusting to the "sympathy, help, and readiness to recognize the changes that are taking place in India" on the part of the British Government, the British Parliament, and the peoples of the Empire, on the one hand, and on the part of Indians to "their patience, their due sense of responsibility, and above all to their concentration on that which is attainable." And it was in this sense that Sir Satyendra Sinha, when he was President of the Indian National Congress at Bombay in 1915, declared that self-government would be attained by India, "not by any sudden or revolutionary change, but by gradual evolution and cautious progress."

Of all the speeches that have been made by the delegates since their arrival in England, one of the very best, both in form and in substance, was that which was delivered by Sir Satyendra Sinha at the luncheon given by the Chairman of the East India section of the London Chamber of Commerce at the Cannon Street Hotel on April 26. Sir Satyendra declared that India had found her proper place in the Empire as a war revelation, and that the revelation had been a mutual one. The war had revealed India to the rest of the Empire fully and completely; it had revealed her warm attachment to the great Empire to which it was her

proud privilege to belong, her boundless resources, and the high and chivalrous character of her soldiers and her leaders. It will be remembered that, in the Boxer campaign in China, an impudent German general spoke of the Indian troops as "coolies"—and thus of an army one of whose leaders was that Bayard of modern chivalry, General Sir Pertap Singhji, the Rahtor Rajput Maharaja of Idar, whose ancestors had been Lords Paramount in Kanauj at a time when the ancestors of the Hohenzollerns were naked savages running about in the forests of Germany! When the Maharaja was told of this, he dryly observed, "I care not to answer this German in a drawing room, but let him meet me on horseback in the open, and we will soon see who is the coolie!"

On the other hand, said Sir Satyendra, the war has revealed the Empire to India—the Empire on whose might the sun never sets, and whose daughter States are great nations bound to the old mother by the most glorious traditions of freedom and moral right.

Speaking of the deliberations of the Conference, Sir Satyendra went on to say "Great questions of constitutional importance were being discussed in reference to the future of India, all such questions had the supreme object of promoting the progress and prosperity of the masses of India." And he wisely and hopefully added

"The presence of the delegates from India at the Conference would not immediately solve the very delicate problems which existed, but those problems were being treated with mutual forbearance and consideration and with an understanding of each other's difficulties. If that spirit continued—and he was sure it would—the difficulties which had hitherto arisen would cease to exist."

Nothing better than this statement of Sir Satyendra Sinha, followed as it was by the cheers of the London Chamber of Commerce, and by the cordial agreement of the Secretary of State for India, could indicate with equal force and precision the glorious future for India and for the Empire that will surely result from the far-sighted and broad-minded policy of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Lloyd George, in bringing about this marvellous enhancement of the status, within the Empire, of India—until now only "our greatest Dependency," but henceforward to be one of our "partner nations," and always one of the brightest jewels in the diadem of our common Sovereign, the King Emperor.

The Times, in its leading article of May 2, commenting on the interesting speeches delivered at the Guildhall on May 1, on the occasion of the conferment of the freedom of the City of London on the Indian delegates, pays a high and well-deserved tribute to the eloquence of the Maharaja of Bikanir.

"There has been no more moving passage in recent public speeches than that in which the Maharaja, speaking from personal experience, told how, when the Indian troops arrived in France, they were rushed straight to the firing line. 'Our greatest

pride is that our troops were privileged to go out to France almost immediately after the outbreak of war, and to arrive at the opportune moment, when units, as they came, were rushed straight from the railway to help to stem what the Germans confidently anticipated would be their triumphant march on Paris and the Channel. I was there, my Lord Mayor, with the Meerut Division, and I speak from personal experience. The fate of nations and of civilization then hung in the balance; every additional man counted; we had veritably a thin khaki line, with very little but our loyalty, our patriotism, and sense of duty to carry us through."

On May 3, His Majesty the King-Emperor graciously received at Windsor Castle all the members of the Imperial War Conference, on the approaching completion of their deliberations. On that auspicious occasion, the more important of the Resolutions that have been passed by the Conference—happily, in every case unanimously—were given to the public through the London Press; and these are the two momentous Resolutions that especially affect India:

"That the Imperial War Conference desires to place on record its view that the resolution of the Imperial Conference of April 20, 1907, should be modified to permit of India being fully represented at all future Imperial Conferences, and that the necessary steps should be taken to secure the assent of the various Governments in order that the next Imperial Conference may be summoned and constituted accordingly.

"That the Imperial War Conference, having examined the Memorandum on the position of Indians in the Self-Governing Dominions presented by the Indian representatives to the Conference, accepts the principle of reciprocity of treatment between India and the Dominions, and recommends the Memorandum to the favourable consideration of the Governments concerned."

The reception by Imperial Majesty of the members of the Conference, the presentation of their dutiful address, and the gracious and memorable reply of the King-Emperor, set the seal for ever on the establishment of India in her high and honourable place in the councils of the Empire. I cannot conclude better than by quoting the gracious words of His Majesty in reference to this great and momentous event:

"It has afforded me the utmost satisfaction that representatives of India have been members of your Conference with equal rights to take part in its deliberations. This meeting round a common board and the consequent personal intercourse will result in the increasing growth of a spirit of larger sympathy and of mutual understanding between India and the Overseas Dominions. Your present gathering is a giant stride on the road of progress and Imperial development, and I feel sure that this advance will be steadily continued."

RUSSIAN POETRY

A MEETING of the King's College Russian Society was held in the College on Thursday evening, March 2. Professor Israel Gollancz, D.LITT., presided.

Mr. F. P. MARCHANT (joint hon. secretary) read the minutes of the last meeting, of which a report appeared in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* of January (p. 98). He alluded to the success of the art exhibition arranged by Mrs. Sonia E. Howe in January at the College, and laid stress on the valuable and generous assistance given by Mr. D. A. Lunden (joint hon. secretary), and the help afforded by College students.

The CHAIRMAN then introduced Dr. John Pollen, C.B., LL.D., and referred to his volume of "Russian Lyrics," published for the benefit of the Russian wounded.

Dr. POLLEN said that we were urged to get on with the War and not trouble about poetry, but poetry was closely connected with war. Tyrtæus long ago roused the drooping spirits of the Athenians and led them on to victory. We must recognize that poetry had the power of inspiring brave actions. The Lecturer referred to the foundation and work of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society, founded in 1893 by Mr. Edward A. Cazalet, to which he and Mr. Marchant had belonged from the beginning. The Russian language had its difficulties, but Dr. Pollen declared that students would benefit by a preliminary course of Esperanto. (Russians seemed to overlook that among them was a scholar and man of genius in the person of Dr. Zamenhof, of Warsaw.) Russian did not spring, like Athene, from the head of Zeus, and had inherited the Greek influence. Byzantine theology and Pushkin had a similar influence to that of the Bible and Shakespeare in England. The famous dictum of Lomonossov was cited, and the opinion of Karamzin that Russian was equal to ancient and modern languages. What is poetry? What is truth? Neither can be defined. Pushkin owed everything to his nurse; Gogol (sometimes called the "Russian Dickens") was little influenced by the West. Turgeniev's

nameless grace cannot be adequately translated. Tolstoy constantly writes and plays to the Western theatre, and "his wit is beyond wit(s)dom." Dostoevsky, like his friend Nekrassov, was a friend of the poor and down-trodden. Pushkin's services will be more recognized as time goes on. Dr. Pollen's favourites were A. N. Maikov and "K.R." (the late Grand Duke Constantine). He had met Moscow students who showed great promise, and he thought that intellectually Russia would grow into a giant. Church reading in Russia was elevated into an art, and contrasted with the slovenly way in which Lessons were sometimes read in our churches and chapels. Dr. Pollen was most grateful to the Russian people for their splendid hospitality, both in palace and in hut. A Russian host gives of his best, and wants to make his guest happy. In her memoirs Mme. Olga Novikov urges the pursuit of truth. Russian influence in the East has been good, and illuminated dark places of Oriental apathy and bigotry. In conclusion, Dr. Pollen urged the importance for us of increasing acquaintance with Russia.

Mr. MARCHANT said that he owed a vast deal to Russia, for it was Russia that brought him and Dr. Pollen together, as both were intensely interested in the same studies. There was the countless mass of *buliny*, rescued from obscurity by scholars like Hilferding. Like Dr. Pollen, he had enjoyed the works of A. N. Maikov, who took keen interest in the struggles of Christianity with expiring paganism.

Mr. LUNDEN observed that Dr. Pollen had said that Russia had few if any poetesses, and instanced the names of some.

Professor GOLLANCZ regretted that Dr. Pollen had not given any of his own splendid renderings of Russian verse. Milton was a great favourite among Russians, and that grand bard had said that only a pattern of true manhood could write a great poem. He desired a very hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Pollen to be recorded on the minutes.

Dr. POLLEN, in reply, returned thanks, and said he was aware that he had been in the presence of a master in the learned Chairman.

F. P. M.

INDIA AND THE PROPOSED WAR MUSEUM

WE learn that the War Cabinet has accepted the proposal of the First Commissioner of Works to establish a museum in London in commemoration of the war, and that His Majesty the King has been pleased to express his sympathy with the scheme and the hope that it may be made thoroughly representative of the achievements of all units engaged in the war, both in the combatant and non-combatant services. It is a matter of special importance that the site which is chosen for the accommodation of this museum should be in a central position, and we notice that there is almost a consensus of opinion that the Tower would be the most suitable. It certainly has the advantage of doing away with the expense of putting up a new building, and of being in every way central—an advantage which cannot be urged in favour of the Crystal Palace or Alexandra Park. We may, however, draw attention to a paper read by Mr. C. E. D. Black* before the East India Association on June 13, 1910, in which he ventilated Mr. R. F. Chisholm's scheme of the Indian Museum on the south bank of the Thames, between the Westminster and Waterloo Bridges. This would at any rate help to realize the great dream of Lord Curzon, who, as is well known, looks forward to the time when the Surrey side will be one long and noble array of proud edifices.

It may be assumed that adequate space will be given to the part taken by the Princes and peoples of India, who have so spontaneously rallied round the King-Emperor. It is not only our plain duty to do so, but it will serve to make us more familiar with the fighting races of the great Peninsula, concerning whom there was a certain amount of ignorance at the beginning of the war, as shown by the general belief that all fighting Indians were Gurkhas. Moreover, future generations of Indians who come to visit London will instinctively turn their steps to this War Museum to learn at first hand what their fathers have done in defence of the Empire. We presume that it is the intention to establish branches of this National War Museum, not only in the North of England, Scotland, and Ireland, but also in India itself—viz., at Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta, and Madras. In order to attain the full benefits of that Imperial cohesion which this war has made possible, it is not sufficient for us to learn of the great deeds of valour by hearsay, but we must be able to see with our own eyes permanent records bearing on the various campaigns.

Sir Martin Conway has been appointed Director-General—a choice which is gratifying from every point of view. He is well acquainted with India, and his expedition to the Himalayas in 1892 was the beginning of a long record of travel and discovery. The interests of India are in good hands.

* The lecturer received at the time a letter from the late Lord Roberts in which he wrote: "I entirely agree with you as to the desirability of having such a museum, and as to the idea of its being on the site near where the new London County Council Hall is being erected, such being an excellent one."

LONDON THEATRES

Savoy Theatre.—"Hamlet."

A revival of Shakespeare's greatest play is always of general interest, Mr. H. B. Irving's production especially so. In the process of "cutting down," which all Shakespeare's plays now undergo, Mr. Irving has chosen to omit passages which do not bear on the character of Hamlet—*e.g.*, his speech to the players and Polonius' advice to his son—famous for their beauty—and to include Act IV., Scene IV., with Hamlet's less-known soliloquy beginning, "How all occasions do inform against me." For ourselves, we hope that this innovation will prove to be more than an experiment, and will be generally adopted. It was hardly Shakespeare's intention to present Hamlet as the unworldly philosopher incapable of taking action. The Prince of Denmark was a man constituted very much like his fellows, loath, as we all are, to take an irrevocable step without ample justification, and apt to shiver at the brink before taking the final plunge. The play is full of human qualities; Hamlet is very much like ourselves. That is why we all go and see Hamlet.

Mr. H. B. Irving undoubtedly scores a great personal triumph, and is ably seconded by Miss Gertrude Elliot as Ophelia and Mr. Norman Clarke as Polonius; but if the acting was all that could be desired, as also the arrangement of the play, two criticisms might be made with regard to the staging: the first scene was much too dark, and the dumb show in Act III. would, we think, have been more effective on a platform than in a rather unconventional open lobby of what must have been the next floor of the Castle.

NEW AND OLD GREECE

BY F. R. SCATCHERD

II

" 'Twas Greece, and living Greece, once more."

"ὁ πολιτικός ἀνὴρ ὀφείλει νά λέγῃ πάντοτε τήν ἀληθείαν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄνω καὶ πρὸς τὰ κάτω."—ELEUTHERIOS VENIZELOS.

"The statesman should always speak the truth in the council-chamber as well as on the platform."

"THE glory that was Greece" had apparently returned in 1912, when, in the Easter of that year, the University of Athens celebrated its jubilee, simultaneously with the gathering of the International Congress of Orientalists, which had selected the beautiful capital of Modern Greece as its meeting-place.

Greece had but recently issued, regenerated and vigorous, from a bloodless revolution which had freed her from the grosser forms of political corruption. Social and civic reconstruction had made rapid strides under the wise, firm guidance of the great Cretan statesman, Venizelos. Though he had only held the reins of government for the brief period of two years, he had nevertheless carried out such far-reaching reforms that only those who had known Greece before his advent to power were in a position to realize why his adoring countrymen regarded him as the saviour of Modern Greece.

His direct and forceful personality had focussed and crystallized into forms of beneficence, beauty, and utility the subtle and powerful, if less direct, influences generated by a long line of reformers, culminating in the ceaseless promulgation

of humanitarian and sociological ideals as embodied in the writings of Platon Drakoules and his followers, whose propagandist efforts were directed from Greek centres of activity all over the world.

The opening reception of the Congress took place on the Acropolis. It was a scene never to be forgotten, and the statesmen who had wrought the transformation, and the philosopher who had inspired the visions of an ordered evolution which had enabled the practical idealists to realize their aims, were both there, together with a smiling Queen and a beaming King, once more the father of his people. Conspicuous, from his stature and his genial bearing, was the Crown Prince, restored to favour and destined in the near future to become the idol of that reorganized army which he would lead from victory to victory.

The man who had wrought these wonders stood in the midst of this brilliant assembly, with the sun's rays falling athwart his bared, bowed head, without a trace of self-consciousness or self-congratulation on his fine, patient countenance. Only the happy light in his grave eyes, and the undertone of joy in his modulated, earnest speech revealed the satisfaction of his soul in the successful issue of his unwearied efforts, a picture that haunted one's memory all through the tragic events of the Balkan wars.

" 'Twas Greece, and living Greece, once more,"

for Greece had found her soul under the firm, wise leadership of a great statesman backed by a democratic and now devoted sovereign, who was finally to risk and lose his life while maintaining his people's right to the newly acquired city of Salonika.

III

OLD GREECE

"The glory that was Greece" has again suffered eclipse. She had emerged from the Balkan wars triumphantly victorious, having increased her territory from 64,000 to 120,000

square kilometres, and had almost doubled her former population of two and a half millions. Greece needed peace and leisure in order to consolidate her recent acquisitions and to fit herself to meet the consequent responsibilities. She had bravely risen to the occasion, and in conformity with the motto of regenerated Greece, "*πράξεις καὶ ὄχι λόγια*" (Deeds, not words), was well on the way to the accomplishment of her task, when as a midsummer bolt from the blue, there descended upon mid-Europe the events culminating in the European War of August, 1914.

The general outline of events since that date are too well known to need recapitulation, but in justice to those in Old Greece who feel themselves unfairly treated by the Entente, certain cardinal facts need repetition. Men living in Athens, cut off from information other than that which is coloured by the official attitude of the Royalists of Greece, argue somewhat as follows.

They complain that British sympathy with Bulgaria was persisted in even after she had shown unmistakable signs for many months, before and after the outbreak of war, that she was in league with the Central Powers. As early as April, 1915, Greece warned the Entente that Bulgaria had definitely made common cause with Germany, and was only fooling it in order to gain time. But this warning passed unheeded, so far at least as practical results were concerned.

This error of judgment in the policy of the Entente, though perpetrated in good faith, was none the less disastrous in its effects upon the sentiments of both Greeks and Serbians, who had for long clearly perceived that Bulgarian aspirations aimed, not only at the satisfaction of legitimate desires, but at political domination in the Balkans.

In Greece this attitude of the Entente was laid at the door of British pro-Bulgarism, and was deeply resented in political circles, including those of the Venizelists, although M. Venizelos himself did not share in this resentment, and explained and justified the attitude of the Entente as mainly due to past political ineptitude on the part of Greece. The re-

sentiment was accentuated when it was alleged that the Entente was bringing pressure to bear upon Greece in order to secure the cession of Cavalla to Bulgaria, and was yet further heightened by the rejection of the Greek proposals in regard to action against Bulgaria.

To official Greece, convinced as she was of Bulgarian intentions, this attitude seemed to be nothing short of putting a premium upon perfidy while penalizing loyalty and friendship.

Although the great majority of the people in Old Greece still remain friends of the Entente, it would be a grave mistake to assume that all who are now declared to be pro-German, excepting those in the immediate *entourage* of the King, were so from the beginning. I know the reverse to be the case. I know there has been an evolution of opinion, culminating in a revulsion of sentiment among those whose pro-Entente sympathies were not robust enough to resist the gradual weakening of Entente influence, *due to absence of information on these questions*, and to the ceaseless activities of the powerful pro-German propaganda at Athens. Unless this view be accepted, it is difficult to account for the change which has taken place since the time when Sir Francis Elliot received an enthusiastic ovation early in 1915, a change which culminated in the street fighting last December, and the lamentable loss of life among British and French sailors.

With regard to the Treaty with Serbia, the defence put forth by the Gounaris and Skouloudis Governments in their newspaper organs *weighed heavily with readers from whom the other side was persistently withheld*.

Greece, they maintained, was bound to intervene in favour of Serbia only in case the latter were attacked by Bulgaria, or by Bulgaria and Turkey together—there was no explicit statement in the treaty committing Greece to come to the aid of Serbia if attacked by Bulgaria acting in alliance with two of the greatest military powers in the world. This view is persisted in, despite the fact that it remains unshared by three-quarters of the Greek nation.

It would be difficult for anyone who has followed events in

Greece for the last few months to find words to excuse the policy of King Constantine, which has been openly anti-Entente while he was professing benevolent neutrality. The surrender of war material and of strategical posts on the frontier were two actions which provoked anger and resentment from the majority of those most devoted to him among his own subjects.

The view taken by the leading neutralists, however, is that Greece, having decided to remain neutral, could not well have acted otherwise. They maintain that while German brutality, inhumanity, and disregard for the sanctity of treaties and of International law, have been persistently denounced by the Entente peoples, in so far as they themselves were the sufferers, no due allowance has been made for the brutal bullying, and threats of immediate declaration of war, to which Greece has been continuously subjected at the hands of the Kaiser.

Could it be hoped that Germany would have taken into account the helplessness of Greece? that her fate would have been less merciless, less disastrous, than that of Belgium and Serbia?

Poor little Greece, they argued, already weakened by two exhausting if glorious wars, had to attempt the impossible. She had to placate the Entente while keeping at bay the devouring Central Powers; and as David of old preferred to fall into the hands of the living God rather than into those of his relentless foes, so the Greek neutralists bore with their sovereign's bias in favour of the merciless, treacherous Teuton, even at the risk of angering the humaner and more righteous Entente nations.

The Greek neutralist also holds, and this with a very great measure of justice, that one vital reason why Greece could not make war on Germany is that the moment she did so, that moment the many hundreds of thousands of Greeks living in Turkey would meet with the same fate as the Armenians.

What protection or assistance could the Entente Powers have offered to these defenceless multitudes? Recent events

at Athens showed that the Entente could not even come to the help of its friends there. How, then, could it prevent their wholesale slaughter at the hands of the Turk?

Again, the conflict between Italian aspirations and Greek interests has been a great hindrance to any improvement of Greek relations with the Entente. Particularly was this the case when Greece was told that the Entente, because of Italy, could only accept her co-operation if she were to give it unconditionally.

With regard to Old Greece, one must understand and realize that Athens, Patras, Chalcis, Volo and Larissa are practically all that is left of the former kingdom of Greece, save a few insignificant villages in the neighbourhood of these Royalist towns. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that these towns are Royalist rather by compulsion than by choice, for even in these centres of official Greece, three-fourths of the inhabitants are certainly pro-Entente, if not actually Venizelist.

Who, in face of such facts, can regard Greece as decadent or self-seeking? In truth she is sound of head and true of heart, but has been left too much a prey to the machinations of those who manipulate events for personal and interested ends.

It is even now not too late in the day for Old Greece to save the situation and her honour by cutting adrift from the body politic those "*Budgetivores*" who are preying on the life of the nation, and replacing them by persons capable of recalling to the path of duty their erring and hypnotized sovereign. As I write, signs are not wanting that some attempts are being made in the desired directions. Should this prove to be the case, let us assist them to the fullest extent in our power.

Professor Ure reminds us that the Greeks must not be expected to trudge along monotonous dead levels of thought and action, that they rise to heights and sink to depths unusual among ourselves. He points out that the whole nation rose to the heights between 1910 and 1914, and that since then a few of the upper classes have sunk lamentably low.

He holds that the prevention and cure for such lapses on the part of so responsive a people as the Greeks is to be found in a sympathetic attitude on the part of those who have to do with them. Let us not give them occasion to feel and to say, with the peasant woman at Taenarum, when in December, 1912, Venizelos was known to be going to London :

" They are powerful, and they are very unjust."

(To be continued.)

OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS.

THE King has been graciously pleased to make the following appointment to the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India :—To be G.C.S.I., The Baron Carmichael of Skirling, G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G.

INDIAN WAR LOAN

It has been arranged that subscribers to the Indian War Loan may pay 50 per cent. of their subscriptions in British Treasury Bills, which will be accepted under discount at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and at the rate of exchange of £1 = Rs. 15. The Treasury Bills will be received by the Accountant-General at the India Office.

Applications for the loan are not received in England. They must be made in India as explained in the prospectus published on March 1.

The Secretary of State for India has appointed Sir Arthur Hirtzel, K.C.B., to be an Assistant Under Secretary of State, and Mr. J. E. Shuckburgh to be Secretary in the Political Department of the India Office in succession to Sir Arthur Hirtzel.

THE RUSSIAN EXHIBITION

AN IMPRESSION BY OLGA NOVIKOFF

THE Russian Exhibition in London is a great event, and Lady Muriel Paget, who is the very soul of that great enterprise, deserves the warmest gratitude of any Russian whose heart throbs with deep love for his country. After the *Te Deum*, sung by the Chaplain of the Russian Embassy and his choir, we all heard with great emotion the heroic Lord French's words, which we are trying to reproduce with the aid of the English Press almost verbatim. The only fault you can find with him was that he spoke of his drawbacks and his inability to do justice to the cause he represented. I hope people will not blame me for reproducing his very words.

"Viscount French said he was very glad indeed to have the opportunity of expressing the warmest thanks of the Army generally to Lady Muriel Paget and to those who have helped her in this great work in Russia; and to tell her, and those who have worked with her, how they appreciated the splendid work which they had done. They had done a very great deal to help the suffering soldiers and the Russian wounded, and in so doing they had shown in the most practical form the sympathy which all felt with our great Russian Ally. He thought that Lady Muriel Paget not only deserved the thanks of the Army, but the thanks of the nation.

"In speaking of Russia, his mind inevitably went back to those anxious months between August and December, 1914. They all knew how hard we were pressed, and what terrible sacrifices and what terrible risks we had to run in order to maintain ourselves; but when they were in deepest anxiety their thoughts turned with the utmost gratitude to those who gave them real and splendid assistance, and helped them out of their anxiety. Thus the hearts of all those who were engaged in the army go back to Russia and to the Russian army.

"Speaking of the Grand Duke Nicholas, Viscount French said: 'I am sure no soldier in the British Army will ever cease to regard him as one of the greatest of commanders. His courage and intrepidity, above all, his unvarying loyalty to his country in all circumstances, has earned the admiration of everyone. It was this same great general who, though he commanded an army almost as unprepared as our own, without hesitation threw them into East Prussia, overran nearly one-half of that province, held his ground, and in consequence rendered the most invaluable help to those who were on the Western front. Then I come again to that magnificent advance a little later into Poland and Galicia, and the equally magnificent retreat, conducted with skill and determination on the part of the leaders, and a sturdy courage on the part of the men which, I think, will for ever take a place in the military history of the world. Afterwards things did not go so well, but I am quite sure that had the interior of Russia—I think I may say this—been quite on a par and up to the condition of the Russian leaders and the Russian army, we should have seen a

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

AGRICULTURAL TENURES IN THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH

BY SIR DUNCAN COLVIN BAILLIE, K.C.S.I.

IN considering the economic and social circumstances of India the two most salient facts to notice are the intense pressure of population and the essentially rural character of that population. To take as an example the provinces with which this paper deals, the total area is somewhat over 100,000 square miles, and the population forty-seven millions. Of this area a considerable proportion—at least fifteen per cent.—is mountainous country which can carry only a comparatively small population.

The general incidence of population in the fully populated part of the provinces is well over 500 per square mile. In the western districts the average density is as a rule below 500. In the eastern it reaches 1,000. It is all over more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as much as the incidence in France, and approximates to the incidence of countries like England or Belgium, in which manufactures and commerce are highly developed. In the United Provinces, on the contrary, as throughout India, the vast bulk of the population is rural—eleven per cent. only are residents in towns; in that term

being included all areas of an approximately urban character, even though the total population may only be a few hundreds. It seems to me obvious that, to render possible any great improvement in the general standard of comfort amongst so dense a population, economic changes of a far-reaching character are necessary, and that social changes of a no less far-reaching character must occur. India as a purely agricultural country cannot, all possible improvement and extension of cultivation being allowed for, carry with a European standard of comfort anything like the burden of population or the rate of increase of population which the present economic and social system imposes on her. These are, however, considerations outside our subject for to-night. Also outside it, though less widely so, are the improvements possible in the system of agriculture—the extensions of cultivation and irrigation, the improvement of the standard crops grown, and many other measures which appear possible and for the benefit of the agricultural population. What I propose to discuss now is the incidents connected with the tenures of the agriculturists of the province, the relations between the classes which, including the Government, derive revenue from the soil and the actual producers. The remarks already made as to the pressure of population are by no means irrelevant. Before any idea as to what is required can be formed it is necessary to bear in mind that we have to deal with areas occupied by an extraordinarily dense population, dependent entirely, or in the main, on agriculture. For every acre of cultivated area in the western districts there is at least one person to be supported, for every acre of cultivation in the east at least one and a half persons. These persons, too, are not, as in England, for the most part labourers working for a proportionately small number of tenant-farmers or cultivating proprietors. The number of agricultural labourers who hold no land is small as compared with those who have land of their own. Roughly, for every six persons wholly or partly dependent on their own land, only one person is a landless labourer, or dependent on a landless labourer. It is obvious that in these

circumstances competition for land must be intense, and that, unrestrained, rent would tend to rise to an extent which would be disastrous to the already low standard of comfort of the agricultural classes. I think that all, whatever may be their views as to Indian tenant law, must agree so far. There are many who hold that for the necessary restraint we can depend to a considerable extent on the wisdom, the self-restraint, and the unselfishness of the landholding class. I am not amongst these. We have had in the history of the provinces during the British administration, and in the present circumstances of a large part of the provinces, evidence, accepted in the past and undeniable in the present, that legislative restraint and legislative regulation is necessary in regard to all the incidents of the peasant cultivator's tenure. It is essential that provisions of the legislation should provide for (1) security of tenure, (2) regulation of rent, (3) facilities for improvements, and the enjoyment of the benefit of improvements by the persons who make them.

I would add a fourth head—the preservation of prescriptive rights—a subject which has obtained in the past far less attention than it deserves.

In considering how far the existing law secures these essentials, a wide difference exists between the position in the province of Agra and the province of Oudh. In both provinces when British administration was introduced there was a demand for tenants in excess of the demand for land. As a consequence there was little disturbance of tenants' possession and every desire on the part of the landholder to retain suitable tenants. Their customary rights were little interfered with, and as a consequence ill defined; but in Agra the summary orders passed by early district officers show that even in the earliest days of our rule it was recognized that settled tenants should be protected by the State in the possession of their lands. A succession of regulations and Acts were from time to time enacted defining the rights of tenants and culminating in the existing Tenancy Act, enacted in Sir Antony (now Lord) Macdonell's tenure of the

Lieut.-Governorship. As a consequence a large proportion of the Agra tenants are well protected.

There are under the Agra Tenancy Act five classes of tenants: (a) permanent tenure holders; (b) fixed rate tenants; (c) ex-proprietary tenants; (d) occupancy tenants; and (e) non-occupancy tenants, the last mentioned class including tenants who hold under-leases for a fixed period and tenants who cultivate "sir"—that is, land specially reserved for the occupation of the landholder if he wishes to cultivate himself, as well as all sub-tenants.

Rights of the first two classes are confined to the permanently settled districts, and are of comparatively small extent, some 727,000 acres in all. Such tenants, and such tenants only, have transferable rights. Their rate of rent is, like the revenue, fixed in perpetuity. As a result of the right to transfer, no small part of the fixed rate area is now held by persons who do not cultivate themselves, but enjoy the difference between the small fixed rate rental, fixed over a hundred years ago, and the rack-rent they are able to recover from their sub-tenants.

Ex-proprietary rights extend to 484,000 acres. They are of the nature of a provision made for proprietors whose land has been sold by the reservation to them of a right of occupancy in their "sir" land and in land cultivated by them for the twelve years preceding the sale. Except as regards the fixation of the rent the incidents of this tenure are similar to those of occupancy tenures. The rent is fixed at four annas in the rupee below non-occupancy rents, and tends under present conditions to exceed occupancy rent—a position which was certainly not contemplated by the framers of the Act, and which calls for amendment.

There remain the occupancy and non-occupancy tenants. According to the latest figures I have seen, occupancy tenants hold with rights recognized in the records 9,336,000 acres and 4,399,000 acres held for twelve years, but not yet recognized as occupancy in the record courts. In all, 11,735,000 acres are held with occupancy rights, and without occupancy rights, under seven-year leases, 882,000; without

leases, 6,362,000; in all, 7,244,000 acres. There are also probably over two millions of acres held direct from the landholders by cultivators as tenants of "sir." In all, three and a half millions of acres are landholders' "sir" in which no occupancy rights can accrue. There can be little hesitation in accepting as just the reservation to a landholder of a suitable area which he can at any time bring under his own cultivation. The area so reserved is in some cases large, but the custom by which the reservation was enjoyed is ancient, and it was impossible to discriminate against the old record. In the past "sir" rights could be acquired by twelve years' cultivation by the landholder, but this led to practices designed to increase the "sir" area indefinitely, and under the current Act no fresh "sir" rights can be acquired.

Roughly, thirteen millions of acres are held by tenants with hereditary rights, and, excluding "sir," seven and a quarter millions by tenants without rights except for the period of leases where there are any, or for a single year in the case of other non-occupancy tenants.

Occupancy rights are acquired by twelve years' continuous cultivation of any land held from the landholders which is not "sir," or held under lease. The provisions of the law on the subject are somewhat elaborate, being designed to meet devices to prevent accrual of rights which had been found to have been adopted before the Act was passed. In particular, it is provided that the transfer of a tenant from one field to another will not be deemed to break the continuity of his occupation. Similarly, an illegal or a nominal ejectment is ineffective to break continuity. All these provisions have attracted considerable opposition from the spokesmen of the landholding class. It is argued that they tend to induce landholders to deprive tenants of their land entirely, and not to readmit them for at least a year. I have not myself had any experience of this having taken place to any serious extent, but it is not unlikely that it does take place. To accept the comparatively small number of cases in which a tenant is allowed no land as reason for reverting to the old law, by which a compulsory change in a tenant's

holding broke the continuity of his holding, would be a most serious step-back.

Occupancy rights, once acquired, pass from father to son or, failing sons, to the widow or male heirs associated in the cultivation of the holding. There are provisions against sub-letting designed to prevent the occupancy tenant becoming a mere receiver of rent, whilst the actual cultivator holds without rights at a rack-rent. The underlying idea in these provisions is sound, but as they stand they have, with the assistance of unsympathetic Revenue Courts, been used as a means of getting rid of genuine cultivating tenants whose ignorance of law has led them to sub-let portions of their holding for a time exceeding the five years allowed by law. It is essential to provide against habitual and continuing sub-letting by occupancy tenants, but the provisions might, without danger, be somewhat relaxed, and should certainly be so amended as to make it clear that their object is to prevent undue sub-letting and not to provide a means of curtailing occupancy rights.

Occupancy tenants are secured by law right to make all necessary improvements, and the security of tenure they enjoy enables them to benefit by these improvements. They have fully availed themselves of their rights in this matter, and the great bulk of the improvements effected in the Agra provinces has been carried out by occupancy tenants. There are improving landholders, but in the aggregate the improvements made by landholders are inconsiderable as compared with those made by tenants.

Essentially the basis of the rents paid by occupancy tenants is derived from the settlement officer's rent-rates assumed in the process of calculating the land revenue to be paid to Government. These rates are ascertained by officers who have made a thorough study of the rent-rates of all kinds paid throughout the area under settlement, and of the agricultural position as a whole and in detail. They take into consideration not only the high rates paid by tenants who have recently acquired land, but the lenient rates paid by

old tenants. They are fixed with a desire to do justice both to Government, whose land revenue depends on them, and to landholders, as well as, on the other side, to cultivators. They are based on rents actually paid for a series of years by tenants of good status. As a rule, under present conditions, settlement officers' rates, when fixed, give a material but not a severe increase on occupancy rents previously paid. The system by which rents are so fixed by a settlement officer admirably suits the revenue system of the provinces. Revenue is as a rule revised once in thirty years. With a falling rupee the revenue ordinarily rises, and the accompanying enhancement of rent allows the increase to be paid without hardship to either landlord or tenant. The law allows enhancement within the period of settlement at intervals of ten years, but, fortunately, throughout a great part of the provinces it has been regarded as customary to enhance only at settlement. Intermediate enhancements are effected by suit. [The procedure is somewhat cumbrous, and the result based on an inspection of a comparatively small area of "exemplar" fields and the rents paid for them are not infrequently uncertain.] The system is, however, capable of improvement, and as a rule the rents, even now, are safe.

I have stated previously that the preservation of prescriptive rights was a subject on which legislation was essential. The word "prescriptive" is perhaps loosely employed. I refer to those rights which tenants have in the past enjoyed without restraint, but which are not secured to them by express provisions of law. Amongst them are included various rights connected with the inhabited site, the right to occupy certain lands as threshing-floors or for storing manure, or for cattle, and to enjoy grazing rights in common in unoccupied lands without direct payment of rent. In this respect tenants, whether in Agra, with or without occupancy rights, or in Oudh, are in the same position. There are no express provisions of law on the subject. The landholder is understood to have a right to bring under cultiva-

tion all land not subject to payment of rent, and not in the separate defined possession of any individual, and I have time after time seen the threshing-floors ploughed up and the grazing-lands previously used by the entire body of tenants enclosed. Not very long ago I was in a village in Pilibhit in which the landholder had some ground of displeasure with his tenants, and ploughed up to the doors of the houses the land previously used by them for threshing-floors, tying up cattle, and stacking straw and manure. The tenants, so far as I could see, had no remedy. In this matter some amendment of the law for the province as a whole is required. There has been some stir in India lately about the disappearance of the grazing-lands and the more far-seeing landholders would not, I feel sure, raise any objection to legislation on this subject.

On the whole, the position of the Agra occupancy tenant is a satisfactory one, and in a normal village in an old settled district the non-occupancy tenant is not much in evidence. In such a village the great bulk of the good lands is held by occupancy tenants. The non-occupancy lands consist of scattered plots throughout the area in which rights have lapsed by failure of heirs or in outlying lands irregularly cultivated, in which rights have never accrued or were regarded as of little value. In such villages the tenants are on the whole comfortably off in a normal season.

The weak point in the Agra system is that it is still possible for a landholder who sets his mind to it to prevent entirely, or almost entirely, the accrual of occupancy rights in his estate. It is in such estates that the great bulk of the non-occupancy lands in the province are to be found. As a rule, such landholders are not of the old proprietary class; but to this rule there are well-known exceptions. In such estates the rents are abnormally high, and many rights to make improvements which the law gives to the tenants are in effect subject to the pleasure of the landholder. Security of tenure is essential to the enjoyment of any right by a tenant. As I shall have to remark in regard to Oudh, let the law say what

it will, a tenant has no rights where the unrestricted power of ejectment exists. It is not uncommon to find this denial of occupancy rights associated with dishonesty as regards the Government record of rents on which ordinarily the revenue assessment is based. Rents are not infrequently grossly understated, the tenant paying much more than the recorded rent, and being forced to conceal the amount he actually pays. In such cases there need be no hesitation in taking a strong line—fixing rents afresh and securing the tenants in their holdings. The question as to what action is required in regard to cases in which occupancy rights are wholesale denied, but there is no concealment, is a more difficult one, but in view of the intense discontent and impoverishment produced by excessive rents and the frequent ejectments which are necessary to prevent accrual of rights, it seems to me necessary to take some action. The existence of a moderate proportion of non-occupancy land in a village is not entirely a disadvantage. It makes it possible to provide some land for new settlers, and it affords a guide to assessing officers of the natural unrestrained movement of rent. It is not, however, essential for either purpose. The “sir” and sub-tenant area serves the same purpose, and it is found that in course of a period of settlement—thirty years—nearly one-third of the occupancy tenures lapse under the existing succession laws, and is available for disposal as land free of rights. What action is required is a very debatable question, on which I do not propose to enter, but it seems clear that some action is required in regard to estates in which rights are unduly restricted and rents forced up to the limit which competition makes possible.

The case for radical amendment of the tenant law is, however, far less strong in Agra than in Oudh. In the early eighties, when I was a young assistant in an Oudh district, an inquiry was forced on the Government in regard to the state of the tenants in Oudh. There was unceasing disturbance of possession, however longstanding, and there was constant and severe enhancement of rent. Improvements

were proscribed unless the tenants agreed to sign engagements not to claim compensation in case of ejectment. The result of the inquiry was that amendment of the law was considered necessary. The grant of occupancy rights was considered, but the landholders were strong, and strongly opposed to any such action. How, they asked, could they deal with bad characters if the power of ejectment were taken from them? Oudh officers were, it seemed to me, as a rule half-hearted in the matter. Occupancy rights were a North-West Provinces idea, and no good could come out of the N.W.P.

In the result a compromise was agreed to. The law of 1886 provided that all tenants were to be entitled to hold for a period of seven years at the existing rent, and that on the expiring of the period the enhancement of rent on the holding, whether it continued to be held by the same tenant or was transferred to another, was not to exceed one anna in the rupee. Compensation for disturbance was originally provided for, but on the representation of the landholders an enhanced court fee on the notice of ejectment was substituted for the payment to the tenant. This was, as an enthusiastic promoter of the Bill said, the "Magna Charta" of the Oudh tenant. Even this meagre measure of protection was refused to the heir of a tenant. When a tenant died his son was liable to ejectment on the expiry of the current seven years' period without payment of court fee, and the amount of enhancement on the rent was unrestricted. There were other provisions—a right to apply to the Deputy Commissioner for permission to make an improvement, and many others. It is unnecessary to detail them, as the Act failed entirely to have the desired effect, because no security of tenure was provided for. What Oudh was before the passing of the Act, Oudh is now. There were, before the Act of 1886 was passed, many landholders who treated their tenants fairly, took a reasonable rent, and encouraged rather than discouraged improvements. There are many such landholders now, but the fact remains that rents

in Oudh have continued to increase, till they are now not only greatly higher than the average rents in Agra, but higher—considerably higher—than the non-occupancy rents in Agra. Allover average figures are misleading because they do not allow for quality of land or other circumstances which affect rentals, but I give the average figures for what they are worth. The average rental for the occupancy area in Agra is somewhat under Rs. 4·8 per acre; the average for tenants in Agra without declared rights is Rs. 5·6; the average for ordinary tenants in Oudh is Rs. 6·8 per acre. The average quality of land in Oudh may be better than the average in Agra—personally I doubt whether there is, on the whole, any great difference; but it is certainly not better to the extent that the difference in rates would indicate. The rental statistics of Oudh have been recently examined by a competent and unbiassed authority—Mr. W. H. Moreland, lately Director of Land Records and Agriculture in the United Provinces—and the conclusion he arrived at was that rents in Oudh had risen far beyond the extent a one-anna-in-the-rupee enhancement in each period of seven years would permit. The one-anna limit was in itself irrational. It gave a small enhancement for a tenant who paid a rent just exceeding the land revenue the landholders had to pay to Government; it gave a large enhancement to the tenant whose rent was already excessive. With the value of the rupee falling as it has been for many years, the Oudh tenant could stand such a rise, but it would have been, and may in the future be, disastrous without this accidental support. There are, as I have said, landholders in Oudh who have observed the law in its entirety; there are others who have observed it in the letter, but not in the spirit. The rent-rolls of such a landholder show no more than a one-anna increase, but he has insisted on the payment of a premium on renewal of the tenancy. The usual and moderate premium is one year's rent each seven years. The premium has ordinarily to be borrowed, and by the time the loan has been repaid the

unfortunate tenant has paid in interest to the moneylender as much as he has paid in premium to the landholder. There is a third class of landholder who observes the law neither in the letter nor in the spirit, and exacts the highest competitive rent he can get without regard to the limit of enhancement, and probably exacts a premium in addition. He may or he may not have the full rent recorded in the village papers. The Oudh system tends to encourage concealment of rental assets, and has therefore an injurious effect on the present system of assessment of land revenue.

These enhancements are enforced by means of the unrestricted power of ejectment the landholder enjoys in Oudh. Ejectments are somewhat costly, as the court fee is a half-year's rent, but the costs of ejectment are usually borne by the incoming tenants to whom the land is given, and it is only in the case of absolutely recalcitrant tenants that it is necessary to eject. For the great majority the fact that this power is in reserve is sufficient ground for agreeing to the landlord's terms. Those who do object are mostly of the class who conceive that the possession of many generations and an ancient and assured position in their village community gives them some remote hope of achieving the almost impossible—that is, of proving without a decree at the first regular settlement under proprietary or occupancy rights under Oudh law. As a revenue officer of Government in India one has many more or less disagreeable duties to carry out, but I can assure you that I have seldom or never had so unpleasant a time as whilst trying as a court of final appeal a succession of Oudh ejectment cases. Ejectments in Agra are numerous enough, but as a rule they affect only newcomers. Commonly tenants there try to prove twelve years' possession, whilst the landholder admits eleven or alleges a break. In Oudh, however, it is common to have cases of ejectment of tenants in whose family the land has been recorded since the first record made shortly after annexation. The figures for total ejectments in the two provinces are vitiated by the fact that ejectment of temporary lessees of proprietary rights

are included with these of cultivating tenants. The total figure showing the area from which tenants were ejected is larger in Oudh than in Agra, with three times the area, but it is impossible to say what part of the area was held by genuine tenants and what by lessees.

At an earlier stage I advanced four desiderata to be provided in legislation regarding tenants. In Oudh, under the present law, all are wanting. It is futile to expect that without security of tenure any restrictions as to rent, any provisions as to improvements, can benefit tenants. It is true that the Courts would refuse to decree a rent in excess of that allowed by law, or, if appealed to, allow permission to make a well or other improvement, but the cases do not come into Court unless the tenant is ready to take the risk of ejectment when his seven years' period has passed.

There can be no doubt that the amendment of Oudh Tenant Law is a stiff business to tackle. There will be keen opposition from a powerful body of landholders who have since the Mutiny been loyal subjects of the Government. The non-official majority in the local legislative Council has also to be reckoned with, but I cannot but believe that there is not sufficient public spirit amongst the legislators to make it possible to deal justly with the Oudh tenant. Measures of protection have been enacted in all other provinces, and, so far as I know, in all countries in which peasant cultivators are numerous. In Oudh the only protection they enjoy is from the good feeling of their landlord, when they have the luck to be under a landlord who desires to deal justly with them. The measures to be adopted must form the subject of serious consideration, but we have a guide before us in the rent law of other provinces. The essential is that there should be restraint on the landholders' arbitrary power of ejectment. The matter is one in which early action is called for, as the burden of rent and discontent and the disturbance of old tenants continues to increase unchecked.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, April 30, 1917, a paper entitled "Agricultural Tenures in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh" was read by Sir Duncan Colvin Baillie, K.C.S.I. Sir William Duke, K.C.S.I., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir Lancelot Hare, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir John Stanley, K.C.I.E., K.C., Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Colonel M. J. Meade, C.I.E., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., Admiral and Lady Fremantle, Lord Strabolgie, Sir James Douie, K.C.S.I., Miss Douie, General Chamier, Professor Bickerton, Miss Wade, Mr. Edmund Russell, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. and Miss Wilmot-Corfield, Miss Powell, Mrs. Grattan Greary, Dr. Durham, Mr. T. M. MacAllen, Mr. Haji, Rev. W. Broadbent, Mr. K. C. Bhandari, Mr. E. C. Carolis, Mr. B. M. Lal, Mrs. Stephens Bird, Mrs. F. T. DeMonte, Mrs. Parker, Mr. Adams, I.C.S., Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. Grubb, Mr. J. W. Hose, Mr. B. Abdy Collins, I.C.S., Mr. Munzar, Miss Marsh, Mr. Colvin, Syed Erfan Ali, Mr. Firoz Khan, Mrs. Bexon, Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, Mr. S. Arumugam, Mr. B. J. Dalal, Mr. B. R. Amhedkar, Mrs. Collis, Mr. Major, Mr. George Adams, I.C.S., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. Williamson, Mr. G. Mohidin Sakhan, Mr. P. W. Marsh, Mr. N. C. Sen, Mr. F. H. Brown, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, we are met here this afternoon to hear a paper on one of the most important subjects in Indian affairs by an authority who has had unique opportunities of mastering that subject. Sir Duncan Baillie has filled, for a longer or shorter time, almost every position which it has been possible to fill in connection with land settlement and land records in the United Provinces, and I think I am right in saying that the greater part of his official existence has been spent in dealing with such subjects. No greater qualification for speaking on matters connected with the law of landlord and tenant and kindred subjects in India could be imagined. As to the subject itself, I need hardly say that agriculture is, and must remain for all time that we can foresee, the leading industry of India. The vast majority of the population are engaged in it, and practically everything depends upon it. A prosperous agriculture to-day means prosperity in every branch of life

in India. One bad year means scarcity, and two bad years may mean famine. That is how it affects the people. The Government is equally interested in the prosperity of agriculture, it is no longer so absolutely dependent on land revenue as at one time it was, but the proportion of its land revenue to its total revenue is still very large indeed—about one-quarter, I think. But that gives a very faint idea of the extent to which the revenues of India are dependent on the prosperity of agriculture, because every other main head of revenue—Customs, Excise, Stamps, and most of all now Railways—depends also on agricultural prosperity, and is directly affected by it. It is evident, therefore, that it is the duty of the Government to do everything it can to promote the prosperity of the agriculturalist, and it can do that, and does do it in many ways, directly by irrigation, and directly, too, by the efforts of the Agricultural Department in improving methods of cultivation and introducing new crops, and indirectly—but in this case, too, the effect is perhaps really direct—by fostering institutions that make for thrift, like Co-operative Credit, and best of all by education, more of it and of the right kind. All these things are desiderata for the improvement of the position of agriculture in India, but none of them can bear its full effect, or anything like its full effect, unless the agriculturalist is secured in the fruits of his labours. Until that condition is established, he can take hardly any advantage at all from anything that Government may try to do for him. That question lies at the base of all the landlord and tenant legislation of the last generation, and it is with that object that our records of rights have been undertaken. The quality of our legislation and the success of our records are largely to be judged by the extent to which that object has been attained.

I will now call upon the Lecturer to speak on the position in the United Provinces.

(The lecture was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure you have listened with great interest to Sir Duncan's paper, and I think it must have forced upon you the conclusion that in Oudh at any rate the desiderata which the Lecturer said were required for the security and comfort of the cultivator are largely wanting—or in fact in the broader way in which I put it, that he is not well secured in the fruits of his labours. We hope that the Government of the United Provinces will make up its mind to face this question (Hear, hear) and deal with it.

I feel very ill qualified to discuss in detail these questions of landlord and tenant law. When the Secretary approached me I told him that he could hardly have come to anybody less qualified to preside at a meeting on this subject, but I have had one intimate dealing in my career with such questions, and that one has certainly given me some ideas on the subject, which I will inflict upon you. One of them is that it is desirable so to vary the tenancy law as to have a body of law suited to the special requirements of any sufficiently large locality. I got that idea from my own province of Bengal when it was Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. We began with the Tenancy Act which arose out of the necessities of Bihar in 1885, and that Act applied to the whole province. Records of rights

under it commenced in Bihar immediately afterwards, and two or three years later in Orissa, an old province of India in which I have had the pleasure of serving on various occasions, and which is extraordinarily interesting, because it lies so much out of the way of ordinary communications, and has preserved so many archaic features, many of which are to be found in its systems of land tenure. When the Act was first drawn I do not think anyone in the Government had any real knowledge of the condition of things in Orissa. The Act certainly did not make special provision for the conditions of that part of the country, and ten or twelve years after the first record of rights the operation of revising the record was undertaken in order to see how it had worked and what changes had taken place in the interval. That revision brought out all kinds of extraordinary incongruities. When the first record took place the Uriya had very little understanding of what was being done and how it would affect him, and he sat quiet, but in twelve years he had learned a great deal, and when the revision took place all kinds of strange anomalies came up. One of the most extraordinary was that in Orissa there were many thousand persons who could be described as sub-proprietors. They were really proprietors, but their holdings being small, it was not thought worth while, in our early Revenue Settlements, to make them pay revenue direct to the Treasury, and they were instructed to pay it through the nearest big landlords—men of a feudal type and of old descent. It is not difficult to understand that that did not altogether suit these people, because when the Act came in there was no place for them at all; no such sub-proprietors were known to the ordinary ideas of Bengal, and it had to be decided how they were to be treated, and a decision was come to, as far as I remember, that if they had less land than so-and-so, they should be entered with occupancy rights, and, if more, as tenure-holders. The result was that the landlords set to work to reduce them to the position of ordinary ryots. It was my good fortune to be able to persuade the authorities in Bengal that the Act needed amendment in that respect, and a little later I succeeded in inducing the authorities to believe that a general inquiry would probably reveal the fact that the Act did not suit Orissa. We obtained the services of a man who had had great experience in such work—Mr. Stuart Maddox—and he made an inquiry which proved my case up to the hilt. He then drafted a new Act, which within seven years after the question was first raised we got passed into law, and which is now working, I hope and believe, to the great benefit of that portion of the province.

Similar things had taken place in another division of the old province, and Chota Nagpur had got an Act of its own, so that in Old Bengal, now two provinces, there are no less than three codes of landlord and tenant law working.

The Lecturer has mentioned many things as prevailing in Agra and Oudh to which analogies might be found in my own province—perhaps not in such a severe form, but very similar. We had that same difficulty in Orissa with regard to the grazing grounds—everyone tried to encroach upon them—but in the end I believe we have succeeded in getting them

all recorded; it does not follow, of course, that because they have been recorded they will not be stolen! In Orissa we were not in as bad a position as Oudh with regard to exactions on successions. There was no serious exaction, as far as I remember, on natural succession, but on the other hand the right to transfer was denied by the landlords. Transfers were made the occasion of various forms of blackmailing; it depended much on the discretion of the landlord and the strength of mind of the tenant in bargaining and in cutting it down. We dealt effectively, however, with that question by admitting both the right of the tenant to transfer and the right of the landlord to a transfer fee, which was limited to a fixed proportion of the purchase money.

Sir JAMES DOVIE said that as an official whose career in the Panjab had run curiously parallel with that of Sir Duncan Colvin Baillie in the United Provinces, it had been a great pleasure to him to have had an opportunity of hearing his paper. He had always looked on the United Provinces as the teacher of the Panjab in revenue matters. It produced the men who taught their work to the founders of the Panjab revenue system, and when Edward Wace and James Lyall reformed that system between 1880 and 1890 the inspiration again came from the United Provinces. He figured the relationship between the two provinces as like that between France and Germany. The brilliant United Provinces produced the great ideas, and the plodding Panjab worked them out, as it flattered itself, to greater perfection.

He thought the Tenancy Law was one of the things in which the Panjab had deviated most from its United Provinces model. The position of course was entirely different. In the Panjab there was, practically speaking, no tenant question; the competition there was not on the part of tenants for land, but on the part of landlords for tenants. Only about 10 per cent. of the land was tilled by occupancy tenants, and the remaining 90 per cent. was about equally shared as regards cultivation between peasant owners and tenants at will. The Panjab law provided in a satisfactory way for security of tenure and for tenants' improvements. In making village maps the Panjab Settlement Officer took a liberal view of the boundaries of the village site, and they did not have the scandal of a landlord ploughing up his tenant's threshing-floors. Again, the grazing grounds of the Panjab were usually owned by a body of land-owners, and if they decided to partition, the authorities had by law a right to say that a certain part should be excluded and reserved as a grazing ground.

A paper on Indian tenant law based on such wide practical experience as Sir Duncan possessed had a bearing beyond its actual scope. We heard a great deal nowadays in England about land reform and small holdings, and before the war the air was so darkened by the dust of party conflict that it was difficult to see clearly. Indian experience was no more applicable to English problems without wide exceptions than English experience was applicable to Indian problems. But land questions depended on two stubborn factors, soil and human nature, and there was an essential similarity about the factors bearing on the success of small

holdings everywhere. A great pothor had been made about the question whether small-holders should be owners or tenants. In the Panjab they were owners, in the United Provinces they were protected tenants; and in both provinces the results were fairly satisfactory. The main things to bear in mind were that in one form or another they must have permanency of tenure, that they must be protected against undue enhancements of rent, and that they must further be protected against themselves by restrictions on their powers of transfer.

Mr. Hose said that a United Provinces man would need to be very bold to dispute with the Lecturer, if he said something which seemed to dispute with the Lecturer, and if he said something which seemed to differ from his views it was only because in so large a question there were many points on which the experience of observers was obtained in varying conditions. Comparisons between tenants' rents in Agra and Oudh were very difficult; in Agra there were, speaking generally, only two persons, other than the Government, who were connected with the land—the owner and the tenant. In Oudh the conditions were different; there might be at least five or six persons with an interest in the land—the talukdar, one or more sub-settlement holders, and under-proprietors. In one *pargana* there were ten different kinds of under-proprietors; under all these came the tenant. The tenant's position in this respect therefore resembled a sub-tenant's. That accounted to some extent for the difference between the recorded tenant's rents in Agra and Oudh. Another factor might be that in Oudh tenants did not pay for water, while in the large canal-irrigated areas of Agra they had to do so.

The Lecturer was, he thought, open to the suspicion of inconsistency in his presentment of the case; for if the recorded rents were really excessive, it was difficult to hold at the same time that the landholder had concealed the actual rent. The comparative figures seemed to support the view that rents were high; indeed, on the statistics available the revenue also in Oudh looked high compared with the rentals; but 6,000,000 acres were there cultivated by landowners, and allowance had to be made for the value of these. He did not think the figures indicated any large concealment of rents in Oudh, but whether rent was concealed or not, when they compared the Oudh revenue assessment with that of Agra they could hardly say that the conditions in Oudh had had a bad effect on the Government revenue. It seemed to him that in some ways the Oudh tenant could not be said to be in a worse position than the Agra man. Whereas the Oudh tenant has a certainty of seven years' occupation, the Agra tenant when he entered on his tenancy had no certainty of more than one year's occupation, and he was liable to be ejected at any year up to the eleventh year. In Oudh also, at the end of the seven years, the tenant had a very good chance of continuing his tenancy; in fact, most tenancies were continued.

The real test was the area from which tenants were actually ejected each year, and when the figures of the returns were read, with the necessary corrections, it appeared that ejectments in Oudh were not excessive.

With regard to the question of enhancement, he agreed in Oudh there

had been an increase in the rental greater than would be legally permissible under the limit of one anna in the rupee every seven years; but that might be due partly to the larger enhancement possible after a tenant's death, partly to the extinction of holdings at favourable rates, and mostly to the large extension of cultivation in the northern districts. In the fully settled tracts the enhancement was, it was true, more or less a rule of thumb; but if one examined the rentals on any particular estate, they would be found to be quite suitable for the several holdings.

Another point, which was not dealt with in the paper, was that in any revision of legislation which took place in Oudh one essential provision, similar to that in force in Agra, should be that the landowners must pass on to the tenants any suspension or remission of revenue given by the Government in consequence of bad seasons. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Firoz said that the paper and the discussion had dealt with the theoretical and the practical sides of the question, and he would like to make a few observations on the practical side of it. The attitude of some of the legislative councils, in being unwilling to pass drastic laws upsetting the existing relations between landlords and tenants, had been criticized, but it would be admitted that the idea of the Government in India was the benefit of the landlord and tenant, and this explains why the law did not change as the Lecturer required. There had been a great deal of talk about the poor tenant, but he would like to say a little about the poor zemindar. (Hear, hear.) The Lecturer mentioned the question of settlements. After a few years the revenue was sometimes increased, but where was the landlord to pay that increase from if he was not allowed to get an increased rent? Some land fell below the margin of cultivation, and some decreased in fertility, whereas other land produced more, so that it was quite right that there should be a revision now and then. If the Government raised the revenue, then, in his opinion, in the same way the zemindar was also entitled to do that. People often tried to apply Western theories to Eastern people. With regard to the question of the illegal taking away of grazing lands, he ventured to submit that the same thing often occurred in this country, and specially they would notice it if they would but look back to the enclosures of the latter part of the eighteenth century and the early half of the nineteenth; no one could deny that. In India there was no leasehold system—they did not go to a lawyer and have it written down, but it was done in a quiet way between the landlord and the tenant, and it might quite properly happen that the landlord wished to put in a new tenant, and when it was absolutely necessary to eject a tenant he thought it was quite justifiable. With regard to the question of ploughing up the tenants' threshing-floors, he instanced several cases in which he thought it was quite justifiable, for otherwise it would entail a great loss of fertile land. It might be a truism to say that whatever was best administered was best, but the landlord's interests were really common interests with the tenant; he wanted the tenant to produce more, because he himself got more in just the same way because of the Metayer system prevailing in India. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. B. ARDY COLLINS said that it was with great diffidence, after so many distinguished persons had spoken, that he said anything on this subject. His only excuse was that he had had some experience in the neighbouring province of Bihar and Orissa, both on settlement work and as Registrar of Co-operative Societies, and had thus been able to see how the problem of land tenancy affected the tenant there. He ventured to correct Sir William Duke's statement that there were three Tenancy Acts in the province. There were at least five, and all of them differed materially in their provisions. A revenue officer was thus able to see the effect of different laws actually in working. To an officer accustomed to the Bengal Tenancy Act and the other no less liberal Acts in Bihar and Orissa, the provisions of the Oudh law seemed very unsatisfactory. It was a fact that wages in Oudh were markedly lower than in any other part of India, and as a result it provided the great recruiting-ground for coolies for overseas under the system, which was rightly so much disliked by the educated people of India. If the cultivators were given greater security of tenure, he believed that then prosperity would so much increase that this state of affairs would no longer exist.

With regard to the question of right of transfer, the law varied in every part of Bihar and Orissa. In Chota Nagpur there was no such right; in Orissa tenants might transfer their holdings on certain conditions subject to a payment of 25 per cent. of the purchase price to the landlord; while in Bihar it was a question of custom, which varied from *pargana* to *pargana*. An officer who had served in each part of the province, or whose duties allowed him to travel all over it, had thus the opportunity of observing the effect of the different provisions in actual working. His experience as Registrar had led him to the conclusion that where the right of transfer was present, there the peasant owner was most indebted. In other words, the average tenant in India was not fit for the privilege of unrestricted transfer; on the other hand, where the tenant had no right to transfer at all, as in Chota Nagpur, he was much handicapped by lack of credit. What was required was some system under which the ryot could raise money on the security of his land without being exposed to the machinations of the land-grabbing and extortionate usurer. The speaker believed that the solution was to grant special privileges for the sale of tenants' holdings to Co-operative Societies. The Co-operative Society lends money for the good of the tenant; it has no designs on his land, and would be embarrassed if it had to take possession. It may therefore be trusted not to exercise its right of sale except in the last resort. On the other hand, without such a right the co-operative movement often cannot lend sufficiently large sums to heavily indebted yet solvent tenants such as are needed to save them from ruin.

The LECTURER, in thanking the audience for the way in which they had accepted his paper, said the discussion had gone over many points which could not be exhaustively dealt with in a short reply. As to the necessity for having separate Acts of the legislature for different tracts, in his province the necessity for differentiation did not arise, because the provinces as a whole were homogeneous both as regards the character

of the cultivation and the population. Certain differences must exist between the old settled and fully cultivated districts and those in which cultivation was being extended, but he thought these differences could be provided for by a few sections in a general Act. With regard to the grazing grounds in Bengal, Sir William Duke claimed that the Bihar records were superior to those of the United Provinces, because they had prevented the grazing grounds from being stolen. The fault, however, was not in the records, but in the law, which did not prescricize that the occupation of common lands by an individual amounted to stealing. As to the question of rights of transfer, he accepted the statement as to the danger of those rights; in the United Provinces the tenant could transfer nothing. Then, a well settled occupancy tenant was a person from whom borrowed money could be recovered to any reasonable extent, and his credit was therefore as good as was for his benefit. Sir James Douie had referred to the need for a fuller record of prescriptive rights—more than mere records was required: what they wanted was a legislative recognition that the rights existed.

Mr. HOSE suggested there was a doubt as to the correctness of the Lecturer's views on the extent of the enhancement in Oudh, and said that if there was concealment the papers would not show so high a rent. That was not a logical argument. The Lecturer contended that if there had been no concealment the papers would show a still higher rent. He disclaimed any intention to reflect on a large proportion of the landholders. Many of them obeyed the law, and had been even generous and kind to their tenants, but in both Oudh and Agra there were others who had been neither just nor generous, and it was for those classes legislation was required. He looked forward to the time when the tenant would be regarded as having a right to hold his lands, but he did not, as suggested by Mr. Firoz, suggest that the landlord was not entitled to an enhancement of his rent; he had every right to a suitable increase of rent.

Mr. Hose suggested that the increase over the one anna limit was due to the increases in the rental of lapsed tenancies, which are by law unrestricted. That question has been considered by Mr. Moreland, and he came to the conclusion that the increase over the one anna limit was in excess of any increase that could be accounted for by the increase in the lapsed tenures.

Sir JAMES WILSON, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Lecturer and the Chairman, said that he had been much struck by the tendency in almost all the provinces of India to favour the tenants, who were now much more secure than they had been forty years ago. Even the landlords were generally ready to allow their tenants greater security against ejectment and enhancement of rent, and it was to be hoped that something might be done to render the position of the tenants in Oudh more satisfactory than it was at present.

Dr. POLLEN seconded the proposal, and, on being put to the meeting, it was carried unanimously.

The proceedings then terminated.

THE LAUREATE OF INDIA

BY MRS. N. C. SEN

I DEEM it to be a very great honour to be asked to read a paper, at this meeting of the East India Association, about the great poet and teacher Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore, although I feel it is not in my power to fully do him justice. His name is no longer confined within the four corners of Bengal, but has attained a world-wide fame. As Shakespeare, Shelley, Wordsworth, Tennyson, Carlyle, Emerson, Ruskin, and other great poets and teachers of the West are regarded as household deities and cherished treasures in educated homes in the East, as they are almost part and parcel of their very existence, so has Rabindra Nath Tagore now become in the Western world. We have a saying in Sanskrit : "Swadeshē puṇyatē Raja bidwan Sarvatra puṇyatē," which means, "Kings are only revered in their own kingdom, but learned and wise men are revered all over the world."

Centuries and eras go by, Empire after Empire is built, and perishes ; the magnificent glory of man's utmost material power fades away ; it buries itself deep in the hollow cave of time, and is soon forgotten ; but words uttered by wise men ever so many thousand years ago still remain true, still bear fruit. The Vedas and Upānishads and other great books of the East still live. The Bible, the Koran, the Zendavesta are as true and immortal now as ever. The world would not have cherished Buddha's name if he had chosen to succeed his father and finished his worldly career just like an ordinary monarch. Kings and earthly powers are needed to rule the earth, but it is prophets and teachers who are needed to guide mankind towards heaven.

India has been abundantly rich in poets, prophets, teachers,

and reformers ; we have had martyrs who gave up life and everything for the sake of their faith ; we have had preachers who won over hardened sinners by love and forbearance. In Bengal itself we have had many great spiritual and large-hearted men since Chaitanya's time (in the fifteenth century). Chaitanya flooded Bengal with love—love of God and of mankind, regardless of class, caste or character. His love was so overpowering that even some Muhammadans were conquered by it and became his disciples.

I may here be excused if I give you a little sketch of early Bengal before I touch on the subject of my theme.

During and after Chaitanya's time we had several poets of more or less talent who endeavoured to keep alive the religious fervour originated by him. Amongst these I will name Joydeb, Bidyapati, Chandidas and Kabikangkan ; then came Bharat-chandra ; he was the poet laureate at the Court of Rajah Krishna Chandra of Nadiya (about the sixteenth century). He was a clever poet and had genius, but some of his poems were somewhat demoralizing. Ramprasad Sen, a great devotee and composer of numerous spiritual songs, came about this time or a little later. His songs were set to a tune by him which is known as the Ramprasadi tune. They are still very popular both amongst the villagers and the townspeople, the peasants and gentry of Bengal. After a lapse of time came the real Renaissance. It arrived with the great reformer Rajah Rammohun Roy, whose name is not unknown to you. Bengal was again flooded with new light ; this time there were many torch-bearers, both spiritual and intellectual ; reform began wholesale and in earnest. That was a wonderful epoch in the history of Bengal.

Rajah Rammohun Roy took up religious questions, founded the Brahmo Somaj, had "Satis" stopped, translated some Sanskrit Scripture into English and into Bengali, and did much other noble work, that has made his name immortal. He came over to this country in the early nineteenth century, and died at Bristol, where there is a Mausoleum erected by Rabindra Nath's grandfather that is now and again visited by members

of the Brahmo Somaj who sojourn here. After Rammohun Roy we had Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore, father of our poet Rabindra Nath, who was a great and pious sage, set many noble examples in life and possessed deep insight into the spiritual world. He encouraged culture and education, both in its Eastern and Western form, and built up an ideal family in his own home. Then we had my own father-in-law, Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen, who was regarded as a second Chaitanya amongst his followers and admirers. He was truly broad-minded ; his activity had no respite ; his field of work had no boundary ; his love of God was the very stay of his life ; his oratory, both in English and Bengali, was unprecedented in India. His command of the English language was most extraordinary, especially as he had been educated entirely in India. He was given a great reception, indeed an ovation, in this country when he came over here forty-seven years ago. He made such a deep impression here that even now his letters and photos are treasured as precious mementoes in families which came in contact with him. We had another lion-hearted man in Ishwar Chandra Vidyaságar ; his name was cherished both by rich and poor, educated and illiterate, Brahmin and Chandal (the depressed class of Bengal), with the deepest affection. The poorest of the poor in their illness had in him a second Miss Nightingale. Vidyaságar was the title given to him by the Pundits of Nadiya, and the meaning of the word is "the Ocean of Knowledge." But he was called by the poor and needy "the Ocean of Mercy" (Dayar Śagar). He was born of poor parents, and was never very rich, but he never denied anyone help when asked. His return was often ingratitude, but he took this calmly as the way of the world. He introduced simple Bengali prose in writing books ; he wrote many text-books—in fact, *his* were the first text-books written in Bengali. He translated many Sanskrit books. He was the main mover in getting the Hindoo Widow Remarriage Act passed, and he let his son set the example by marrying a widow, a step which demands great courage, even at the present time, in our country.

Although Ishwar Chandra was the inaugurator of modern

Bengali, it was Babu Bankim Chandra Charterjee who gave it its beauty. He remodelled it altogether, and wrote volumes and volumes of novels and other works, all very fascinating. He was a great word-painter and character-painter. Nothing worth painting could escape his artistic eye. He was called the Sir Walter Scott of Bengal. His books are still widely read, and some of them have been translated into English.

After Bankim there came other prose and poetry writers before Rabindra entered into the field. Some of them were charming and inspiring. I remember vividly how we used to recite some of those stirring poems in school and out of school, and how our hearts sometimes used to glow with pride in our country, and again became oppressed with a feeling of humiliation as we thought of the decadent condition of our race. Those early poets and writers, amongst whom Hem Chandra Bannerjee Nabin Chundra Sen, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Rangalal Mozumdar, and Romesh Chandra Dutt were very well known, infused into the veins of our countrymen new life, vigour and ambition, and greatly elevated our thoughts and ideas and taught us to look forward to a bright future and to work for it.

Rabindra Nath Tagore was the outcome of their herculean efforts; they were the tillers of the field, the preparers of the ground for the master sower and reaper. The master came at last in his time and sowed. Rabindra Nath Tagore always has sowed good seed—high thoughts, ennobling ideas—that is the reason he has always been able to reap good harvests. He goes on and on sowing and reaping, stirring the hearts of the people, carrying them all with him; they cannot help admiring him and following him. When he was young and wrote mostly love-poems and love-songs, we all loved him just as much as we do now; we all quoted him, all imitated him; for he was our leader even then; and although he was then only just "coming out," yet many anticipated even at that early period that he would eclipse all his predecessors and contemporaries.

Perhaps I might here pause to quote one of his early poems that I have translated entitled "Hard to Understand":

- " Can you not understand me?
Your calm and questioning eyes
Are looking deep into mine,
As if to try to read me ;
As the Moon looks into the depths of the Sea
To unravel its Mystery.
- " I have hidden nought from you,
Have spread my whole mind out to your view,
And because I have given you all I had,
You cannot understand me !
- " If it were a gem
I would have broken it into pieces,
And, counting them one by one,
I would have strung a pretty necklace
And hung it round your neck.
- " If it were a flower,
A little soft, sweet-scented lily
That opens its eyes at the caress
Of the first beam of the morning sun,
And swings gently in the arms of the south breeze,
I would have picked it up
To adorn your dark hair.
- " But this is a heart,
Deep and vast,
Limitless as the sky.
And though you know not
Where it begins and where it ends,
It is your very seat, my Queen

II.

- " What is it I want you to know ?
In the depth of my heart
There's a song in silent tune
Like the music of the night
That fills the silent sky.
- " If it were a pleasure,
A little smile at the corner of the lips
Would have revealed it ;
You would have understood at once
Without my telling you.
- " If it were a sorrow,
Two drops of tears in two sad eyes
Would have expressed it
Far better than any words.

“ But this is the Love of my heart
It has no end of pleasure, sorrow and pain.
It is rich and also ever in want ;
New longings are springing up every moment,
That’s why I cannot make you understand.

“ But why try to understand ?
Better go on reading ever, in new lights,
By day and by night.
It is easy to understand
Half a love and half a mind,
But who has ever understood the whole ?”

It would not be untrue if I were to say that I have known the poet from the early dawn of my life. Though I have only met him a few times, and have only occasionally written to him, yet I have *read* him, I have *studied* him, I have *admired* him, I have *worshipped* him and I have *idealized* him ever since I was ten years of age.

I found myself at the shrine of this then just rising sun one day all unaware. It was a little gem of a poem, a chance acquaintance, that led me the way there. It cast a magic spell on me, it brought a message of sympathy from one heart to another, it made me realize the kinship of souls.

I recall the poem word for word even now ; it was a kind of invocation of goodwill, sympathy and desire to help the little human buds who are entrusted to our care in everyday life. He said : “ We must be worthy of the great trust reposed in us ; we must do our best by them ; we must help them to mature, to develop, to unfold their petals one by one till they bloom fully and are able to hold their own.” It had a Divine tone in it.

From that time I always read his poems and other writings as soon as they were published.

When I started writing in my humble way he became my guiding star. I still remember the joy I felt when I read his first and encouraging letter that he wrote me on receiving a copy of my first publication—very much like that joy I felt again when a letter came from him a few days ago in appreciation of a few lines written by me in a magazine. I felt my modest effort was amply rewarded. He said in his letter that

he knew he was not fully understood yet by the Western public, but felt confident that in course of time, when the West understands the East better, all that seems strange, foreign and unfamiliar now in his writings will disappear.

At one time he was almost regarded as a second Shrikrishna amongst us in Bengal. (Shrikrishna in our mythology was an incarnation of God's loving aspect who in his young days played on a wonderful flute and held everyone spellbound ; the women of Brindaban forgot all their daily cares and sorrow, and went out to adore the charmer in all weathers and at all times whenever they heard him play !) Rabindra Nath Tagore also plays on a wonderful flute ! He has been playing on it for over forty years, but never has he played the same tune twice over. He never repeats himself either in words or thoughts, nor in rhyme or rhythm.

Thoughts with him always seem to come out clothed in a new garb. Many of his works have been translated into English, yet how can it ever be possible to convey to the English public the beauty of the original language as he, and *he only*, can write ? He has enriched our language vastly, as he has enriched our thoughts. Our sweet Bengali language, under the paternal care of our early writers, was just beginning to feel her coming youth when Rabindra Nath Tagore became enamoured of her and vowed his eternal love to her. He entirely took charge of her, fashioned her and developed her until she became perfect. We are proud of our language to-day, and it is chiefly through him we can call it one of the sweetest languages on earth.

Rabindra Nath Tagore does not deal solely with one particular subject ; for, like a true poet, his whole existence is steeped in the intense love of Nature, the world and the whole universe. He feels a " oneness " with everything in creation ; his heart is wrung with anguish when he sees sorrow, and he exults in happiness when there is happiness about him. He adores a blade of grass, an atom of dust, just as much as he adores the mighty mountains and deep oceans. He loves the sun, the moon, the stars, the sky and infinite space and

time. He loves life and he loves death, for are they not all the Dear One's precious gifts to us, and are they not all wonderful ?

He feels strong filial love for Mother Earth, and holds communion with her ; he appreciates her unceasing and untiring toil to provide her children with nourishment, comforts and delights ; he observes how patient and yielding she is ; he *feels* with her, and understands her thoroughly. He understands many things which are more or less mysteries to the majority of people, because he has that keen insight, that deep sympathy, which alone can bridge the gulf between the spiritual and material worlds. He is *all* soul, all feeling. Many a time can we see our true selves reflected in the mirror of his writings and we wonder, "How could he know of this or of that?" And we think that *we* could never express it so well ourselves, although we feel it so strongly !

In all his writings, from the earliest to the present day, there is a sad note somewhere, a search for something *rare*, a striving to attain something very hard to achieve. Often we wondered, "Was his love human or Divine?" We know it now, and perhaps he also knows too. If his love-poems and patriotic songs and other writings have stirred the hearts of the young and given them inspiration, his sacred songs and sermons have done even more. They have healed many a wound, they have brought peace and comfort to the stricken ones, young or old. They are sung and read in all the churches of Brahmo Samaj ; they take us nearer to God ; they give us moral strength to face the trials of life, and help us to rise above them all.

His hymns are simply incomparable—such high and exquisite thoughts, such simple and deep belief, such love and trust are expressed in them that one feels as though plunged into a Divine atmosphere when one sings them or hears them sung.

I will attempt to translate one or two hymns composed by him many years ago. I should have liked to give you some of his later compositions, but, unfortunately, I have none with me at present. All through his life he has written many hymns ; they

are all sublime, but still, one can perceive by means of them how, step by step, he has been steadily nearing his goal.

Here is one :

“ Who can deprive me to day
Of anything in the world
When I have Thee, Beloved,
In my heart of hearts ?

“ Many a cruel blow
Has come on me in showers,
But Thy nectarous touch
Keeps me ever happy

“ What thirst has not been
Quenched to day, my Friend,
When Thy hands kindly
Hold the cup of Love to my lips.”

And another :

‘ I know I live a useless life,
I know I do not love Thee enough,
I want to go Thy way, my Father,
But thousand obstacles are there

“ Behold how hopelessly placed I am,
In hundred tangles I am caught so firm,
I want to break through, but I find it so hard,
Unless Thou come to my help, my Saviour, my God

“ Break it, Thou ‘ Break all my worldly pleasure,
Stop me playing this game
For while, like a fool, I play about,
The time slips away

“ Strike me hard with Thy thunder of wrath,
Burn me well with the fire of sorrow,
Bring tears in torrents to my eyes, my Lord,
To wipe them with Thy Hands to morrow

“ I empty my heart of earthly possessions,
All that I value and cherish,
So that Thou, my King, may enter
On an everlasting lease ”

And still another :

“ I dread lest I should try to praise me
While I am praising Thee, O Lord,
For I feel doubtful of my sincerity
I dread lest I should grow conceited, my Master,
While I am humbly serving Thee

"Nothing is hidden to Thy knowledge ;
Thou knowest all the secrets of my heart,
No one but Thou canst know how poor and mean I am.
When in my small voice I sing of Thy Glory,
The world bows its head down in reverence to Thee

" I dread then lest I should feel vain,
And be swallowed by darkness
I often dread lest I should cheat myself,
Lest I should try to put me on Thy seat.
Save me, Father, take pity on me, save me from these
calamities "

Not only in hymns does Rabindra Nath Tagore express his soul so vividly, but also in his *thoughts* of the universe. The boundary of his mother-land stretches out so far that he feels as though belonging not to *one* country and *one* race, but to *all* countries and *all* races. He has a great admiration and reverence for Christ and His teachings, and also for Muhammad and Buddha, although a believer of the high doctrines of our Upánishads and Vedas, and a member of the Indian Theistic Church called Brahmo Samaj. The truth is, he believes, in one universal religion which has for its keystone the absolute goodness of God.

Light and love he pours forth incessantly in his writings, making many difficult things in life easy and accessible for us, solving ever so many problems, explaining the deepest and highest philosophy in the sweetest and most simple language.

He never seeks fame or praise. It is *we* who rejoice in his glory ; for *we*, at least the majority of us, are still very material beings, and think too much of mortal and earthly things ; but when *he* is offered any such honour his very soul cries out in the beautiful words that were once uttered by Maitreyee in the Upánishad : " What shall I do with these that cannot bring me immortality ? "

Here I may be permitted to quote a line from a letter he wrote me in acknowledgment of the congratulations I sent him on being knighted :

" I am glad to get your letter. I take pride that you, my country-people, feel honoured at the honour that has been bestowed on me, but you would have pitied me had you only

known how hard it has been for me to bear the burden of this honour."

A flower cannot help being a flower, the sun cannot help shining upon the earth, the moon does not grow vain when admired ! Rabindra Nath Tagore can be likened to one of these. He has an unlimited amount of treasure entrusted to him ; we cannot help seeing how rich he is. He also cannot help revealing it to the world, and unconsciously enriching the world. Thus, he has given himself away to the world, and the world also has rightly recognized him as its very own.

As I said before, all the translations of his works, though excellent in their way, lose somewhat of the beauty of the original.

A plant transplanted in a foreign soil misses its native air, its native soil, and never thrives well or brings forth its beauty to its full extent ; perhaps the cause of its very life was in the soil and surroundings of its native land, so that when transplanted, even if it does not die, it loses in some measure its individuality. A language is just as much a child of a particular land as a nation itself. To study a nation one must study its language, for they are a part of each other.

As a bird of any certain species has a particular melody all its own, as a flower of any particular variety has its own peculiar colouring and perfume, as all things in Nature have their own individuality, their different significance, so is it with human beings and their different nations and races, born and bred in their own particular land, brought up amidst the habits and customs of centuries that are handed down from one generation to another. And different languages are only the product of different nations ; it is impossible to separate one from another.

Still, I would not say that books should not be translated ; for translation is a kind of bridge across the ocean of ignorance of each other which divides two nations ; it is a kind of " short cut " to an unknown land ; it is the only means of communication with a foreign nation ; it brings the different nations closer together. It shows, as it were, the beauty of a precious heir-

loom to the outsiders which was hidden in a small casket for ages—strangers may not, at first sight, realize the full value of it. Some perseverance and true sympathy are required to understand and grasp the ideas and thoughts of a nation that took centuries to develop. We misjudge each other when we do not read and feel with our heart and soul. We should all feel the affinity that exists between one soul and another. Blessed are they who have keen feeling and sympathy and who have shed and are shedding their very life's blood, as it were, for the cause of the human race. Such is the striving of Rabindra Nath. He is constantly calling out to us, the whole of mankind, to rally round the flag of God, to forget our little differences and petty jealousies, and to enjoy together the gifts and blessings of our Heavenly Father, as we are all His children, and all have the same claim on Him. He is constantly praying to God for peace, love, and light for the world. His heart has been crying and bleeding against the injustice, cruelty, and bloodshed that always goes on in this world in some form or other. This feeling of his is depicted in many of his character-sketches. His soul yearns for some redress.

In one of his hymns, which I attempt to give you in English, he says :

" How can I wish to be happy,
When so many are crying in need,
And so many are crying in grief,
And so many are lying in dust and shame?
My ears are deafened with their endless cries;
I cannot at times even hear Thee aright.
My heart so often is full to the brim
That words of prayer are sunk within.
Pour Thou the nectar of hope
On to Thy needy children,
And bless them, O Lord.
Lead to the right path those who have lost their way,
And give them Thine own Shelter,
Give Thy love to console the grieved,
Send Thine Own Light to their tear-stained eyes.

For himself he prays in one of the hymns thus : " Thou hast given me much, but my desire is still unfulfilled, my troubles are not over, my tears are not dried yet ; the deep thirst of my

soul is still unquenched. Thou hast given me life and the dear ones that I have ; Thou hast given me the beautiful earth, the blue sky, and the soft sweet breeze ; when Thou, my Friend, hast given me all this Thou must give me more, for I shall not leave until Thou givest me *Thyself*."

When in later life he lost one of his dear ones he was not an atom shaken in his strong love and trust in God. Grief and sorrows have helped him to be what he is to-day. In sorrow he feels God closer. He says :

"Anything, anything that comes from my Friend is welcome ; why should I mind sorrows ? They lose their sting and fall softly on my heart as so many flowers, and I press them hard to my heart to feel His touch."

How many of us can feel like this when sorrow visits us ? But we admire it, and perhaps unconsciously we gather strength and hope, and we are uplifted in our time of trouble.

In conclusion, I would like to give you a few lines in translation from his poem called "After Death," which he composed in memory of a dear relation :

"It is all over to-day—
All life's mistakes
And wrongs are over ;
The throbbing of the heart
And the beating of the pulse
Are stopped !
All good and bad,
All doubt and grudge,
Are no more,
Peace ! Let peace reign supreme
And all earthly feeling
Be burned with the body. . . .

"In vain you offer
These pretty flowers.
In vain you are shedding
Tears of grief !
And you who were
His sworn enemies, in vain
You are forgiving him now.
Unlimited consolation has he
In that ever silent country. . . .

"Has he gone? Or is he still here?
Has he wakened? Or gone to sleep?
Who shall answer this? . . .

"Is he feeling tired at the
End of his earthly journey?
Or is he already feeling refreshed?
Has he yet started towards
A new destiny?
Can anyone escape it,
When once caught into an Existence?

"Say what you like; judge him,
Pass your opinion:
Nothing will touch him now
He is born now
In Eternity. .

"He is not as he was;
He will not come back,
To share your happiness and sorrow,
As he shared before.
He is gone! Let him go!
Let him be forgotten then. .

"I know not why we come here,
And why we work,
And why, at the end of our work,
Our worn-out lives leave the
Shore of this world . . .

"We care not whether we are appreciated
By those we leave behind;
We do not barter,
We cannot order,
Our lives. . . .

"Why do we come and go?
Why do we meet?
Why do we make friends and foes?
Why do we feel hope and love and hatred
In our heart, when life is
So short?
Why so much sorrow and happiness
In life?
Why are we tied down
To numerous duties? . . .

“ What was unfinished here,
What was checked and discouraged,
Could that be finished
Somewhere hereafter? . . .

“ What seemed meaningless and unreal in life,
And scattered about in pieces,
Has Death gathered them together in his basket,
And filled them with
Meaning and reality now?”

NOTE

By a most unfortunate mistake, for which the Council of the East India Association take this opportunity of expressing their regret, the name of Sir William Mackworth Young, K.C.S.I., was included amongst the casualties of the year.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Tuesday, May 29, 1917, at which a paper was read by Mrs. N. C. Sen, entitled "The Laureate of India." The Rt. Hon. Lord Carmichael, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Lady Carmichael, Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., and Lady Wilson, Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, K.C.I.E., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, C.S.I., Mrs. Abbas Ali Baig, Sir Herbert and Lady Holmwood, Mr. Samuel Digby, C.I.E., Lady Duke, Lady Simeon, Lady Katharine Stuart, Princess Sophia Duleep Singh, Hon. Mr. C. B. Ponsonby, Lady Kensington, the Right Rev. Bishop and Mrs. Coplestone, Rev. and Mrs. Rowley, Mr. and Mrs. Barker, Miss Scatcherd, Rev. F. Penny, Mrs. Clarke Kennedy, Miss M. Sorabji, Mrs. Sassoon, Mr. and Mrs. D. S. Sassoon, Mrs. Belilios, Mrs. Tudor Freer, Mr. K. K. Mathue, Mr. A. E. L. Emanuel, I.C.S., Mr. H. N. Sen, Mr. Kidway, Mrs. Drury, Miss Swainson, Mrs. Grigg, Mr. T. A. Chettiar, Mr. S. G. Gayatonde, Mr. Simenonds, Mrs. Beverley, Captain T. W. Rolleston, Miss Talbot Ready, Mr. Robinson Smith, Mr. H. G. Wells, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Mrs. Hyde, Mr. and Mrs. Giles, Miss Dunderdale, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. Firoz Khan, Miss Beck, Mr. Edmund Russell, Mr. K. Ismail, Mrs. Couchman, Mrs. Drakonles, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. N. C. Sen, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. Kinneir-Tarte, Miss Boyd, Mrs. Newton, Mrs. Farquharson, Mrs. Wadde Love, Mrs. R. G. A. Thomson, Mrs. M. T. Jackson, Mrs. Simon, Mrs. Delbanco, Mrs. H. P. Cobb, Mrs. Powys, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Mrs. R. S. Dantra, Mrs. Lee Mitchell, Miss Nigil, Miss Wade, Mr. Flewker, Mr. S. Haji, Mrs. Westbrook, Mr. and Mrs. M. M. Dhar, Dr. S. A. Kapadia, Mr. E. J. Khory, Mr. and Mrs. C. P. Brandt, Miss Handley, Miss Morris, the Misses Murphy, Mr. A. M. Ahmad, Syed Erfan Ali, Miss Grose, Miss Claridge, Mrs. Tucker, Miss Butt, Mr. and Mrs. S. H. Ahmad, Mr. Mansukhan, Mr. G. Jacob, Rev. W. Broadbent, Mrs. F. A. White, Mr. N. N. Wadia, Miss Ashworth, Miss R. Powell, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. and Mrs. Love, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Roberts, Mrs. Simpson, Mr. H. K. Gupta, Mr. Razzaq, Mr. T. W. Arnold, Mr. W. F. Dingwall, Mr. M. M. Beaumont, Mr. P. K. Acharya, Miss Sykes, Mr. C. M. Shuja-uddin, Mr. M. H. Rana, Mr. W. Hassanally, Miss M. Meredith Beaumont, Mr. H. Isphani, Mr. F. W. Thomas, Lieut.-Colonel A. S. Bohel, Mrs. Sinclair Guthrie, Mrs. Collis, Miss Stephen-

son, Mrs. Norie, Mrs. Creagh-Osborne, Miss Blanche Ford, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

Sir ARUNDEL ARUNDEL said that the Council of the East India Association had asked him to express a very cordial welcome to Lord Carmichael on his return to this country. He was an old member of the Association, and he was sure that all present wished him a very cordial welcome on his return. The meeting would remember that during Lord Carmichael's absence from this country for nine years he had had the unique experience of being the Governor of Victoria, which the speaker would call one of the kingdoms of Australia, and also of Bengal, one of the provinces of India, and with this quite unique experience of two entirely different sections of the British Empire it would be appreciated that he had a great advantage in being able to assist in solving the great problems that lie before the Government for the furtherance of the unity of the Empire.

The HON. SECRETARY said letters of regret at not being able to attend the meeting had been received from Lord Curzon for Lady Curzon, from Lady Minto, Lady Ampthill and Lady Cromer, and from the Poet Laureate and Mr. Rudyard Kipling.

The CHAIRMAN called upon Mrs. Sen to read her paper, which was then read.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, it is my duty now to say something ; what I say will be very short. I am very grateful to Sir Arundel Arundel for what he said about me at the beginning of the meeting, and I am grateful to you for the way in which you received his words. I was very glad to be in India, although it was only for a short time, not long enough to learn as much about India as I suppose most of you know, so I am not going to thrust any of my ideas upon you. But I will say this : that one of the things which make me most glad that I went to India is that I there met and got to know Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore ; another of them is that I met Mrs. Sen. In consequence I have been asked to take the chair at this meeting. I am very glad to see that so many people here take an interest in Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore ; there are, of course, many who take an interest in him in many parts of the world, even in India. There are some in Bengal who take a sort of interest which I do not think anybody here takes in him. When it was my duty to hand to Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore the papers connected with the Nobel Peace Prize—which I am sure we are all glad to know that he received—I did it at an evening party at Government House to which I invited a good many people. I remember saying to one lady who was present that I hoped she was pleased that Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore was receiving this prize. She rather surprised me by telling me that she was not at all pleased, for she thought the Bengalis took far too much interest in bombs and explosives and things of that sort, and therefore she and many other people deeply regretted that the Nobel Prize should go to him. I do not think that there is anybody here who takes that sort of view, which seemed to me a little far fetched. I am not going to say anything about Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore ; probably you

have all read more of his writings than I have. I dare say if I had not been Governor of Bengal I should know them better, for I should have had more time to do many things which I would have liked to have done. There are others here who are going to speak—I see the names of several—and as I notice that each of them is allowed ten minutes—at least those are the orders laid before me—you have some interesting minutes before you, and I will not keep you away from them any longer.

Bishop COPLESTONE said he was sorry he was not prepared to deal as he would have liked with the subject of the paper to which they had listened with so much pleasure. He was glad that he had had an opportunity in his work in India, of knowing that which enabled him to appreciate to some extent the Indian side of the thoughts of such a poet as they had been hearing and reading about. It had been his happiness to know a good many members of the poet's family, and he could trace back the root of his genius and great poetical talent to his most distinguished and noble father. The speaker had the honour of some slight acquaintance with him, and had diligently studied his works, and his opinion was that he was a man of deep philosophical insight and of a truly poetic spirit; and what was much more was the extremely pious character of all his thoughts. He had lived a noble and self-denying life, an instance of which was the way in which he had dealt with the affairs of his firm when they were in difficulties. Another member of the family the speaker had had the honour of knowing was the first Indian to obtain a place in the Indian Civil Service, and was for a long time a member of the judicial branch in Bombay. What impressed the speaker mainly, in the writing of Rabindra Nath Tagore was how permeated with the sense of the Divine Presence he was, and how convinced that there had been in the people of the Indian race from long ages past a deep spiritual sense of that Divine Presence. That was the inner meaning that the Maharshi found in those often very obscure and perhaps sometimes almost grotesque forms of parable which Indian writings contained. Rabindra Nath's poems were full of such touches. Sometimes, for instance, after a lovely description of sunset or of personal feeling there was some little short sentence which seemed to carry one into a dreamy, almost unreal, world, as when it was said: "There at the river in the little boat the little unknown man plays upon his lute." The speaker wished in conclusion to thank Mrs. Sen very much for her paper and the audience for their kind attention.

Mr. H. G. WELLS said that he was very sorry indeed to say he could not make speeches. It had always been a matter of regret to him, and he had never regretted it so much as upon this occasion, because he would so gladly have expressed his intense appreciation of the beautiful paper which had been read and of something much more beautiful which lay behind it. He thought it was no slight to Mrs. Sen, no slight even to that very great poet, Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore, to say that they both stood for something still greater and something with which English people were only just beginning to be properly acquainted. This was the Indian mind, which was a mind of singular richness and singular

delicacy, with a wonderful gentleness, a mind that in spite of all that it had already done in the past, was still, he believed, destined to make its chief contributions to the human synthesis in the years that lay ahead.

Mr YUSUF ALI said he had come from a sick bed in order to express his appreciation of Mrs Sen's skilfully written paper and his admiration for that wonderful genius, the flower of modern Indian literature, Rabindra Nath Tagore. In making a few remarks on the subject he would like to take three definite aspects from which to view the message of Rabindra Nath. In the first place he was a brilliant literary *ratna*, a great force in literature not only in India, but, if he might say so, all over the world. Mr Wells, in that fine book of his just published, "God the Invisible King," bore testimony to the value of Tagore's devotional poetry. There was a universal recognition of our poet's tranquil sublimity of thought and style. But we must realize all this in its true setting. As Mr Wells had very aptly put it, in the speech which they had just heard, those qualities linked themselves with the best of what India not only has produced, but is going to produce in the future. He would like to point out that all this was only one, although the greatest, indication of a spirit that was permeating Indian literature in all its vernaculars. The speaker was familiar with Urdu literature, and he could see in the poetry of men like Iqbal and Hali something of the same striving after the universal, something of the desire to interpret nature, and the human spirit which is brought into relations with nature, so that we should feel that that wonderful power of speech which we possess as human beings is given to us not to conceal thought, not even merely to express it, but to develop and cultivate thought and emotion.

So much for the literary side, but he thought that Tagore had also a call to our attention and admiration as the greatest seer of India at the present day. Mrs Sen had given numerous specimens of Tagore's hymnology, and the speaker thought that all felt, in spite of the inadequacy of translations, what a wonderful sense of the nearness of God to man was to be found in it. It was not an echo of other people's thoughts, but an intense expression of a gifted soul's own spiritual experiences. As such it found an echo in us—in our poor struggling unregenerate humanity. For seers like Tagore represented the essence of that universal religion which people were groping for all over the East and the West. That was what made "God the Invisible King" such a remarkable book. But there was one clear antithesis. Mr Wells hankered after a finite and a tentative God. Our Eastern quest was for the Infinite and the Absolute.

The third point the speaker would wish to speak about was led up to from this: that Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore was not only a great force in literature, a great seer who could see visions of the future, but also a practical educationalist. The speaker thought that many present must have seen the recent book of Mr Pearson's on the great school at Bolpur. When read and interpreted in the light of the poetry of Rabindra Nath one realized that the Indian seer had a vision that after all was not so visionary as some people would have it to be. One realized that the

Indian seer sets before himself a stern practical task, the task of applying all the greatest thought of the past to the present, and even more to the future. In that respect the speaker considered that Rabindra Nath spoke to the rising generation, the young people who will make the India of the future. Although he did not claim for the Bolpur school any greater merit than that it was an experiment, he did claim that it was an experiment which tried to bring out the best thought of India and to apply it to the most plastic intellects of India. He hoped to see from the school great future developments. He had met one *alumnus* of the school in London, who was studying sculpture, and his mental attitude towards art struck the speaker as a very fine testimony to the work the school was doing. He was not so much interested in the technique, although he was studying technique; he was not content with merely looking at and studying the works on sculpture that were to be found in this country and in Europe or America; but he tried to express out of all that he saw and studied the quintessence of thought and art, and to apply it to Indian conditions and the teaching he had obtained at Bolpur. The speaker considered that this threw some light upon the methods that should be applied to educational problems in India—not merely to copy, or lightly and airily to set aside, the results of experiments in other places, but carefully to bring all those into relation with our own minds and characters and history and civilization.

Mr. ABBAS ALI BAIG said that he had great pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to Mrs. Sen for her admirable paper. All present would agree with him that it had lifted the audience from prosaic commonplaces to the higher region of poetic thought. Had Mr. Rudyard Kipling, from whom a letter had been received by the Hon. Secretary, been present, he might perhaps have said that while she was reading her paper even the clouds were thundering their applause: and if the lady who had been mentioned by Lord Carmichael had been among the audience she might possibly have disagreed, and said they were rumbling and roaring out their disapproval. The speaker thought that the value of the lecture which had been delivered had been enhanced by its introductory portion, in which Mrs. Sen had very concisely traced the growth of those literary activities in modern Bengal which had moulded the Bengali language, now being enriched by the songs of Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore, which, as Mrs. Sen had told the meeting, were a source of inspiration and of high ideals to his countrymen. Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore seemed to commune with Nature as Wordsworth did before him, and the spiritual bent of his mind had given a touch of purity to his writings. The poet possessed the double gift of a creative effort in his own language and of reproducing his thoughts in an equally attractive garb in another language, English, although Mrs. Sen had pointed out that the beauty and melody of the original could not be translated. But the translations, such as they were, had brought a wider circle of readers in touch with the poet's mind. The Indian Muse had never been silent even during great convulsions. In addition to the names of the poets that Mrs. Sen had mentioned, many more could be given from all parts of India. In a neigh-

bouring Province, Hái, for instance, had exercised as great an influence on the minds of the younger generation of Moslems. His poems aroused them to a proper sense of their present condition, and had quickened their impulses towards the higher destiny which they see before them. Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore's poems, however, were more varied, and ranged over a larger field. Mrs Sen had given the meeting an idea of the subtle and undefinable influences of the poet's genius to elevate the soul, to move the emotions, and to stir the senses to a quicker perception of things. He was sure that all present would agree with him that Mrs Sen had very richly earned a cordial vote of thanks.

SIR ARUNDEL ARUNDEL said he wished to support the vote of thanks to Mrs Sen. On the subject of the paper the speaker had asked himself, how was it that this man of whom nobody in this country had heard not a great many years ago, who was not an Englishman, and to whom the English language was a foreign language, or had been at the outset, had gone, one might say, to the gates of the Immortals, had knocked at their door, and was claiming kinship with them? What was it he had done? What was it he had said? It seemed to the speaker that the answer could be put somewhat in this way. There was a mystic kingdom of thought which was common to the sages and the saints, to the prophet, the priest, and the poet, they all had admittance there, and they all had something to say. The sage gives tidings of open secrets of the Universe, the saint and the priest will tell of their gleams of the beatific vision, and the prophet would report his insight into the future. But the poet would tell you something about them all. The speaker's interpretation was that Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore had entered into this spirit land. He had been, if one might use such language, in the Sanctuary of Creation, and had been sending to the world through his poems, and to day through Mrs Sen, the message of what he saw and felt and thought. To the speaker, therefore, it seemed that the meeting owed a debt of gratitude to Mrs Sen for having put this before them. There was one thing he must venture to tell Mrs Sen—it is only the small poets who are locally owned, and few know much about them beyond their own little kingdom, but the great poets belong to all the world, and so we Westerners in England claim a share in the ownership of the Laureate of India. He was sure that all present would agree that Mrs Sen deserved sincere thanks for helping on Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore's work in bringing together the people of the East and of the West, and thus taking a share in the building up of the British Empire. The speaker also wished to propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman, who, in spite of the thunder and the rain, had been good enough to attend, and had presided over a most successful meeting.

THE CHAIRMAN. Ladies and gentlemen, Mrs Sen asks me to speak for her as well as for myself. On her behalf I am to tell you how glad and how thankful she is for the interest you have shown in her lecture, and that she hopes you will continue to deserve her thanks by taking still greater interest in the subject. For my own part I merely thank you for having allowed me to have a very pleasant afternoon.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE STATE AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS OF RUSSIA

BY BARON A. HEYKING, PH.D., D.C.L.

THE current idea of Russia amongst foreigners, especially before the Revolution, was that of a backward country with a torpid population, condemned to stagnation. I shall try to show that the Russian nation, even under the rule of the Tsars, was moved by unceasing aspirations after progress, and now that the fetters of Tsardom and bureaucracy have fallen, it has assumed the character of an advanced democracy.

Broadly speaking, the foundation of contemporary Russia is the work of Peter the Great, but even his genius must have failed to create a social structure so lasting and so capable of further development, had not the material at his command been equal to his great task. Let us characterize the founder and his material, the Russian nation, in a few words.

Peter the Great has often been accused of not having been sufficiently national in his reforms. Of course he believed in Western European methods. He had travelled widely, for the purpose of self-instruction, and also spent some time in England in order to acquaint himself with English life and methods. But none the less his personality and his whole life bear the characteristic features of *Russian* individuality. His aims were broad in the extreme, one might almost say immeasurable; his principles of action radical in the highest possible degree. He devoted himself to the task set before him with passionate self-renunciation, unreservedly serving his country with all the power at his command, even to the extent of passing the death sentence on his only son, who had dared to endanger his life-work by plotting with the reactionary party against him. At the same time, this all-powerful autocrat was as unsophisticated and simple in his behaviour towards all with whom he came into contact as Russians generally are.

From his own point of view Peter the Great was certainly right to revert to Western European methods of State organization. He realized that the only way by which Russia could secure herself against European aggression was by applying European methods. When the Japanese

ports, as the result of a quarrel with England, had been bombarded by British men-of-war, the Japanese nation realized that the European foe could only be held back by opposing him with their own weapons. That was the commencement of the European reforms of Japan and of her world-power. In the same way, when Northern Russia had been invaded by the armies of Charles XII. of Sweden, and the untrained warriors of Peter the Great had been badly beaten at Narva, Peter had only one course open to him, namely, to reorganize his army on European lines, to supply them with the same up-to-date weapons, and use the same methods of warfare as those to which Charles owed his victory. That was the beginning of Russia's world-power. By the Battle of Poltava Russia was saved from Swedish supremacy. If Peter the Great had not had the foresight to reform the Russian army in this way, the north of Russia would undoubtedly have fallen a prey to Sweden. His reforms, therefore, must be regarded as constituting the right procedure for insuring to Russia the position she now occupies.

Peter the Great has also been criticized for his uncompromising attitude towards any elements in Russia which opposed him. But his true greatness manifested itself in his undeterred steadfastness, and his clear perception of the impossibility of carrying out his great reforms if hampered by the retrograde members of his antiquated Council of Boyars and the hitherto unchecked, conservative power of the clergy.

The material upon which he had to work—the Russian nation—consists at present of people two-thirds of whom speak the Russian language and belong to the Greek Orthodox faith or to religious sects akin to it, the remaining third being composed of various other races. The Great Russians, who are the centre and kernel around which the Empire crystallized, were Slavs. In appearance they were tall and of powerful build, with regular features, fair complexions, and blue eyes. The type is best preserved in some parts of the previously free State of Novgorod and in the forest regions of the north, while in the centre and east of Russia the population has somewhat changed its original type by the assimilation of Finnish and Mongolian tribes, with pronounced cheek-bones, round noses, and irregular facial contours. The Little Russian, in the south of Russia, possesses all the features of the Southern races, being dark, vivacious, endowed with a rich imagination, and devoted to music and poetry.

The language of the Great and Little Russians is sonorous. It is rich in vocabulary and inflexions of the verb, and presents one of the most perfect mediums for expressing the deepest thoughts and the most subtle emotions of the soul. It is very adaptable to the description of all the varied circumstances of life. It is the surest guarantee of the future of the Russian nation, being in itself a monument of greatness and of intellectual wealth and strength. I have met Englishmen in Russia who, without having lost touch with their English nationality, had become quite enthusiastic about the beauty of the Russian language. It is probably also due to this superiority of the language that among the leading theorists of Slavophilism and Panslavism in Russia, not only

Russian,* but also German names are found, such as Müller, Freygang, Dahl, Grot, and others. The genius of such literary giants as Pushkin, Lermontoff, Gogol, Alexis and Leo Tolstoi, Turgenieff, Dostoievsky, and others, would have been of little effect had they not had at their command the Russian language, in which the Russian soul has found its most perfect expression.

Contemporary Russia has been "gathered," as it is put in historic Russian language, first of all by the Great Russians.

The foundation of this great Empire has been the result of the energy, valour, and strong-headed statesmanship of the Muscovite Tsars, who in a series of victorious wars overcame the Tartars, the Poles, the Livonian Order, the Swedes, the Northern Russian Republics of Pskoff and Novgorod, and the rebellious Little Russians, and succeeded everywhere in establishing their rule. In addition, a series of enterprising private individuals like Yermak, the conqueror of Siberia, helped to increase the territory of the Empire, rendering for Russia similar services to those rendered by Raleigh, Francis Drake, Cook, and many others, for England. Thus the Great Russians have been the founders, augmenters, and preservers of the Empire. But none the less it cannot be overlooked that the above-mentioned one-third of Russia's population which belongs to other races, as, for instance, the Poles, the Lithuanians, the Baltic Germans, the Finlanders, the Letts, the Esthonians, the Caucasians, and the different tribes inhabiting the south-east and the east of the Empire, had also a certain share in that achievement. Of course, half-civilized races, such as the Samoyeds, Kalmuks, Kirghiz, Yakuts, Kamtchadale, and so on, could not possibly exercise any influence on Russian history. On the other hand, people who were, at the time of their conquest by Russia, more advanced in civilization than the Great Russians themselves were bound to exercise an influence on the destinies of the Empire.

By the law of the Empire the population was divided into four groups or classes—the Clergy, the Nobility, the Burghers, and the Peasants. Their several functions in the State and in the social fabric of the nation differed considerably. Religion and Church have always been of paramount importance in Russia. The Russian is by nature religious; he likes his whole life to be in constant touch with religious practices, and he attaches great importance to Church ceremonies. He strictly observes religious holidays, and is a conscientious church-goer. He keeps fast-days, worships before the ikons with which every home is adorned, and

* Madame Olga Novikoff, Russian Slavophile as she is, feels obliged to admit the following fact. Referring to the same subject, in "Russian Memories" (Jenkins), p. 297, she writes:

"Every Russian—even those with scanty and superficial education—should always remember certain names with gratitude.

"Let me take a few names at random. The best friend of the Slavonic cause was Hildebrand. The great Academician, A. Behr, has opened Russia's eyes to our fishing riches, a great branch of our commerce. Ostaken, who took the Russian name of Vostokoff, was the author of 'Slavonic Philology.' . . . Then there were Barclay de Tolly, Todtleben, and many others, who will always live in our history."—A. R.

frequently makes the sign of the Cross. Religion has, up to the present, played a very important part in the life of the nation, and has acquired a more national significance than in any other European country.

The national position of the Orthodox Church in Russia has been determined by the particular course of historic events. Although the Christian faith was introduced into Russia from Byzantium, and, moreover, the High, or so-called "Black," clergy in Russia belonged during the ninth and tenth centuries for the most part to the Greek nationality, the Greek Orthodox Church soon acquired a Russian national character. The Apostles of the Slavs, Cyril and Methodius, translated the Greek liturgical books into the Slavonic language, and thus gave to the Russian Orthodox Church its own national service. When Constantinople in 1453 was conquered by the Turks, the independence of the Russian Orthodox Church from her previous religious metropolis became assured.

At the head of the Russian Church stood the Patriarch of Moscow, who occupied a position independent of State rule. Peter the Great considered it necessary for the centralization of power to abolish the Patriarchate and replace it by the Holy Synod, which up to the present time has been composed of the high dignitaries of the Church appointed by the Tsar, and one representative of the lay element, the Supreme Procurator of the Holy Synod, whose duty it is to watch the interests of the State. The resolutions of the Synod required to be sanctioned by the Tsar, and as the Synod controls all the administration of the Church, including its financial affairs, the Tsar became its all-powerful guardian. He did not care to interfere in questions of religious dogma, which were left to be settled by the Tserkovni Sobor (the Church Council); but in other respects Peter the Great made the Church an instrument of the State, and himself and the State instruments of the Church.

This form of State government cannot be called "Caesaro-Papacy," as it is sometimes named erroneously; but at any rate the Russian Orthodox Church is a national State institution.

The father and predecessor of Peter the Great, Tsar Alexis Michaelovitch, commanded the Patriarch Nikon to correct mistakes in the translation of the Holy Books. Nikon's corrections, which were by no means a reform, but were only meant to be an improvement of the texts which had been transcribed, with many mistakes, by ignorant monks, brought about a religious schism, by which those who refused to accept the corrections of Nikon broke away and formed a separate body called the "Old Believers." These Old Believers had to endure many hardships until the year 1905, when they were recognized by the Russian Government. However, the Orthodox Church has still the prerogative of religious propaganda, while all other denominations are forbidden to proselytize.

The religious mind of the Russian people has also found expression in numerous religious sects, of which many bear distinct traces of higher spiritual conceptions and purer ethical principles.

The veneration of the numerous saints is another feature of the same order. Lectures describing their pious life, charity, Christian forbearance,

and confidence in God, form a most popular pastime among the peasants at village social gatherings

Up to the time of Peter the Great, the clergy were the chief representatives of national culture. When the House of Rurik, the founder of the Empire, had died out, the nation turned to Philaret, Patriarch of Moscow, asking him to crown his son, Michael Romanoff, Tsar of Russia.

Peter the Great, as has been said before, revised the position of the clergy in the State and gave precedence to the nobility.

It fell to the lot of the Russian nobility to become the chief factor of progress, of learning, and of intellectual development in Russia. They were able to fulfil this mission because they were not a caste or class, but an estate or group which constantly recruited itself from the various strata of the population, and stood in the closest connection with it. The old feudal idea of nobility, derived from the possession of land, had been abolished by the Tartar yoke. Later on, the surviving remnants of the old Boyars were suppressed through the drastic measures of Ivan the Terrible and his successors. Peter the Great encountered no difficulty in establishing a new nobility founded on the idea of State service. On the other hand, only members of old noble families were admitted to it. Catherine the Great rescinded that condition, but still the State service remained in practice accessible only to noblemen, and in addition they had the privilege of possessing serfs.

Thanks to the liberal reforms of Alexander II, these restrictions were abolished. Henceforth the Government service was open to everyone. The right to become an hereditary nobleman was acquired by all who had reached the rank of actual State Councillors, Lieutenant-Generals, or Vice-Admirals, or those who had received the Order of St. Vladimir. These distinctions were earned by a great number of persons, and this put the qualification for nobility on a very broad basis. By the abolition of serfdom the democratization of the principle of aristocracy was carried a step further, seeing that the nobility lost that privilege, which was tantamount to the right of owning land, as land without serfs had no value.

Since 1861 the Russian nobility have sold the greater part of their land, chiefly to peasants, descendants of serfs, and being no longer in possession of land they have become a group of State employees, people engaged in liberal professions, representatives of provincial self-government, and so forth. This virtual revolution has brought about a closer connection between the nobility and the rest of the population, and has been facilitated by the absence of titles and by the custom of addressing noblemen by their surnames and patronymics just like anybody else. Moreover, marriages took place between members of the nobility and other groups of the population without any suggestion of *mésalliance*.

It is true that Russia has also a titled nobility, but this does not take precedence in any way over the untitled nobility, except in the case of members of the Imperial House before the revolution. The numerous princes were the offspring of the feudal Rurik princes, or were descended from Tartar or Caucasian princes. Representatives of other titled classes

—counts, barons, "vons," etc.—held their lineage for the most part from conquered provinces, as, for instance, Poland, the Baltic provinces, or Finland. But as a title in Russia is not necessarily connected with wealth or political influence, it is of little practical value. Socially, noble lineage is less thought of in Russia than in any other European country. Moreover, plutocratic tendencies and the power exercised by the possession of wealth play in Russia a comparatively small part. Clever and gifted men, of whatever origin, can rise to the highest honours and position. For instance, Admiral Makarof, General Kuropatkin, and many others, were of peasant origin.

With few exceptions, as, for instance, in the case of the founder of modern Russian literature, Lomonosoff (1711-1765), who was the son of a peasant, the chief poets, artists, literary and learned men, all belonged to the nobility. Zhukovsky, Pushkin, Lermontoff, Gogol, Turgenieff, Dostoievsky, and Tolstoi, came from the land-owning nobility. This gives some idea of the important part which the Russian nobility have played in the intellectual development of the nation. It can be asserted that in Russia before the revolution, roughly speaking, almost anyone of importance belonged to the nobility, but that, on the other hand, there was no insurmountable obstacle to anyone becoming a nobleman.

It is apparent, therefore, that in their inception and position the Russian nobility differ absolutely from the plutocratic aristocracy of Great Britain. Russia has no nobility in the English sense of the word. There is no room and no necessity for it in Russia. Her nobility occupied the position, and has the character and importance, of the gentry or upper middle-class in England. This difference bore out the democratic character of the Russian Empire, which may be described before the revolution as a democracy furnished with a bureaucracy administered by a supreme autocratic power.

The third group, the burghers, "*Meshtchanie*," is not very well defined at the present time, as the greater part of the nobility have, as mentioned above, taken up their residence in the towns, the population of which is also mixed with a large number of peasants who have left the land in order to gain a livelihood elsewhere. The *Meshtchanie* were composed originally of the merchant and artisan class. The merchants were intended by Peter the Great to form a close corporation, but later on various laws interfered with these limitations, with the result that from a practical point of view there seems at present no intrinsic necessity for a special group of burghers.

On the other hand, the fourth group, the peasants, form up to the present a well-defined separate body, endowed with special privileges and obeying special regulations. This group is the real mainstay of Russia, as Russia, broadly speaking, is a peasant State. Up to 1861 the peasants were serfs in the sense of being "*glebæ adscripti*"—that is to say, they were bound to remain at their place of abode, and belonged to the proprietors of the land. Broadly speaking, serfdom was a patriarchal form of social structure; the brutality which naturally resulted from the system was in some cases mitigated by the practical interest which kindly

landlords took in the welfare of their serfs, by the common religion and race of both, and by the naturally gentle and forbearing nature of the Russian. But of course this deplorable system led to abuses, and to a state of dependence bordering on slavery. It condemned the greater part of the population of Russia to a state of perpetual stagnation and an utter lack of personal freedom. Agriculture was carried on by old and inefficient methods. A part of the land was used in common, and belonged to the peasant community as a whole—the "*mir*." According to the changes in the number of "souls," this land was constantly subdivided by the community under the direct control of the landlord, who had the right to demand a certain amount of work to be done by the peasants on his own estate in return for their allotment. When serfdom and the right of the landlord to the labour of the peasants was abolished by Alexander II. in 1861, the common land remained at the disposal of the latter, and the landlord received from the State, as compensation for the loss of their labour, money certificates bearing percentages, and subject to redemption. The State in its turn imposed upon the village communities as a whole a tax, arranging for the payment of the percentage to the landlord and the gradual redemption of the money certificate. These certificates have now all been redeemed.

The peasant community, the *mir*, had to fix the amount to be paid by each person. It had the power to exact penalties from those who did not pay their quota at the right time, and even possessed the right to administer corporal punishment or to exile to Siberia any persons so condemned. To a great extent the *mir* thus took over the rights previously exercised by the landlords, and the peasants found themselves economically in a state of even greater dependence than before the abolition of serfdom. The harshness of this system was the direct result of the above-mentioned principle that the village community as a whole was responsible for the payment of the taxes. This system, the *krugovaya porouka*, meant practically that the industrious, sober, and worthy peasant had to pay for the lazy, drunken, and worthless one. Socialistic cranks tried to find in the *krugovaya porouka* a cure for all social evils. The *mir* system was praised as a panacea and an ideal arrangement for counteracting all the ills that exist, owing to the difference between those who have and those who have not. Unfortunately, in practice, the advantages of the *mir* and of the *krugovaya porouka* proved to be illusory. The common ownership of the land involved a constant new partition of it, and made it impossible to improve the methods of cultivation.

The abolition of serfdom achieved only personal freedom; it did not at all provide for economic prosperity and progress. The great economic advantages and moral value of personal ownership of the land had been totally left out of account by the reforms of 1861. The reformers did not wish to depart from the old principle that the ownership of land was assured to each individual through its common ownership by the village as a whole. But the constant increase of the population was necessarily followed by a corresponding decrease of the area which could be allotted to each person. In many parts of the country these allotments became

too small to maintain a family. The happy (or rather unhappy) possessors of such allotments had therefore to look out for a living in the towns, in industrial works, and so forth, and derived no real benefit from the theoretically glorious fact that he was a member of the *mir* and, as such, a landowner.

On the other hand, the primitive methods of agricultural cultivation diminished increasingly the productivity of the soil. The average production of corn on one acre of peasant land in Russia in the years 1899-1906 did not exceed 670 kilogrammes, while in Western Europe such a piece of land would yield three times this amount. Lack of rational cultivation of the land also produced harvest failures, which repeated themselves with increasing frequency, for instance, in the years 1891, 1897, 1898, 1901, 1906, 1907, and 1908. But more than any other consideration, the agrarian upheavals which followed the disasters of the Japanese War made it apparent to Russian statesmen that fundamental agricultural reforms were badly needed.

It was the Prime Minister Stolypin who had the courage to break with the old methods of the *mir*, advising the Tsar to promulgate an Imperial Order on March 17, 1906, by which every village community received the right to decide by a majority of two-thirds whether they wanted to convert the common ownership of the land into freehold property, to be divided amongst the peasants of the village. This left it entirely to the peasants themselves to decide for or against private ownership. The advantages of private ownership, for the purpose of improving land culture and creating more energetic individual exertions from a sense of personal pride, are so evident that common ownership of the land in Russia is now gradually disappearing in favour of the former system. The consequence of this momentous reform will be to insure to the peasant community—comprising some eighty per cent. of the population of Russia—a secure prosperity in the future.

Having thus reviewed the chief characteristics of the organization of the Empire in the past, we may consider the last phase of the evolution of Russia brought about by the Revolution.

History teaches us that progressive reforms or more energetic movements in favour of progress, as, for instance, revolutions of a progressive nature, are often the direct result of great shocks experienced through international cataclysms. In Russia, the Crimean War brought in its train, some years later, the period of the great progressive reforms of Alexander II. The war with Japan was followed by the October constitutional reforms. The present great war, in which Russia found herself in close association with her allies, is hoped to result in further economic, social, and political progress, such as the Revolution has given her.

Economic development was necessitated by the extreme deficiency of means of communication, and by the great lack of industrial production and organization, which the war brought home so forcibly to the consciousness of the nation as serious menaces to its safety. Such progress has to be realized by the imperative necessity of developing the un-

bounded riches of the soil and the mineral reserves of the Empire, by improvements in the methods of agriculture, and by the application of higher technical skill in the exploitation of those reserves. The exportation of goods from the Empire must be considerably increased so as to augment the trade balance of Russia, and to pay for the debt to foreign countries contracted during the war.

Social and political progress was the natural result of the part played in the war by the *Zemstvos* (County Councils) and by the municipal authorities and peasant communities. Up to the time of the war, the Government was accustomed to provide for the needs of the country, relying exclusively on its own resources. But the requirements of war, and especially the need of a supply of munitions on an unprecedented scale, made it necessary for the Government to apply to the nation at large for assistance in carrying on the war. That call was answered with the same enthusiasm as has been shown in the great emergency by the British. The close co-operation between the Government and the people, which has borne such good fruit, was bound to make the masses conscious of their own importance. Moreover, the peasants, who constitute an overwhelming majority of the rank and file of the army, have borne a terrible burden of physical and material losses in this war, and at the same time have felt that their power was the real foundation of the Empire. Imagine what it meant to the peasant, whose ordinary life was formerly confined to work in the fields and to family ties, to be thrown together with the other fighting men during the past two and a half years, discussing with them the reasons for the conflagration and the future prospects and conditions of life in general. What an incentive all that must have been for promoting his intellectual development and broadening his horizon! The outcry of the peasant for education, for a more satisfactory state of well being, and a more pronounced recognition of his political importance in the structure of the State pressed for consideration.

Political progress was also assured by the influence which Great Britain was, and is, exercising in Russia in substitution for that of Berlin. English influence on Russia has always been rightly considered as being of a liberal nature, tending to promote political reforms. Up to the Revolution the Duma controlled to a great extent the finances of the Empire, and no law could be passed without its consent save in cases of exceptional emergency provided for by the Constitution, and any criticism of the Government could be discussed in the House. But it had no decisive vote in the formation of the Cabinet, which was solely responsible to the Emperor, and not to the Duma. The members of the Cabinet were chosen and appointed in the German fashion solely by the Emperor, and, moreover, in the days before the Revolution they did not enjoy the confidence of the chosen representatives of the nation. The creation of a Parliamentary form of Government, with its responsibility to the nation, was therefore the necessary stepping-stone to further development.

The necessity for progress also made itself felt in the intolerable bureaucratic centralization of the administration of the vast Empire as opposed to local self-government.

Freedom of thought and conscience, and religious equality, had to be assured to all Russian citizens in the same way as has been done in all Western European States. The interference of religion in matters of fundamental interest to the State and the interference of the State in matters of fundamental interest to religion had to be eliminated.

A sound constructive policy demanded the consolidation of the population of the Empire under the higher denominator of common citizenship, in the way that this has been achieved in Great Britain, the United States, Switzerland, and other well-organized communities where differences of religion and race have been reduced to secondary importance by the cohesion afforded in identical public interests, common duties, and the supreme aim of insuring to the whole the greatest amount of power and prosperity. Russia has already made a very promising step in that direction by her reconciliation with the Poles and the Finlanders, thus assuring their autonomy, and in the case of the Poles even their independence.

It was of paramount importance that the *internal order* of the State should rest on sounder foundations than before; that, for instance, a recurrence of pogroms—namely, the wilful persecution of a certain set of people and the destruction of their property, whether they be Russian landowners, Jews, or others—should never again take place. Last, but not least, the spreading of knowledge and education was a necessary condition for any further economic and political progress. The Imperial Government of the past, with its bureaucratic rule, was hopelessly deficient in this respect.

Russia has not yet decided whether she will adopt a republican or a monarchical form of government, but judging by the tenor of the Russian newspapers, a Republic is more likely.

There are those who consider that Russia is as yet unripe for a Republic. They think the step would be too abrupt to be safe. But, after all, if the character of the Russian people and the course of Russian history are taken into account, such an advance seems to be natural.

It has already been mentioned that not less than eighty per cent. of the Russian population are simple peasants, who can well understand that a master must be implicitly obeyed. But it is beyond their comprehension that a Tsar should submit to the rule of a Parliament, and should accept Ministers chosen not by him, but by that Parliament. The peasant could not understand of what use a Tsar would be who had not the power to enforce his will.

On the other hand, the direct rule of the people is a principle which is implanted in the Russian nation from remote historic times, and has preserved its nature hitherto in the form of the aforementioned village communities—the *mir*, who are self-governing, and have great administrative power, and in many other institutions and usages, as, for instance, the *Artels*, *Zemstvos* (County Councils), Co-operative Societies, and so forth, which all bear witness to the strong leaning of the Russian nation towards self-government and democracy.

It can therefore be assumed that the Russian nation would understand

a Republic far better than a Constitutional Monarchy. It is a significant fact that so far since the Revolution no candidate to the throne has ventured to assert himself. In previous times of national upheavals the disorder was aggravated by the fact that several pretenders appeared on the scene, who fought one another and prevented the country from settling down to normal conditions. In the present case nothing of the sort has happened, because everyone seems pleased to be rid not only of the Tsar, but of Tsardom altogether, and if no dissensions break out among the popular leaders, it will be apparent to all that a popular rule, with its accompanying freedom and equal chances for all, has come to stay. After all, Russia is a State of peasants, and just as in the case of the former peasant States of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony the republican form of government seemed to be natural, so that form also appears to be the best for Russia.

Moreover, it must be taken into account that the Tsar took over the heritage of the Tatar Khans. The Tartar rule in Russia, which extended over more than two hundred years, was not overthrown by violent and precipitous action, but was, so to say, absorbed by the Russian people. A great number of the Tatars became Russianized, their method of government consisted chiefly in extracting tribute from the people, and as the Khans grew more and more feeble and nerveless, the Grand Duke of Moscow, who acted as their vassal, found it comparatively easy to declare his independence much in the same way as the Majors Domo in France supplanted the Kings to whom they owed their allegiance. Thus Russia continued to be under a species of Tartar rule even after the Tartars had disappeared. The Grand Dukes of Moscow, who declared themselves Tsars of Russia, did not occupy the position of the Russian Rurik princes of the feudal period of Russia, but became purely and simply the successors of the Tartar Khans. In that connection it can almost be said without exaggeration that only by the Russian Revolution of our time has Russia succeeded in throwing off the last remnants of the Tartar yoke, reverting to the ancient days when the Republics of Pskoff and Novgorod flourished.

Again, there is speculation in England concerning the possibility of the establishment of a Republic in Russia. Some think that the unity of this huge Empire could not be maintained under this form of government, and that dismemberment would be inevitable. This presumption, however, is entirely without foundation. Switzerland, although consisting of three different nationalities, and divided into many cantons, which enjoy a great amount of self-government, preserves its unity, not by the existence of a sovereign, but through its Federal Council. Similarly, the United States of America, which embrace a great number of States of very different conditions and developments of culture, preserve their unity under the republican form of government. Russia has, by her Parliament and Supreme Council, organs which sufficiently assure her unity. But if, after all, it is found that the existence of a sovereign to safeguard that unity is necessary, Russia may become a Constitutional Monarchy. This will be decided by the Constitutional Assembly.

A GREAT SON OF POLAND

BY OLGA NOVIKOFF

THE *Moscow Gazette* has just published an article on the great Polish poet and patriot Mickiewicz, a few extracts from which would, I am sure, interest English readers, especially now that the Polish question is undoubtedly coming to the front. A Russian translation of the poet's most famous work, "The Book of the Polish People and the Polish Pilgrimage," has just been issued. It may be remembered that this work, which was first published in 1832, was placed on the "Index" by the Pope very soon after its appearance, having in the meantime called forth the most rapturous and reverent eulogies from authorities like Lammenais and Montalembert. The Poles indeed look upon this book almost in the light of a national gospel. It was first published when its author had already settled in Paris, the work being directly influenced by the recent Polish rising, which Mickiewicz had personally witnessed. "It seems to me," he wrote about that period, "that a time will come when it will be necessary to be a saint in order to be a poet, and when divine inspiration and the comprehension of mysteries unattainable to the ordinary human mind will be indispensable to the public success of creative art. I often think that, like Moses, I shall only see from afar the Promised Land of Poetry, for I do not feel myself worthy of entering within its gates."

It will be seen from these words that the moral tone of

Mickiewicz's work is exceedingly high, and even if there is much in this book with which we Russians cannot agree, we can at least always understand and sympathize, for the spirit of all the author's thoughts touches us nearly and deeply.

This same divine inspiration of which he speaks, this combining of the poetical with the religious idea, is indeed well known to our own thinkers. It is to such supersensitive understanding that Dostoeffsky aspired.

Mickiewicz, in his "Book of the Polish People," comes before us in the combined rôles of philosopher, politician, religious thinker, and poet, but it is only the two latter that come naturally to him, for he is first and foremost a poet, and has neither the knowledge nor the objectiveness essential to the task of the political historian. Nevertheless, his poetical intuition is indisputable, and shines through his every thought, and his ideals frequently resemble those of the Russian Slavophiles, who have opened up such a wide and glorious horizon for the national ideal.

Dostoeffsky, in his system of human development, assigns a large rôle to the Russian people. His conception stands on the border line between philosophy and poetry; and who among us would lay aside Dostoeffsky in favour of even the greatest among foreign thinkers?

Mickiewicz's is in no sense a political document, but as the lyrical confession of the author's soul it is valuable even at the present day.

Although exiled from his beloved country, the poet, in his dreams, dwells eternally in the dear home-land. This yearning of the spirit for the past, far away from sad, contemporary actualities, is natural, and well known to all romantics. It may indeed be said that in none of his works has Mickiewicz been so romantic as in this interesting book.

The work is divided into several parts, of which the first—*i.e.*, "The Book of the Polish People"—forms an introduction. This introduction is a history of the world according to the Polish poet's fancy, a history divided into two

epochs, the one lasting from the Creation till the martyrdom of the Polish people, the other from that martyrdom until the moment of Poland's resurrection. This resurrection ushers in a new era, which Mickiewicz does not touch.

The world's history is an eternal struggle for freedom, where subjection to tyranny and victory over injustice constantly alternate. In those moments when injustice triumphs nations run wild.

"The Polish people alone have refrained from bowing down to this idol, so much so that even their language has failed to find a name for the worshippers of injustice. The Polish nation has trusted in God, knowing that he who honours God honours also all that is good and noble in life."

Injustice put an end to all this, and with its coming began the Polish Pilgrimage. In this way Mickiewicz passes to the second part of his book. "The Soul of the Polish People," he exclaims, "that is the Polish pilgrimage."

Poland has territory and people, but the breath of life is lacking to animate these people—the breath of life called "Liberty." It is very unfortunate that Mickiewicz did not take the trouble to explain clearly what he meant by that greatly misunderstood and sometimes purposely misused word. In revolutionary times no doubt many words are used in a mad, hurried way, but very few people care to understand thoroughly the real sense of the word, which no doubt sounds well, and seems to fit in, and is accepted as being all right. That philological precaution is better realized in our days, and particularly now in Russia. But some hundred years ago many ideas and motives were used at random, heedlessly. The same may be said about the word "Poland," as representing a very confused idea. Is it the realm proclaimed by the Grand-Duke Nicholas—as destined to be freed after the war, that is Russian Poland, Posen, and Galicia—or only the Russian Kingdom of Poland? That is not all: what is meant by Russian Poland? The real Kingdom of Poland annexed by Russia? or does it include a part of Russia proper, *i.e.*, Volhynia,

and even Smolensk, as was proclaimed by some Polish dreamers?

But let us return to our poet's dream. It has not been withdrawn for ever, but it has been wafted away into the future, and its renewal will once more mean Poland's resurrection. To attain this end is not easy. "The Pole has sworn to undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Land of his country's freedom, and to continue his wanderings till the goal is reached." And so, in a long sequence of parables and word-pictures, the poet points out to his beloved countrymen the way of their pilgrimage. Ever observant and thoughtful, this passionate, untiring patriot did not shut his eyes to the shortcomings of the people he strove to serve. He was ready, indeed, to forget and forgive all their past sins, because, in his own words, "one can find a judge for every judgment and an executioner for every punishment." But Mickiewicz was far from being either a judge or an executioner; he was instead, on the contrary, a leader and a prophet. "Good people always judge from the good side," and one can always forgive the sins of the past, when they are not repeated in the present. The poet saw very clearly the hot-headedness of his compatriots, and their constant readiness to disagree and quarrel on the smallest pretext. His emigrant life in Paris, indeed, spent almost exclusively in a Polish circle, brought him, in this connection, many a bitter moment. These, his quarrelsome brothers, Mickiewicz compares to a shipwrecked crew, who, instead of devising means of escape from the desert island on which they have been stranded, spend all their time in quarrelling about who was to blame for the shipwreck!

The pages of the "Book of the Polish People" reveals great energy and that spirit of leadership which never falters, even in the most trying moments. The author never admits disappointment or the possibility of failure, even under the darkest conditions. One must always be ready for the morrow. "Prepare your souls," says

Mickiewicz. It is this wisdom, this constant readiness for action, this enthusiasm and devotion to an ideal, that win the sympathies of even the most indifferent readers of the Polish poet's work.

Among Mickiewicz's most cherished ideals was always that of "Messianism." He introduced this idea everywhere, even in the course of some lectures on Slavonic literature, which he delivered at the Collège de France. It also shines through his correspondence, but here it is not clothed in such mystic forms as in the "Book of the Polish People."

Our celebrated philosopher and scholar, Vladimir Solovieff, in speaking of the fate of Mickiewicz, expresses himself as follows: "The ruin of his personal happiness did not change him into a disappointed misanthrope and pessimist; the ruin of his country did not make of him an indifferent cosmopolitan; the inward struggle for sincere religious conviction as opposed to external authority did not turn him into an enemy of the Church. At each step upwards on the ladder of moral development he carried with him not proud and empty disdain, but only love and charity for those climes for which he was rising—that constitutes his greatness."

There are many among us to-day who can in this respect learn a great lesson from the Polish poet-patriot, and I do not hesitate to recommend the perusal of his works to all who read, who think, and who understand.

SISTER AUGUSTINE BEWICKE OF SALONICA

BY MRS. ARCHIBALD LITTLE

A TELEGRAM to *The Times*, in the summer of 1916, announcing Sister Augustine's death, that all Macedonia was mourning her, and, after a few very sympathetic words concerning her life work, mentioning that the Bulgarian Bishop had died on the same day (although happily mistaken as to both deaths), drew forth such evidently heartfelt appreciations of my sister's life and character in the Press and in private letters, and gave rise to so many questions that, before all those who can answer them pass away, it seems well to give a short summary of the events of her life.

Her father, Calverley Bewicke, of Hallaton Hall, Leicestershire, having broken a blood-vessel rowing "stroke" in the Oxford boat at the great race, and married his cousin, was sent to Madeira on the bare chance of possibly prolonging life, and Nora Bewicke was born there in April, 1843—a delicate, brilliantly clever, and much loved daughter and sister. With but two visits to England she remained there until it was time to send the younger brothers to school. And then the sudden shock came—the father, who had for years lived as a strong man, though with only half a lung, dying at Lisbon on the way home. The next year his wife, unable to bear life without him, died too. After some years in the Isle of Wight, it was on

the occasion of the great Vatican Council that, journeying across Mont Cenis, an enthusiastic Jesuit missionary, invalided from China, tried to convert the young party of three sisters and a brother, until repeated fits of coughing forced him to desist. But his words remained, and it was to the Jesuit College in Rome Nora Bewicke went when thinking of joining the Church of Rome. Then came the Franco-Prussian War, and two of the sisters at once volunteered to nurse the wounded. Travelling to Paris, they were there rejected on account of their youth (which would now only be considered a recommendation), and Nora entered a convent at Auteuil to be received into their faith ; then, not finding that the expected wounded came there, joined the American Ambulance, and was soon placed in charge of a small round tent for French officers.

It was in 1874 she entered the Seminary of St. Vincent, to be trained as one of his daughters, and in 1875 was sent to Issoudun ; then, the year following, to Siena, where she worked for eight years in the great hospital. From there, in 1884, she was sent to London to start the Italian hospital. Insufficient supplies, and repeated fogs perhaps, led to her being pronounced unfit for the English climate ; she was removed in 1886 to Salonica, and from that date has belonged to the Balkans. Sent to Prisen in 1889, the scenery and the people there seem to have at once twined themselves round her heart ; but the climate was too rude, and in 1890 she was removed to Smyrna, whence she was recalled in 1891 to Salonica, thenceforward to be her home. When Lady Grogan (then Lady Thompson) and the girl, now Lady Scott (of Antarctic fame), went to Kastoria to distribute relief funds in 1904, Sister Augustine was told off to help them, and as both the Sister with her and the girl with Lady Grogan fell victims to the prevailing fever, she had a heavy task, all the beds of the sick being on the floor, and wrote that she wondered if she should ever stand upright again.

In a list of her movements Sister Augustine puts a special

mark against Kastoria, "because it made a mark in my life, bringing me into contact with English people again after so many years." Besides these four months' relief work she often went across snow-covered mountains, along precipices brigand-frequented, fearing nothing, so that she might relieve suffering. On one occasion she had to ask a Turk to lift her off her donkey, she was frozen so stiff. To the outside world of Salonica, Sister Augustine, with whom they directly come in contact, represents all the enterprising benevolence, the loving patience, and the sympathetic helpfulness of the Order of St. Vincent. She has been for years told off to deal with all the sorrows and troubles of the outside world; and among Levantines who has not sorrows? In the Balkan States who is not in trouble?

A young Jew, accustomed to help in her benevolent schemes, returned from an up-country relief distribution, remarking: "I have learnt that it is not enough to give money; poor people need encouragement and sympathy quite as much. It is Sister Augustine who knows the right way to help."

In somewhat early days she had started a home for lonely and destitute old men and women of mixed nationality, thus with a special claim upon no nation, assigning to each a little separate abode, and, wherever possible, a child to be taken care of, so that the old people might not feel themselves useless, that tragedy of old age; a little enclosure in which to keep chickens, or, if the child were a boy, rabbits; a tiny garden in which to grow flowers or vegetables, at least a salad. To get all arranged was a considerable undertaking, to keep the inmates in peace and amity a greater. For the support of the houses she opened a laundry, which still flourishes, establishing now for Salonicans the astonishing figures as to collars, cuffs, and aprons that English hospital nurses require weekly to be washed, ironed *and* starched.

Before soldiers came in numbers, the arrival of some nation's fleet was almost a matter of prayer for the old

people. For the English fleet naturally the one English Sister had a special care. "For look you, Sister," said an Admiral's smart coxswain many years ago, "I look upon you as the only representative of England here," thus ignoring the British Consul-General. She took the man's words to heart, and against the fleet's return had won over one of the innumerable restaurants stretching along the crescent-shaped Bay, finished off by the snowy range of Mount Olympus to the south-west. No spirits were to be sold in the Sister's restaurant, and only honest ale, undoctored. She had a room set out with writing-paper and pens and newspapers, with pleasant seats to welcome the British blue-jackets. Then the fleet came in, and, whilst other restaurants were full and riotous, not one man entered that of the Sister of St. Vincent. "Can you imagine my despair?" she asked. "But then I was told of a peculiarity of the British sailor—did you know it? When he comes on shore he always walks straight and enters the first place he comes to, without ever troubling to go to the right or left, or turn a corner to get to a better. People told me there was nothing—nothing to be done, for from time immemorial boats had always had the right to be moored in front of my restaurant, and there they were, a long string of them, that could not be turned away, so sailors could never walk straight in." But here was the opportunity for the British Consul-General! Sister Augustine went to him at once, and by the next morning there were all the boats moved away! No riot had ensued, only there were the bluejackets landing and walking straight—after the manner of their kind—into the restaurant prepared for them, rejoicing greatly at what they found there.

When the Italian-Turkish war began, it was Sister Augustine who helped all the poverty-stricken Italians to close up their little businesses and somehow or other to make for their own country. And when their country returned them, somewhat prematurely, it was she who helped them to start again, feeding and clothing them until

they could once again establish themselves. That helping of the Italians nearly used up her store of strength. As a girl she had always been weak and delicate, thought to require every comfort, and now she was nearing seventy on the homely food of the Sisters of St. Vincent, still rising at four in the morning, and wearing the same very heavy clothing summer and winter. How heavy that clothing, planned for France, feels in the sweltering tropics, or in scorched, rock-bound Salonica, only the Sisters who wear it know. In her early years in the Balkans Sister Augustine, speaking already Portuguese, French, German, and Italian, had managed to add to these Turkish and Bulgarian, for the care of the cruelly-used Bulgars in Macedonia had from the first fallen to her lot. "Come over and help us" through all the centuries has always been the cry from Macedonia. There were also many Bulgarian converts, their priests allowed to keep their wives and to use the Bulgarian language. She was sometimes called "the hope of the Bulgars," and when their German King Ferdinand sought to please his subjects he, in answer to their expressed wishes, sent her a Decoration. The Greeks, who had never noticed the sufferings of the Macedonians sufficiently even to know that she was helping them, began now to look askance at Sister Augustine.

But then came the great flight of the Turks, wearing out all the ladies who tried to help them, the Turkish misery was so tremendous. At first Sister Augustine went with another Sister, carrying heavy caldrons of hot soup to a mosque, and ladled it out while themselves standing in the snow or rain, the water running in and out of their rough, ill-fitting shoes. Then official bread distributions were organized, and the Sisters were invited to instal their soup-kitchen at the Ottoman Bank. Before their work was over King George of Greece was assassinated. He and his Queen Olga had shown special kindness and sympathy to Sister Augustine, and she struggled out to their villa to express her sorrow and respect. That was her last going

out for some time, and soon came a Good Friday when all day the Sister Superior did not leave her, sending for doctor after doctor, thinking that Sister Augustine was passing away. Gradually a little strength came back to her, but how to recover completely, in the germ-laden air of Salonica? In Kukush on the mountains the Sisters had another house, but only Bulgarian military trains ran to that station, and the order had just been given that not even officers' wives might travel by them. "Come, come, sirs," said the undaunted Sister Superior. "Have you ever known the Sisters refuse to nurse your men? and now, when one of us is ill——" So into a baggage-waggon early next morning Sister Augustine was bundled. Three officers and about a dozen soldiers already occupied it, but two chairs had been placed there, and now the sides were pushed back; thus she breathed once again the purer air of the country, passing by acacia-trees, white with fragrant blossom, and scarlet poppies, redder than ever, people said, because of all the blood that had been shed. How she rejoiced in Kukush, with its mountain air, Bulgarian converts under tolerant Bulgarian rule, and large, well-taught orphanages! She regained strength, but was all too quickly recalled to work among the ladies of Salonica. Shortly afterwards, Kukush, which Greeks used to call a Greek town, was bombarded by the Greeks, although unfortified. The old church, with all its strange Bulgarian mementoes, was burnt down. Of the inhabitants, those who could tried to fly across the terrible Rhodope Mountains; a few were sheltered in cellars beneath the pretty home of the Sisters, built by a Swiss Sister after the model of a chalet. The rest were massacred.

Now that Salonica is overful with the soldiers of many nations, Sister Augustine writes with delight of the goodness of our English soldiers—men who do not seek to cheat anyone, "so serious, so gentle"; and in a recent letter, telling of her many interruptions, says: "Everybody wants so many things and on such a large scale now—1,000 pieces

of linen for children, to be distributed in the villages; 2,000 roses for the Northumberland Fusiliers; 1,000 mosquito-nets; all as soon as possible. I am delighted to get all these jobs, to be able to give people work, but the *soucis* they give me are not small."

One can understand how a Y.M.C.A. Secretary from India, who fell ill and was consigned to the Sister's hospital, wrote in the *Y.M.C.A. Weekly*: "There is not a British resident in Salonica, not an officer in the town for any length of time, who is not, in one way or another, indebted to Mother Augustine for some gentle act. She remains symbolical in a crude and harsh place of the peace and charity of an older world."

"THE INDIAN EMPIRE" FILM

By special arrangement with the Government of India, a series of films have been taken designed to show "the Power of India, the Loyalty of Indian States, etc.," which were shown on Friday, June 22, in London. In the first part is included "Pilgrimage to Mecca," "The Jain Festival," and Munition-Making in India. In the third part we see the Tata Iron and Steel Works; and in the fourth part the Working of the Coal-Mines in Bihar and Orissa. The eighth part is devoted to the Training of the Indian Army; whilst the ninth shows, amongst other things, the Punjab Irrigation Works and the Cotton Industry. It has been a splendid undertaking, admirably carried through, and we earnestly hope it will attain the maximum of publicity.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF PROBLEMS OF GREATER INDIA *

(Reviewed by SIR ROLAND K. WILSON)

The appearance of this pamphlet throws an interesting light on the conflicting currents of opinion in twentieth-century India. Time was when the entire public activity of the limited class of English speaking Indians who aspired to think and act on behalf of India as a whole seemed to be concentrated on the periodical meetings of the Indian National Congress, where the same cut-and-dried resolutions were submitted year after year to a huge assembly of self-elected delegates, spoken to with more or less eloquence, and carried *nem. con.*, and where the main reliance was placed, for the realization of the reforms demanded, on the parliamentary activities of a group of Indophil members in the British House of Commons. These demands related mainly to the opening of higher and more remunerative posts in the public service to Indians, the cheapening of higher education for the professional classes, the extension of the reign of law and the exaltation of judicial at the expense of executive authorities, the limitation of the Government exactions from landholders, and generally the stoppage of the alleged drain of wealth from India to England. The means chiefly relied on were the tightening of control of the House of Commons over the India Office and of the India Office over the Viceroy. We hear nothing of all this from the section of New India represented by Mr. Panikkar. For the means of reform—generalizing somewhat rashly from the single instance of Lord Hardinge's action in the matter of Indians in South Africa—he looks to increasingly independent action on the part of the Government in India as opposed to Downing

* "An Introduction to the Study of Problems of Greater India," by K. M. Panikkar. 1916. Pp. 97.

Street; while as to the substance of reform, we are transported into a wholly new field of inquiry: the condition of the labouring classes in India itself, the conditions under which emigration should be permitted or encouraged, and the treatment of Indians who have migrated, or would like to migrate, to other parts of the British Empire. Then, at the back of all this, we come upon a still more novel feature—anxiety for the safeguarding of old Indian (by which the writer means Hindu) customs and beliefs against the encroachments of Western ideas, not only among Hindus in India, but among emigrant Hindus in all parts of the world.

In his first contention he stands on very strong ground. That any set of people can have a right to keep large portions of the surface of the globe sparsely inhabited and undeveloped, while other people are wishful to settle there, and willing to live in peace and amity with the first-comers, is a proposition very difficult for any moralist to defend, specially difficult for an Englishman, seeing that we, like other European nations, have invariably enforced the opposite doctrine at the point of the sword whenever it was for our interest to do so. The latest defence of the "White-Australia" policy is by the spokesman of the Round Table Conference, in the book called "The Problem of the Commonwealth," p. 61. Let us see what it amounts to.

"The non-European element (in the Empire)," says Mr. Curtis, "is mainly employed on manual labour, and can subsist on wages which are much lower than are necessary for the support of a European. Manual labour, therefore, tends to become monopolized by a coloured minority, and, what is still worse, the European majority* come to regard it as beneath the dignity of a white man. They tend to confine themselves to the work of superintendence, and to become enervated. The sphere open to the white man steadily narrows, while that opened to the coloured man is continually enlarged, and while there is no room for white immigration, there is a steadily increasing demand for coloured labour. Thus, in actual practice the principle of free immigration would not mean that the white and coloured races would flow over the vacant territories in the proportion of one to seven. The proportion of coloured immigrants would steadily increase at the expense of the whites, and in the end the white would be exclusively confined to the work of political and industrial administration, as in India. The conditions which have rendered it impossible to establish responsible government in India would come to exist in the self-governing Dominions. They would, in fact, be converted into colonies of Asia, Africa, or Polynesia, and would cease to be in any real sense colonies of Europe. The vacant territories of the Commonwealth would be permanently resigned to the more backward and more numerous societies of mankind, and would cease for ever to be the homes of the races who have developed the highest civilization. From the standpoint of ultimate human values the establishment of such a principle

* *Sic* in the text. But surely "majority" and "minority" must have been transposed by oversight. We never yet heard of the happy country in which manual workers are a minority.

as free immigration would end in producing results as deplorable as they would be incapable of cure "

Now, supposing for one moment the facts to be as they are here assumed to be, what are we to think of the argument? It comes to this, that the development of the resources of one continent is to be retarded, and the population of another continent is to be overcrowded and sweated, rather than that the British born workman should be forced to choose between doing the same work, skilled or unskilled, for the same pay as the coloured man, and so educating himself as to qualify for the higher work of supervision. As to being "enervated," a sound industrial system would put a stop to that by insisting that no one should be trusted to superintend work at which he had not personally served an apprenticeship. Moreover, as Mr Panikkar does not fail to point out, it is not in human nature, whether coloured or white, to be content with low wages when higher are to be had for the asking, and it rests to a large extent with the Government to screw up the standard of life by appropriate sanitary and educational requirements.

Actually, however, so far at least as Indians are concerned, the facts are very different from what Mr Curtis assumes them to be. The motives, capacities, and conduct of Indian emigrants are by this time not a matter of conjecture, but of fairly wide experience.

It may perhaps come as a surprise to a good many Englishmen to be told that "Greater India" (Mr Panikkar's phrase, and a not very accurate one) is distributed all over the (tropical and sub tropical) world, forming large communities in Portuguese East Africa, Mauritius, Federated Malay States, Fiji, Surinam, British Guiana, and the British islands of the West Indies, that their occupations range "from the captain of a large Dutch ocean-going steamer to the modest milkman and cart-driver," while it is estimated that at least sixty per cent are engaged in agriculture. "The rice cultivation of British Guiana is wholly in their hands, the cocoa cultivation of Trinidad and the sugar-cane production of Mauritius are mostly worked and partly owned by them. It is estimated that they send home annually to their relatives in India something over £700,000", and this in spite of having for the most part been brought out under the indenture system at ridiculously low wages. As for their supposed unfitness to take part in the working of a democratic constitution such as that of Australia, we have not the same guidance from experience, because the tropical countries above named are all more or less autocratically governed dependencies. But neither is there, as Mr. Curtis seems to suppose, any presumption against their fitness from the fact that it has not yet been found possible to grant to India as a whole full "responsible government." The causes which have hitherto delayed, and may still delay for a decade or so, this ultimately inevitable consummation, are well known, and have little or nothing to do with differences in the colour of the skin. These are, firstly, the vastness of the area and numbers to be dealt with, far exceeding any country at present under parliamentary government; and, secondly, the bewildering variety of race, religion, language, and mental development, ranging from the highest to the very lowest

in the scale of humanity. Neither of these difficulties will have any application to any Indians likely to apply for admission to the Australian Commonwealth. When the promised abolition of the indenture system takes effect, there will be little inducement, and no facilities, for importing entirely ignorant, unskilled, and penniless labourers; nor would even Mr. Panikkar object to their exclusion on the same grounds as already apply to immigrants from Europe. The most likely immigrants under the new conditions will be skilled artisans or agriculturalists who can see their way to earning from the first a decent living (according to Indian standards as modified by Australian conditions) in some specific vocation, and ultimately to acquire the ownership of land. We can see no reason (except one to be mentioned presently) why Indians of this type should not become as good Australians as any docker from Liverpool.

We have been led on to discuss this important question at a length somewhat disproportionate to the space it occupies in the book under review, which is mainly concerned with the treatment of Indians in those British dependencies which do admit them. In this latter sphere we are unable to accord quite the same whole-hearted sympathy to the writer.

He may be justified in denouncing the miserably low wages paid to those engaged under the indenture system, wages which not only compare very unfavourably, as was to be expected, with those paid to Europeans for similar work,* but compare unfavourably even with the wages paid to Indians in the Dutch colony of Surinam. But when he comes to deal with the majority, who have passed out of the indenture stage, and are tending, according to him, to form a substantial middle class, he makes claims on their behalf which are somewhat startling. Not satisfied with full equality before the law—that is, the law as he finds it, and as made by Europeans—he demands for the Indian, or rather for the Hindu, immigrant (for in Indians who are not Hindus he shows not the smallest interest) that he shall be allowed to carry his own law with him, and that it shall be recognized and enforced by the Courts of the country of his adoption. At least, this is what seems to be necessarily implied, though his language is throughout confused as between toleration and enforcement. Thus, after misrepresenting the attitude of the French Government towards Muhammadan institutions in Algeria, and praising them for more completely preserving native laws and native administration thereof in Tunis and Indo-China, he goes on to say that “the English Government in India, too, has to a less extent left the Hindu institutions alone.” The fact, of course, is that the British Government has not in any instance “left the Hindu institutions alone.” In certain departments, such as marriage and succession, the Hindu law, as interpreted by the Civil Courts, is as strictly enforced between Hindus as any other laws. In the remaining and much more extensive departments, the Hindu law was abolished many centuries ago by the Muhammadans, and the Muhammadan law has been in turn superseded by British-made law. Does Mr. Panikkar expect the criminal law and rules of evidence laid down in the

* He makes out the proportion to be something like 1 to 10.

Shastras to be revived and put in force by the Courts of Trinidad and British Guiana? It is impossible to say. The only point upon which he is quite definite is that children born of marriages solemnized according to Hindu law, and therefore potentially polygamous, ought to be recognized as legitimate.

The theory on which this demand is based is remarkable. It is that "ethical likemindedness"—a phrase borrowed from Professor Giddings—is irrelevant to political union. "The basis for nationality is neither racial homogeneity nor ethical likemindedness. It lies in political institutions." What sort of a business does Mr Panikkar imagine politics to be, if they are not a branch of applied ethics, if they are not an endeavour to place an adequate amount of might at the service of right, both as between fellow citizens and as between independent nations? What is the meaning of the present world wide combination against the Central Empires, if not that Englishmen, Frenchmen, Italians, Russians, and Japanese are "ethically likeminded" to the extent of resenting unprovoked attack on two small States, and refusal to submit the matters in dispute to arbitration?

But, further, Mr Panikkar expects the colonial Governments to provide Indian children with instruction in their own vernaculars, English to come afterwards, if at all. And he wants Indian adults to be subjected to a measure of paternal control in the matter of alcoholic drinks from which their European neighbours are exempt.

We must confess that these extravagances, if we could suppose them to represent any large body of Indian opinion, would go far to take the edge off our indignation at the exclusionist policy of Australia and Canada, and they would also give us pause in our pleadings for extension of self-government in India itself. If this is a fair sample of the tone of the new Benares College, the promoters of that institution have much to answer for.

But we shall decline to believe anything of the sort, without further evidence than is yet forthcoming. All the men who have really helped to lift the Indian name out of the discredit into which it had fallen during the decadence of the Mogul Empire and the early days of British rule, from Rammohun Roy in the early nineteenth to Rabindranath Tagore in the twentieth century, who have created Bengali as a literary language and at the same time written standard works in English, who have filled with dignity and efficiency all except the very highest posts in the public service, won the suffrages of British constituencies, and the highest academic honours in English Universities, or voiced the aspirations of their countrymen in the National Congress, these men were, and are, eager recipients of wisdom wherever it is to be found, East or West, old or new. They know that there is not one ethical system, or one kind of scientific truth, that holds good East, and another West, of Suez, but one straight path on the finding and following of which the welfare of nations depends. It is by men of this type, not by sectarians and reactionaries, who boast of one "static," unchangeable, specifically Hindu civilization, that the masses must be content to be led, if India is ever to become a self-governing unit.

RECENT BOOKS ON JAPAN

(Reviewed by H. L. JOLY)

When, on December 13, His Excellency the Japanese Ambassador, Viscount Chinda, was prevented by the onerous duties of his post from taking the chair at a meeting of the Japan Society, he delegated to Mr Sawada the task of reading to the meeting a message of appreciation and encouragement, in which he pointed out how much more should be known in this country respecting the ancient Empire of Japan.

"When we come to think of it," said he, "we shall really be surprised to realize how very little is known here, after all, concerning Japan. I venture to submit that you do not know one-tenth as much about us as we know about you—let it be said, without reproach, it is only too natural that such should be the case. We have so much to learn and so little to teach, with you, to study our language, for instance, is merely a matter of choice and convenience, with us the acquisition of the English tongue is an important matter of interest, if not of absolute necessity."

Truly the Japanese Government has spent immense sums in publishing books which are of unequalled excellence, dealing with the history, the arts, the education, the finances, the resources of the country, in English and in French, but the man in the street does not know of their existence, his idea of things Japanese, if he has any idea at all, is taken from the columns of cheap newspapers, which steadily refuse to spell *karakuri*, their favourite expression, otherwise than *harikari*, and from books of the type hastily scrawled by globe trotters with the help of a second-hand guide, paste, scissors, and picture postcards. Whereas Paris and Berlin have had for years efficiently staffed schools of Oriental languages, London had to wait until the year 1917 to see such a school materialize, and even then it is a school insufficiently endowed, waiting for private support, when the State should bear the whole burden of its maintenance.

The Japanese who come to London are busy men, they are anxious to absorb as much of Western information as they can in a limited time, and they are not wont to advertise. They are reticent men as a rule, but little willing to discuss their country's history or affairs until they feel sure that they will not be pestered by assinine questions showing a total lack of previous interest or study on the part of the inquirer. It is only of recent years that a more constant flow of Japanese thought, expressed freely and clearly in English, has reached us in the *Japan Magazine*, the child, now seven years old, of His Excellency Seishin Hirayama, and a publication deserving of a far greater support than it gets in this country. Thus, when all is said, the average educated Englishman has only himself to blame if he does not know more about Japan from official publications dealing with the subjects on which he is specially interested, and if he finds the Japanese residents little inclined to help him it is because he has overlooked the first steps in acquiring some knowledge, however elementary. Japanese children and students know something of European history, of European literature, they learn

geography and European economics; but how many University graduates in this country have heard of Chikamatsu, and know whether Mino is a town, a straw coat, or a seed, or whether the price of antimony was affected by the Russo-Japanese War? There is a reply to these strictures: of the mass of books and articles written about Japan, barely one-tenth has any permanent value. Some writers get hold of a few facts, and serve them, often woefully distorted, in and out of season, for the "education" of some and the exasperation of others.

During 1916 a few books have reached us which purport to increase or to improve our knowledge of Japan. The most valuable are the less bulky; they are the official reports on the Reforms in Chosen, to which allusion has already been made in these pages, and the Reports on Finance and Education. We cannot here enter into a detailed survey of the last two, but we may commend to our readers the masterly précis of Korean education published by the Société Franco-Japonaise, in whose Bulletin appears yearly a summary of the financial report. The Japanese supplements of *The Times*, which were ably edited by the late Robert P. Porter, must also be mentioned. Mr. Porter was a friend of Japan, and he gave to the Japan Society a paper describing the remarkable changes which he noted in his visits to that country, spaced over twenty years; a paper followed a few weeks later by a popular survey of Japan's commercial resources, from the pen of the courteous and obliging Acting-Consul-General, Mr. K. Yamazaki.

Five books will for the present retain our attention: "Ghenko," the story of the attempted invasion of Japan, by Mr. Nakaba Yamada, B.A.*; "A Political History of Japan during the Meiji Era, 1867-1912," by W. W. McLaren, PH.D.†; "The National Spirit of Japan," by S. Honaga‡; "NOH, or Accomplishment," by Fenollosa and Pound§; and "The Geisha of Japan," by T. Fujimoto.¶

With such a range of subjects one would hope to find much that is of interest, something new, and, in two of the volumes at any rate, a guide to the better knowledge or understanding of Japan to which Viscount Chinda looks forward.

Mr. S. Honaga is a professor in the Tokyo Oriental College (Tōyō Daigaku), and his little book of a hundred odd pages is described as "a contribution to spiritual understanding between nations." It appears to consist chiefly of reprints of articles published in journals connected with Christian propaganda, and one is surprised to read that they have been revised when, on perusing the first three pages, the word "misunderstanding" catches the eye not less than *twenty* times, emphasized by a German quotation! In fact, scraps of German are thickly sprinkled in this pamphlet; the author, in his attempt at removing "misunderstandings," will get himself "misunderstood" if he cannot gauge the temper of decent people better. We are not interested in what "*Missions-inspektor Lic. Theol. J. Witte*" has to say about missionaries in "*Ostasien*

* Smith, Elder.

† Allen and Unwin.

‡ Arrowsmith, Bristol.

§ Macmillan.

¶ Werner Laurie.

und Europa," and we scarcely need sixteen lines of German song, however cheerful its nature, to prove that the Japanese loves "innocent and refreshing spontaneity of beauty." The greater part of a chapter is taken up by a disquisition upon the causes of the origins of the present war, and to explain why Japan acted in the spirit of her treaty of alliance with England; thereupon the writer quotes Bismarck, later Schiller, Goethe, and a few minor German writers. We confess that we cannot follow Mr. Honaga; his book is *profond dans le sens de creux*. He juggles with "intellectual understanding and spiritual understanding," and tells us that men are prevented from knowing Japan "indirectly by the world's misunderstanding up to the present time, and directly by the world's misunderstanding regarding the German-Japanese War," but fails to make his point clear; he shrewdly castigates curio-collectors, and asks us to study Japan, but soon drops again into obscure digressions. One would like to know what he means when he suggests that the foreigner should investigate the history of Japanese sciences, amongst them *phytology*. The writer is acquainted with many scientific books of old Japan, but "phytology" makes him "wet his eyebrows with saliva." Much is made of the "Bushido," a word which we fear was not in common use until Nitobe gave it world-wide currency, since when it has been one of the pegs on to which to hang much superficial, sentimental scribbling. Although the present writer has a note of a *pre-Meiji* book bearing that word as its title, he inclines to think that the title was inaccurately quoted, and much research by better scholars than himself has failed to trace the word in ancient books. Would it not be better to settle up the point and to make it clear that the so-called "Bushido" is merely the ethical code of living evolved from the principles of the Confucian philosophers and of the Zen teachers, not necessarily limited to the Bushi, except inasmuch as the educational system of the country before 1868 made the study of ethics almost impossible for the children of other classes than the privileged military caste.

There are valuable points in Mr. Honaga's book, but these do not shine on every page.

"Ghenko" is a very different book. Those who have read in Murdoch's monumental work the short report of the attempts made by the Mongols to bend Japan beneath their yoke will gladly avail themselves of this more extensive story, and they will be thankful to the author that he refrained from turning his work into an historical novel. Nevertheless, it is not a dry book, far from it, but a very readable production, illustrated with some maps and a number of pictures by a modern Japanese artist, whose name, we regret to find, is not mentioned in the book. Mr. Yamada's style is clear and picturesque, his information well marshalled, and he has thoughtfully given the possible inquirer a list of eighteen Japanese works for further reference. We regret, nevertheless, to see such names as "Kitabatake Chikafusa," "Tokugawa Mitsukuni," turned round in "high karar" fashion. A few misprints have also crept in: "Heishi," "Ghenji," "Showm" for "Shōma," "Sugawares Naganari."

From the days of Kublai Khan's thwarted invasion of Japan to 1868

is a far cry; internal wars followed by nearly three centuries of peace and of almost complete seclusion fill the gap. Mr. Yamada tells us how the freebooters from Southern Japan scoured the China seas, raided the Malay Peninsula and the northern coast of Java, the western fringes of Borneo and of the Philippines, before the days of Tokugawa Iyeyasu; then he turns to compare Kublai with Hojo Tokimune, the Mongol fleet with the Armada, etc., with much acumen and shrewd judgment. His work is a fair illustration of the painstaking methods of the modern Japanese student, not evolved, as some would, and have, suggested, from the contact of the German professors, for in the days when Arai Hakuseki wrote—nay, in the days when the *Kokinshū* was compiled—when the Germans were a nation of lansquenets ready to sell or hire themselves into any army for the sake of lust, pillage, and the congenial bestiality of the soldier's life in the Middle Ages—at that time, Japanese writers had adopted the ways of the Chinese *literati*; they dipped deep into the works of the past, and loved to quote and to compile. Much of that compiling habit remains; it can be traced in many modern books. In Mr. Yamada's work, however, there has been a thorough process of digestion, and the result can be commended as a pleasant book and a further proof of the ability of our Japanese friends to express themselves in an acquired language.

Dr. McLaren's work is a history of internal politics, with only three chapters on foreign policy. We doubt whether many people in Europe have taken the trouble to follow the maze of political changes, the chequered careers of Ministers and parliamentarians in Japan since a parliamentary régime was granted to the nation. Few are at home even with the names of the statesmen of various magnitudes who have struggled in the political arena, if one excepts men like the late Lord Redesdale, Professor Longford, Professor Gubbins, Mr. J. Carey Hall, and a handful of others who have met them in the flesh and read their speeches in the vernacular. At various times interest in Japan was aroused by her wars with China, with Russia, her annexation of Korea, by the antagonism of half-educated Western Americans, some of whom are probably hyphenated, objecting to meet their betters, and lately some folks wondered at her Government fulfilling the spirit as well as the letter of her engagements. Now and again the safety of Cochin China was thought to be in peril, and recently the Dutch have shown concern at the utterances of some hot-headed politicians who from Tokyo preached a gospel of immediate expansion at the expense of the Dutch Colonies in Java. A recent article on that subject advocating the Japanese annexation of the Dutch Asiatic Colonies, which appears in the *Japan Magazine*, seems to us a mistaken piece of jingoism; in the sixteenth century pirates from Japan went to Java and met with a fairly hot reception. There was no international law in the East in those days, but there is now, and we cannot believe that any responsible statesman will endorse the policy advocated by those disciples of Yoshida Shoin, who would see Japan master of Eastern Asia from the Yunnan ranges to the Arctic Sea, from Java to the middle of the Pacific, or by those who, postu-

lating that nature, when giving the black, the yellow, and the white races divers temperaments as well as pigmentation, intended that they should remain within climates and zones for which they are specially fitted, and would in consequence turn the white man out of Eastern Asia. These men need no advertisement here, hence their names may be ignored. They would make of Japan an Asiatic Prussia, and Japan, if we understand her aright, is not likely to do so, whatever the prominence of militarism and of bureaucracy in her midst. The recent utterances of Mr Motono, and the opposition which General Terauchi has met with, are an earnest of reasonable behaviour. Japan's policy in the East, as affirmed in recent times, is that of the open door, but with herself as the most favoured nation, and it is reasonable enough that a country whose whole history and civilization, whose culture, are linked with China should have a greater share in shaping the modern policy of her ancient neighbour than European nations or the U S A.

The foreign policy of Japan has, however, been, from 1852 up to now, the foremost cause of almost all the changes in Ministers and in internal politics. Hence the study of Dr McLaren's book will help the reader to follow both. The author, born in Canada in 1877, went to Japan in 1908, and was for some years lecturer on politics in the Keiojyiku University at Mita, Tokyo, the liberal and far-sighted institution originated by Fukuzawa Yukichi, whose graduates and native professors enjoy a high reputation for learning and good sense. One of them Professor Tanaka Sunshiro, is a well known writer on politics who has made a thorough study of European conditions, and it is well known that the *Jiji Shimpō* reflects the thoughts of writers trained at the Keiojyiku. Dr McLaren, then, had good opportunities to study Japanese politics and he improved the occasion by editing for the Asiatic Society of Japan a bulky compilation of Japanese official documents from 1867 to 1889, to which the present volume forms a welcome guide and commentary. The general tone of the book is, however, in many places that of an indictment of Japanese statesmen rather than a recital of their doings or a discussion of their aims. In the preface, Dr McLaren—who by the way is a Harvard graduate, and dates his preface from Williamstown, Mass.—states that the faults of the Japanese create alarm and distrust in their neighbours, and one wonders at times in reading his pages whether he has not set himself the task to prove that statement rather than to survey impartially the facts as he knows them. For instance, he says that the late Captain Brinkley became a supporter of the Japanese administration after his paper, the *Japan Weekly Mail*, was subsidized by the Japanese Government. Everyone knows that Brinkley's paper was supported, but it would not have been if Brinkley had not been a convinced Japanophil, and the *Japan Mail* has much declined in interest since his death. The author's disparaging remarks on pages 367-369 afford a characteristic example of unfortunate criticism, whilst his references to Prince Ito, and the suggestion that his murder was a political execution condoned and facilitated by the Government, leaves a nasty impression. From the same source of tittle-tattle must have been taken the accusation

of forgery found on page 312 Dr McLaren has accumulated as many rumours as historical facts, presumably for American consumption. He makes a strong point of the ready sale of votes at parliamentary elections, a thing not unheard of in his country of residence, where the Japanese studied parliamentary institutions before adopting them, and much as we disapprove of corruption we cannot expect voters, many of them ill-educated, reaching a state of political responsibility and imperviousness to bribery where voting is an institution of comparatively recent date.

This gives an inkling of the tendency of the whole book without comparing page after page with the files of newspapers, and—it is probably with the everlasting grumbling of the outspoken *Kobe Chronicle* that they would be found in closest agreement—one cannot discuss every statement made by the author. He follows a chronological method, and adduces more detail than is found in any of his predecessors, but he seems to make it a point to bring forward such a mass of material which, so say the least, is derogatory to Japan that this propensity discounts somewhat the undoubted value of the historical material—in fact, almost as much as the shortcomings of the index. Nevertheless, those who are really interested in Japanese politics will keep his book on their shelves, next to Brinkley's and to Longford's masterly contribution to the "Cambridge History," next to "Fifty Years of New Japan", for books luckily cannot fight, and comparison of facts and interpretations help one to form a clearer opinion when away from the events. If the end of the book is to be taken as the author's deliberate and considered opinion, our suggestion that he started with a settled case to make by hook or by crook will be proved. "Japan's predominance in Eastern Asia has become the foundation of the national policy. 'Nibbling at China' is no longer the propaganda of the military party alone, that policy has come to be universally accepted as leading directly to the realization of the nation's destiny Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, and finally the Middle Kingdom itself—that is the order of conquest in the minds of the Japanese, not only amongst the dreamers or the professional militarists, but among the rank and file of the people also. The policy is popular in the country, and opposition from without alone will stop the process. In the event of China's inability to defend herself, what Western Power will intervene to save her?" Thus ends the book, *in cauda venenum**. Dr McLaren wants to save China from her friends, the Western Power which he has in his mind is doubtless "America"—e, U S A.

Happily, not all Americans are Japanophobes, far from it, and amongst their leaders in the States are a fair number of level-headed men who for some years have tried to educate their fellow-citizens, to give them a truer insight into Japan's history and aims. Fenollosa was one of them, Professor Morse, Lindsay Russell, and the Japan Society of New York, with men of standing like W. E. Griffis, N. M. Butler, Judge Gary, Eliot,

* The more recent utterances of the Japanese Cabinet, however, have shown a more friendly tone than in the days of Count Okuma, and the feeling that Japan means to help China, not to hinder her, is well brought out in a paper read by Dr Yokoi Tokio before the Japan Society in May, 1917.

T. Roosevelt, H. Mansfield, Stan Jordan, Ide Wheeler, Elihu Root, W. J. Bryan, Charles Coffin, etc., as collaborators, have arranged tours and lectures, published leaflets, all of which tend to increase friendly feeling where the ground is not hopelessly intractable. Dr. McLaren says that the opposition of the Californian States to Japanese emigration will not be settled for years; he may know, and we fear he has done nothing to improve matters; we believe it all nonsense to say that the Californian attitude is due to "a feeling of distrust and fear of Japanese designs," even if only "in part"; the key to the situation is better stated in the sentence, "The United States regard the paramountcy of Japan in the Far East with some anxiety"; yet the United States occupied the Philippines, 6,000 miles' sail from California, and for what reason? Was it to have a pretext to interfere in the Far East? What would have happened if Japan and China had then viewed that move "with much anxiety"? Dr. McLaren should read pages 282-293 of "*America to Japan*" (Putnam, 1915).

One of the last books we have to deal with now bears the title, "NOH, or Accomplishment," a study of the classical stage of Japan, by Ernest Fenollosa and Ezra Pound. It bears on its cover the character Yō (Hikari), shining, glorious, bright, illuminating, and we wish the decoration had been appropriate. The work consists of essays, translations, and extracts from the private diary of the late Ernest Fenollosa, some of which have been published before in various periodicals, edited by Ezra Pound, and it is at times difficult to distinguish what is Fenollosa's and what is Pound's. The former spent many years in Japan, did much to make that country's art and spirit known to the Western world, especially in America. His collections have found resting-places in the States, and the manuscript of a large work on Japanese and Chinese art, poorly edited, after his death, was published some five years ago, the first edition being so unsatisfactory as to require revision, partly at the hands of Shinkichi Hara in Hamburg, who prepared the German edition. Fenollosa had at a time studied the "Nō Gaku," or "Nō," drama, as we shall henceforth call it, from a professional Nō actor, and he had attained some proficiency in the art. It is a pity that the whole of his notes was not published, as it stands, rather than mere portions of it, indifferently "edited" by Mr. Pound, whose ignorance of the subject is freely confessed in the prefatory note; and we would suggest that if he intends to publish the original notes, as he seems to indicate—notes which he says would be of use to scholars only—he should leave them as Fenollosa wrote them, unless they be too chaotic and fragmentary, in which case he might perhaps enlist the help of someone more conversant with the subject. Those parts which in the present book are unmistakably Fenollosa's are clear enough for us, but they are marred here and there by interpolations and queries which one cannot help ascribing to one unacquainted with Japanese affairs—e.g., the query on page 87, "like Sumo" (whatever that may mean), can only be ascribed to one who has no notion of Japanese wrestling—Sumo, and has not seen any pictures of the Sumo and the Nō stages.

The title of the book is unfortunate, everybody writes "Nō," not "NOH" and in some pages the original "Nō" appears cheek by jowl with "NOH"—e.g., page 13, and more ludicrously still on page 15, par 2. In fact the spelling here and there shows queer peculiarities, to add to Japanese plural cases is a common fad, but to write "Bunka," "Kanze," "Kokoro" Fugiwara Shunmei," "Koyosan," "Miwotsukushi," "Hikawhimi," "Kōntan," "Bishop Homer Shonin" (for "Honen Shonin") "Kosckko" for "Kosekiko," "tansos" (tansu), "nagmochi" (nagamochi), which are not all misprints, betokens the need of a further help than that acknowledged in the preface. Again, why do we have the German vocalization "Sch'tay" on page 25 for the word *Shite*? Mr Pound says that he is in a position, after reading all Fenollosa's notes, to say definitely that Fenollosa knew more of the subject than anyone who has yet written in English, a very sweeping statement on the part of a writer whose personal acquaintance with Japanese literature appears to be scanty. Mr Pound has doubtless read what Osman Edwards and later Dr. Marie Stopes have written for popular consumption, or what appears in Aston and Brinkley's books, or in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," but has he read the exhaustive work of Noel Peri—in French? We doubt it, for if he had he must have felt it desirable to give more of Fenollosa's notes, and thereby to prove his statement. Had he understood the rôle of the *Shite* he would not have printed the query (of the stage? of the play?) on page 56. Had he used a Japanese dictionary, he would not have described "*Sotoba*" as a shrine, it is a grave post, and "*Sotoba Komachi*" means Komachi on the grave post, nor made of "*Kasa*" a coat when it is a hat. And whilst referring to this particular No, let us take page 21. We have before us the Japanese text, the whole of Scene II nearly thirty lines, is here translated by Fenollosa Pound in six short blank verses! Scene III begins "No! No! Here behold a beggar! Ara! What appalling decay! But what, is she not seated on a grave post? I will instruct her to depart!" Here you beggar, art thou not seated upon a *sotoba*, the very body of the Buddha to whom all respect is due? Hurry, depart from this place and rest elsewhere!"

But Fenollosa has used another text which begins "No! let us hurry, for the sun is waning, let us wend our way! Ya! it is truly upon a *sotoba* that this beggar is seated", then continues from ¶ onwards as above. But where is all this on page 21? There is a reference to paint in the English verse, but in Ono's reply there is no word about paint. "*Kore hado moji mo mizu, Kizameru katachi mo nashi*" (Upon this there is no letter to be seen, nor trace of a carved image), etc.

In "*Kayoi Komachi*," page 28, "*tachibana*" is the Japanese for orange, the word does not recur in the text.

Enough has been said to show that the translations do not hug the text. If they give an idea of their meaning they are indeed adaptations, and as such may commend themselves to the general reader, not to the earnest student, who has no patience with poetical licences such as transferring or doubling a line in somebody else's translation. Being a

poet, Mr. Pound, like Dr. Marie Stopes, has sought to write English verse without respect for the originals. Mr. Pound says that no Japanese could explain him "Aoi no Uye" nor "Kakitsubata." The first play is dealt with in three pages of *Nogaku daijiten*, which devotes about the same space to the second play; see also "*Utai Kimmo Zue*, 1717 (*Yokioku Gwaishi*)," x. 2, and if he needs the actual texts, the "*Yokyoku Tsukai*" (or the "*Yokyoku Koshaku*") will supply them. Thus far we have not discussed the "facts" in the book nor the opinions of the late author; it is useless to criticize or discuss the opinions of a man whose death all deplored, and who, had he been alive, would surely have corrected many details in the present book—e.g., the medley of dates on page 252, the use of "Isshin" as a man's name instead of "go-isschin" (restoration), p. 256; that of "Akechi" as a battle instead of a man's name on page 8; of *Light goddess* for Sun goddess—literally "Heaven-shining Divinity," etc.—or enlarged sections which are here merely jotted down. The number of masks is not 300. Some books give only sixty, and the various series in our possession (including the lordly *No Gaku Mandai Kan*) do not exceed one hundred types; on that subject there is information to be had in English too.

To conclude, the book is of interest, it is a readable work prepared under difficulties, but we wish it had been all Fenollosa, however fragmentary.

Mr. Fujimoto's book is a companion volume to the "Nightside of Japan," reviewed in our columns last year. It contains much that will doubtless be new to the average European reader, and it is evident that the author has studied the older literature bearing upon his subject. The Geisha is not, as some globe-trotters have now and then lightly asserted, a young woman of easy virtue: she is a professional entertainer who waits on guests with music, song, and dance, as well as with the wine of the country. Her education is specialized as well as exacting; her calling goes back to a date far away in the Kamakura period, in the twelfth century, perhaps even further back, although the Geisha properly so-called came into existence as a regular professional entertainer *circa* 1762. Whereas the earlier dancing-girls, Shirabyoshi, performed only in Courts and palaces, their later representatives found their occupation chiefly in the tea-houses and restaurants connected with the prostitute quarters usually called "Yoshiwara" in Europe, from the name of one of them. Some alterations took place about the time of the imperial restoration in 1868.

The author is partial to a quaint English, which has now and again distressing drawbacks. Page 40 offers s.v. mirror, a startling example of it; he has given a number of autobiographical sketches of considerable interest, presumably written by Geisha. In some cases one would have been gratified to find references to his sources of information, manuscript or printed. He gives a few pages on the double suicide craze which has been an unfortunate phenomenon peculiar to Japan, and he deals at some length with the Geisha in various towns. This book will prove most acceptable, particularly to those who have studied the work of

De Becker on the other phase of woman life in Japan with which the Geisha is so often associated.

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Since the above lines were written in January, 1917, Dr. Y. Haga, professor of Japanese literature in Tokyo University, has read before the Japan Society a paper on "The Spirit of Japan as shown in the Literature of the Country," in which he takes much the same point of view as the present writer anent the nature of Bushido. Loyalty has been the keynote of all Japanese traditions—loyalty to the Emperor, then to his representatives, but above all to the throne, witness the absence of criticism of the Tenshi when all others—Ministers, priests, Shōgun, and the gods themselves—were criticized in literature.

There have been, further, two notable papers read before the same Society, one by Dr. Yokoi, late President of the Dōshisha University, dealing with the similarities and dissimilarities of Japan and China, the other by Mr. J. Carey Hall, C.M.G., being two books of the *Shoku Nihongi* (supplement of the Japanese Chronicle, *Nihongi*, translated by the late Dr. W. G. Aston). The Japan Society, in the limited scope afforded by seven or eight monthly meetings, attempts year after year to increase that knowledge of Japan which Viscount Chinda finds insufficiently conspicuous here, and in that attempt much of the success has been due of recent years to the enthusiastic help of the Japanese Hon. Secretary, Mr. S. Sawada.

FAR EAST

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGION IN CHINA. By W. J. Clennell, H.M. Consular Service. (*T. Fisher Unwin.*)

(*Reviewed by* PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER)

There has been a decided boom in works on Chinese religion within the past few years, and even the Chinese themselves have been given furiously to think since the revolution of 1911-12 whether it would pay them best to stick to Confucius or to put on some modified form of Christianity, in order to keep in moral countenance the hillycocks and slop suits with which they have somewhat hastily adorned their physical bodies. Perhaps they could the more easily arrive at what the precious Wilhelm calls a "decision" if the rival Christian sects at work in China could recognize each other as brethren, and if "nationality" questions in Europe had not so affected the Christian mind there as to bring Lutherans and the Caliph into unholy alliance against the Greek Church, the Church of England, the Methodists of America, and even to a certain extent the Pope of Rome: the last manifestly does not *like* Dr. Fell, though his secular commitments with Bavaria, His Most Apostolic Majesty, and His Most Catholic Majesty, not to mention the Saxon ruling house, compel him to *ménager* his indignation as an Italian gentleman and a man, and to refrain from setting forth the reason why he cannot *tell* us all so paternally and officially. In a word, Christianity cannot at present puff itself up to the Chinese eclectic mind.

Mr. Clennell's book was written before the war broke out, and most

people will find it interesting and agreeable reading. If it be any satisfaction to the author to know it, the present writer is prepared to express himself, so far as his knowledge goes, in general accord with the first two chapters on "General Characteristics" and "Ancient Confucianism." The author, however (p. 17), seems to confuse Felix, who only "trembled" at Paul's close argumentation, with King Herod Agrippa II, who was, being like Paul, a Jew, the real individual "almost persuaded to become a Christian." At that time the Romans, whose *religio* was simply a sort of tit for tat "understanding" with the gods of nature (not unlike the vulgar form of Chinese nature worship before the comparatively noble conception of *tao*, or Universism was thought out), had not yet conceived the idea of an objective sectarianism or "Church" which they could take on or throw off at will, and Caesar himself frequently writes of the *religiones*, or superstitions, of the Druids, as being, like the Roman, a mere phase of the general national ethics, in all three cases "good form" being not a question of choice, but an inseparable part of general State policy.

The third chapter on "Taoism" is not quite so happily visualized or expressed. The debased Taoism which adopted alchemy and other hocus potius in and subsequent to 150 B.C., became a rival of, and in some respects an imitator of, Buddhism 200 years later, and it has ever since been a degraded though harmless popular mummery under the mountain "Popes" of Kiang Si province, having assimilated many of the old *religiones*. It has really nothing whatever to do with the noble if vague philosophy of *tao* or "the road (of nature)" as first handed down by official or "priestly" tradition, then *utilized* by that practical statesman Kwan tsz in the seventh century B.C., and finally developed by Lao tsz (democratically) and Confucius (ceremonially and conservatively) in the sixth century B.C.

The fourth chapter treats of the general effect of Buddhism, which had doubtless worked some subtle effect by word of mouth upon the Persians, Jews, and Chinese (through the restless Tartar horsemen incessantly galloping to and fro between the Volga and Corea) long before the Chinese Court first officially heard of it and "summoned" it to China in the first century A.D.—*not* from India, but from Afghanistan. In the remaining chapters, V to XI, Mr. Clennell "lets himself go" a little upon general political subjects—so far as a consular officer may safely indulge himself in this direction without running foul of the beaks. The nominal sequence of chapters runs as follows: The Mingling and Decay of Faith, The Confucian Renaissance, The Stagnation and Failure of Confucian Society—The Mongol Conquest—Contact of East and West, Nationalist Reaction—Lamaism, China and the Church of Rome, The Nineteenth Century—The Contact of China and Modern Ideals, The Modern Transformation. All these are eminently readable to the great unwashed, who have only a "general" or scratch knowledge of the Chinese mind and its development, moreover, they reveal Mr. Clennell (whom the writer has never had the honour of meeting) as a "straight" and sympathetic individual, anxious to be fair and to do justice all

round—as, indeed, most British consular officials usually are, or try to be. Of recent books on Chinese religion, the most intelligible is perhaps that of the Rev Mr Soothill. Mr De Groot (thus is speaking only of his concentrated lecture volume, his *magnum opus* has not yet fallen into the writer's clutches) is rather "too Dutch" and too hazy. Anyway, Mr Clennell, Mr Soothill, and Dr De Groot all harp upon the same string, and the writer himself proposes very soon to resume his rôle as a minor Coryphæus.

E. H. PARKER

RECENT BOOKS ON RUSSIA.

RUSSIAN COURT MEMOIRS, 1914-1916. By "A Russian" (*Jenkins*.) Price 12s 6d net. THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. By Mr. Stinton Jones. (*Jenkins*.) Price 5s net. RUSSIA AS I SAW IT. By Harry de Windt (*Chapman and Hall*.) Price 10s. 6d. net.

Mr Herbert Jenkins is to be congratulated on his recent choice of books on Russia. He has followed up Madame Olga Novikoff's epoch-making work, "Russian Memories," by two volumes that are as authoritative as they are timely. The first "Russian Court Memoirs" is a valuable exposé of the dark forces that unfortunately surrounded the Russian throne and contributed so much to its downfall. Soukholminoff, Count Fredericks, Sturmer, and many others, are herein described, and the whole gives a vivid picture of a Russia which has gone for all time. There is also an important contribution to the problem of the Baltic Provinces. It is well to remember, however, that the true centre of Russia is not Petrograd but Moscow. The appearance of this volume on the market at the outbreak of the Revolution constitutes a veritable "coup."

The same may be said of Mr. Stinton Jones on the "Russian Revolution," in which the author vividly describes his experiences during those epoch-making days. In a few well-chosen chapters, furnished with photographs, he describes the conditions under the old régime, the outburst of the storm, and the hopes for the future.

The famous traveller, Mr. Harry de Windt, has done much in the past to enlighten this country about Russia, and has thereby contributed to the present Anglo-Russian friendship. In the present volume he has much that is interesting to tell about the Russian Army, Moscow, Petrograd, Finland, German intrigues, etc. In reading this book we feel that we have before us the reflections of one who knows and who loves Russia. A greater knowledge of Russia and her peoples is the best means of insuring that bond of sympathy which we all hope to see perpetuated.

I. M.

RUSSIAN GRAMMAR

ELEMENTARY RUSSIAN READER. Edited, with accents, etc., by Michael V. Trofimov, Lecturer in Russian, King's College. (*Constable's Russian Readers*) 2s.

In the preface to this original little work, Mr. Trofimov says that his aim is to deliver the student from "the tyranny of conventional lifeless

phrases which constitute the worst feature of simplified popular grammars." At the beginning, however, a certain amount of dreary grinding is unavoidable, and conventional rather than idiomatic sentences form the earliest material for study. We are of opinion, after some lengthy experience, that the alert, well-equipped King's College Lecturer has provided a reader which will draw students on through the attractive and varied selection. Besides proverbs, of which one is "Where one old woman is, there is a market, where there are two a bazaar," he furnishes some of the popular riddles which in many cases are centuries old—e.g., "It is born in water and fears water: salt;" "Handless and footless, but crawls on the mountain: the wind." For poetical and prose extracts Mr. Trofimov has drawn upon L. N. Tolstoy, Tshekhov, S. T. Aksakov, Prof. Klutshevsky, Korolenko, Pushkin, Nekrassov, Maikov, and others. The ample vocabulary furnishes explanations of other verbal forms besides the infinitive, which will often help the student who cannot arrive at the meaning of an irregular form which he is still unable to relate with the infinitive stem. This little work deserves all success.

F. P. M.

ORIENTALIA

A HISTORY OF MEDÆVAL JEWISH PHILOSOPHY. By Isaac Husik. (New York: *The Macmillan Company*.) 1916. 12s. 6d.

The history of the influence of Greek philosophic thought through successive ages must always be of interest to the student of philosophy. So far as the Christian world is concerned, this influence has been traced out in innumerable separate studies and general histories by competent scholars; in the field of Muhammadan philosophy, though the workers have been fewer in number, the investigations pursued by Renan, Deterici, Carra de Vaux, De Boer, Worms, and Horten have borne fruitful results. But, strangely enough, this aspect of Jewish philosophy has been singularly neglected, and Professor Husik's book is the first comprehensive work that has appeared on the subject, and merits approbation not only for this reason, but as a fine piece of scholarship, combining at once profound erudition and lucidity of exposition. His historical survey begins with Isaac Israeli, who was Court physician to the Fatimid Caliph, al-Manṣūr (*ob.* 953); he then goes on to trace the rationalistic movement in Jewish philosophy from its beginnings in the ninth and tenth centuries in Mesopotamia with Al-Mukammas and Saadia. By the eleventh century Spain had become the intellectual centre of the Jewish world, and with Solomon ibn Gabirol (*ob.* 1058) begins the long series of Spanish philosophers, leading up to Moses Maimonides (*ob.* 1204) and his commentators in different countries. After Maimonides there are but few outstanding figures in Jewish philosophy, such as Levi ben Gerson (*ob.* 1344), Aaron ben Elijah (*ob.* 1369), and Crescas (*ob.* 1410); and when the dawn of the Renaissance appeared in the fifteenth century, Jewish philosophy failed to shake itself free from the trammels of scholasticism, and the rationalistic movement, that had attempted to reconcile religion and philosophy, came to an end.

The beginnings of this rationalistic school of Jewish thought are closely connected with a similar intellectual movement in the Muslim world—that scholastic philosophy known as Kalam, which the exponents of it, the Mutakallim, worked out in order to provide a rational basis for religious dogma. As against the followers of Greek philosophy, they denied the eternity of matter, and sought to establish a metaphysical doctrine of substance and accident in order to demonstrate the creation of the world, and on this theory of creation they based the existence of God, the reality of miracles, and God's direct concern with the affairs of the world. The philosophical development of Jewish thinkers proceeded on lines corresponding to their successive acquisition of Greek philosophical literature, for their knowledge of this, they were dependent on translations into Arabic, and the first treatise to be so translated was made up of extracts from the "Enneads" of Plotinus, though it became known to the Arabic-reading world by the strangely misleading title of the "Theology of Aristotle." The first influences from Greek philosophy were thus Neo-Platonic, and they made themselves apparent in the writings of the Jewish philosophers—notably Solomon ibn Gabirol—according as they became dissatisfied with the formal methods of the Mutakallim. But just as in the Muhammadan world Alfarabi, Avicenna, and Averroes made the teaching of Aristotle predominant in Arabic philosophy, so through these Jewish writings Aristotelianism became incorporated with Jewish philosophy, first as expounded by Ibn Daud (ob. 1180) and in a more impressive manner by his greater contemporary, Moses Maimonides, who gave the death blow to the influence of Kalam in Jewish literature and made the teaching of Aristotle prevail in Jewish philosophical thought.

These successive stages in the growth of Jewish philosophy are clearly brought out by Professor Husik, though in dealing with his subject-matter he adopts the biographical method, devoting a separate chapter (in most instances) to each philosopher, with an account of his life and times and a detailed exposition of his teachings.

In reviewing a work so comprehensive, it is not possible to draw attention to all the many points of interest that arrest attention, but it will probably be new to most students of philosophy—to those at least who do not happen to have read Maimonides—to learn how profound was the influence upon the earlier Jewish philosophers of the speculations and the dialectic method of the Mu'tazila. This school of Muslim theologians and philosophers has attracted the attention of several eminent scholars who have concerned themselves with Muhammadan literature, but as nearly all the philosophical writings of the Mu'tazila have perished, we have to depend for our knowledge of their opinions upon authors who were hostile to them or quote them only to refute. The sympathetic exposition of their doctrines, therefore, by a Jewish writer is a valuable supplement to the Arabic sources for the teaching of this enlightened and liberal school of Muhammadan thought. The Karaites especially appear to have come under their influence, and as they were the first among the Jews to imitate the Mu'tazila in the endeavour to give a rationalistic

exposition of religious doctrine, they adopted not only their opinions, but also their method, so that, as Professor Husik says, it is sometimes impossible to tell from the contents of a Karaite Mu'tazilite work whether it was written by a Jew or a Muhammadan.

It will thus be seen that this volume is of interest to others beside those immediately interested in Jewish philosophy, and it merits the attention of all serious students of mediæval thought as a work of sound erudition, based on a thorough knowledge of the literature of the subject and a due appreciation of contemporary currents of thought.

T. W. A.

JĀTAKA TALES, selected and edited, with Introduction and notes, by H. T. Francis and E. J. Thomas. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 1916. 7s. 6d.

The Birth Stories of the Buddha belong to that small group of writings which have a claim to be termed world-literature. Apart from the attractiveness which the central figure of the hero of each one of them, the Bodhisatta (the future Buddha), possesses, there is the universal appeal which stories of animals, discoursing and acting as if they were human beings, have for readers of all times and countries. These stories form part of one of the three great divisions of the Pali Buddhist Scriptures, and generally refer to some incident in the life of the historic Buddha, who, in connection therewith, relates the story of an event that has occurred in one of his previous existences, and explains the present incident as a repetition of the former one or as closely resembling it; he then sets forth the moral lesson to be drawn from it, reproving sin and lauding virtue. The subject-matter of most of the stories is undoubtedly pre-Buddhistic in origin, and many ancient tales have been woven into the "Jātaka Tales" and have received a Buddhist colouring in the process, but form part of the great body of folklore which has wandered East and West, from one end of the world to the other.

It is to the credit of English scholarship that the first complete translation of the "Jātaka Tales" in any European language appeared in English. The project was first suggested in 1888 by Dr. W. H. D. Rouse to the late Professor Cowell, and the task was taken in hand by a group of five Pali scholars, who divided the work between them, and published the whole collection in six successive volumes between 1895 and 1907. It is from this monumental work that the present volume of selections has been compiled, and the editor-in-chief, Mr. H. T. Francis, is one of the original band of translators, and only living survivor of the older group among them.

This publication should serve to make known to a wider public than Pali scholars or students of Buddhism this very attractive collection of early folk-tales. The editors have apparently thought that the contents would primarily be of interest to the folklorist, and have added a number of learned notes pointing out variants of each story in other literatures of the world; but, valuable and interesting as many of these notes are,

the book makes an appeal to a much larger circle of readers, and its moderate price and attractive get up should recommend it as a suitable gift book for older children and others

LE LIVRE DE LA CREATION ET DE L'HISTOIRE DE MUTAHHAR BEN TAHIR
AL-MAQDISI, publié et traduit par M. Cl. Huart Tome V (Paris
Leroux) 1916 20 fr

Professor Huart is to be congratulated that in these difficult times, so unpropitious for the production of scholarly work, he has been able to bring out another volume of his fine edition of the Arabic text of "Kitāb al Bad' wa l Ta'rīkh" (The Book of the Creation and of History). This work, of which Chapters XVII to XX are published in the present volume, is from the pen of a certain Mutahhar b. Tāhir al Maqdisi, of whom nothing appears to be known except that he lived about the middle of the fourth century of the Muhammadan era and wrote another book (otherwise unknown) to which he occasionally refers, entitled "Kitāb Ma'āni al Qur'ān". But the scope of this work reveals something of the intellectual outlook of the author and the wide range of his interests. Beginning with an exposition of the nature and extent of knowledge he gives proofs for the existence of God, and explains the Divine names and attributes. Then follows an exposition of God's revelation of Himself to men through the teaching of the prophets and an explanation of the prophetic function. In accordance with the first half of the title of his book, he describes the creation of the world and expounds the Muhammadan cosmology and eschatology. The historical portion of the book comprises the lives of the prophets, in which of course more space is given to Muhammad than to others, brief biographies of his companions, and an account of the various Muhammadan sects, together with a sketch of the history of the Kings of Arabia and Persia up to the rise of Islam. The present volume closes with a survey of the history of the caliphate up to the abdication of Hasan the son of 'Alī. In all this there is of course much that is familiar to the student of Islam and Muhammadan history from other sources, and Mutahhar's book is in large measure a compilation. But incidentally, he throws new light on many points of biography, literary history, and religious thought. His standpoint is on the whole that of Muhammadan orthodoxy, and he defends the accounts of the miracles of the Prophet against the doubts of hostile critics and against those who would offer allegorical explanations of them. But he goes for his information outside the ordinary range of the theologian, and shows that he had studied the doctrines of heretical sects such as the Manichæans and Zoroastrians, the followers of Mazdak and Bābak, and the pagans of Harrān. He is one of the few Arabic authors who give evidence of having studied the Old Testament, and in the present volume he quotes from it in the original Hebrew.

The book is printed in the fine bold Arabic type that makes the publications of the *École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* so attractive to read, and the French translation which accompanies the Arabic text is not only

helpful to the young student, but makes the work accessible to the larger circle of readers interested in Muslim thought and history

T W ARNOLD

GENERAL LITERATURE

ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE By Edmund Gosse (*Macmillan and Co*) Price 10s 6d

Many reviewers of Mr Gosse's life of Swinburne have taken the opportunity of reflecting upon their changed attitude, due to the decay of youthful enthusiasm, towards the Victorian poet of revolt. His poetry is no longer anything to them but an echo of the rapture with which they first greeted "Poems and Ballads" and "Songs before Sunrise." They look back with amused tolerance to themselves amid a throng of Oxford or Cambridge undergraduates chanting the hymn of Dolores, intoxicated by its music. Their affection for Swinburne has no longer any reality in it, they see his lilies and languors, his roses and raptures, as old pantomime properties, faded, tarnished tinsel. But it seems to me that this very attitude implies a debt to Swinburne which we should be proud of owning: there are affections for people, living and dead, which are almost a fear, which remain alive because of that fear, of what we should have done without them. The Victorian age could not have done without Swinburne any more than its forerunner could have done without Shelley; without "Poems and Ballads" the "Idylls of the King" might be reigning supreme upon our drawing-room tables now. Those who look back and laugh apologetically at the past's enthusiasms are too apt to forget what share those enthusiasms have had in making the present, what share, too, such forgetfulness may have in making the future. There is no need to tilt at mid-Victorian proprieties now, they are so far expelled from our modern manners that any lingering remnants of them have an antiquarian charm like the furniture of their period and "Cranford", but such are the temptations of antiquarianism, and such is mankind's propensity for following fashion's lead in matters of mental as well as of material furniture, that we do well to keep in touch with the poetry of one who knew the agony of horsehair sofas. But this aspect of Swinburne, largely as it was responsible for his reputation, is not the one that we are most concerned with. Swinburne's peculiarity is his intrinsic detachment from the conflicts he championed, and that his verses gave such battle songs to. Mr Gosse is inclined to belittle the poet's sincerity because his republicanism was so confined to his verses. But this way of looking at Swinburne ignores his most characteristic feature. He was essentially a dreamer, living in the imagination. There is no truer picture of him than the one which he gives in *sestina*

"I saw my soul at rest upon a day,
As a bird sleeping in the nest of night.
Among soft leaves that give the starlight way
To touch its wings, but not its eyes, with light,
So that it knew as one in visions may
And knew not, as men waking, of delight

"This was the measure of my soul's delight
 It had no power of joy to fly by day,
 No part in the large lordship of the night.
 But in a secret, moon beholden way
 Had all its will of dreams and pleasant night
 And all the love and life that sleepers may "

The whole of Swinburne's life which Mr Gosse relates, with rather tantalizing discretion, bears out the thought that he

"Sought no strength or knowledge of the day,
 Nor closer touch conclusive of delight."

To have been told more, or at least in less general terms, about "Algernons characteristic manner," and the habits from which Mr. Watts-Dunton rescued him, would have intensified the picture of his extraordinary capacity for recovering from any form of emotional excitement so rapidly that it seemed as if nothing had touched him. His poetry shows the same aloofness from the burden and heat of the day, and it is this aloofness which is the cause of both the strength and the weakness of his verse. It made for flights of the most splendid exaltation, but it made, too, for a slightness of thought, amounting sometimes to no more than the weight of rhetoric. Swinburne's song was too often like that of the lark, whose rapture is not probably expressive of the pleasure of escaping from the ground, but because height is his native element.

I C W

VISITS TO MONASTERIES IN THE LEVANT By the Hon Robert Curzon
 (Humphrey Milford) Price 2s 6d

Books like Curzon's "Visits to Monasteries" and Layard's "Nineveh" seem, like wine, to gain flavour with age. Grateful as they were to their first mid-Victorian readers on account of their literary qualities as well as of their subject matter, they have for the twentieth century a spice for the recognition of which we look in vain through the pages of reviews which greeted their publication in 1849. In the *Quarterly*, for instance, of that date (a volume which entertained unawares alongside these two books and "Vanity Fair," "Jane Eyre, an Autobiography, edited by Currer Bell," condemning the latter for committing "the highest moral offence a novel-writer can commit—that of making an unworthy character interesting in the eyes of the reader"), the long summary of the "Visits" devotes all its appreciation, outside its complacent interest in Curzon's singular bibliographical adventures, to the "greatest and rarest merit of the book," its "total absence of conceits and affectations." The author's "artless, unchecked juvenility of spirit," his "hearty enjoyment and fearless zest for the varieties of sport and fun in his travels"—these are the qualities which so delighted the old *Quarterly* reviewer, unaccustomed to have erudition retailed in such "pure, unaffected English." He rubs his hands with glee over this young gentleman of rank—heir indeed to a peerage—who has eschewed the French tinge characteristic of the time, and is to be found, despite his knowledge of the foreigner, among the elect "who

feel it their peculiar duty to guard uncontaminated the proud inheritance of the native speech." Dear old Victorian respectability! What fun it is to look back at you and to make faces at you over all these years, like the fat lady "whom nobody loves" in Mrs Cornford's poem, walking through the fields in gloves, "missing so much and so much"! How shocked you would be to find that governesses nowadays often transgress that "invisible but rigid line" which in Jane Eyre's day Providence placed between them and their employers, and that we no longer measure the artistic value of a novel by the worthiness of its interesting characters! If the *Quarterly* reviewer had been able to see an inch farther than the dictionary of unpolluted diction he might have discovered that the greatest and rarest merit of Curzon's "Visits" lay, not in the total absence of literary affectations—a sure proof to 1849 that he mixed in the very best English society—but in the presence of what nowadays is so rarely found in books of travel that when we do find it it seems almost an affectation—the romantic aspect of travel. The original woodcuts which we are delighted to see reproduced in this reprint of the "Visits" show the very tiptops of romantic pleasure—those Levantine monasteries perched like birds' nests on crags as high as we ever imagine the Matterhorn to be, sometimes on isolated pillars of rock rising sheer from passes—to be reached only by pulleys and ladders up the face of precipices. They were situated like that, they are still situated like that, thanks be to the fears and foresight of their patriarchal builders, they may be able to contemplate even Armageddon with equanimity. But, owing to the discoveries of Curzon and other curious travellers, which have awakened Greek interest to the existence of their own national treasures, it is almost certain now that no independent traveller will ever again scale those pinnacled fastnesses of Athos and Meteora with the same glowing hope of recovering lost classics that pulsed through Curzon's adventures. It is the same with regard to the Nitrian convents, those world-famous places of pious resort in the North Libyan desert, that Curzon explored with so much assiduity, and from which he brought so many valuable manuscripts to enrich the library of the British Museum. He has often been abused for robbing the Nitrian monks, but, as Mr. Hogarth reminds us in his preface to the "Visits," the word "robbery" can hardly be applied to the rescue of manuscripts from being torn up to cover preserve pots or from rotting in fragments piled knee-deep on the floor of an oil-cellar. The ever-darkening ignorance of the monks, both in the Coptic and all the regions which Curzon visited, have for centuries resulted in neglect in the one department where care would have been important, and the "Visits" are full of pictures of this universal ignorance and waste. The following story is a good illustration of the present state of the literary attainments of Oriental monks.

"A Russian, or I do not know whether he was a French traveller, in the pursuit, as I was, of ancient literary treasures, found himself in a great monastery in Bulgaria. . . . His dismay and disappointment may be imagined when he was assured by the *agoumenos*, or superior of the monastery, that it contained no library whatever. . . . The poor man had

bumped upon a pack-saddle over villainous roads for many days for no other object, and the library of which he was in search had vanished as the visions of a dream. The *agoumenos* begged his guest to enter with the monks into the choir, where the almost continual church service was going on, and there he saw the double row of long-bearded holy Fathers shouting away at the chorus of 'Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison,' which occurs almost every minute in the ritual of the Greek Church. Each of the monks was standing, to save his bare legs from the damp of the marble floor, upon a great folio volume which had been removed from the conventual library and applied to purposes of practical utility in the way which I have described. The traveller, on examining these ponderous tomes, found them to be of the greatest value; one was in uncial letters, and others were full of illuminations of the earliest date. All these he was allowed to carry away in exchange for some footstools or hassocks which he presented in their stead to the old monks; they were comfortably covered with ketché, or felt, and were in many respects more convenient than the manuscripts had been, for many of their antique bindings were ornamented with bosses and nailheads which inconvenienced the toes of the unsophisticated congregation, who stood upon them without shoes for so many hours in the day. I must add that the lower halves of the manuscripts were imperfect, from the damp of the floor of the church having corroded and eaten away their vellum leaves."

I. C. W.

FICTION

MISS HAROUN-AL-RASHID, a romance from Asia Minor. By Jessie Douglas Kerruish. (This novel gained the first prize in Hodder and Stoughton's 1,000 Guineas Prize Novel Competition.) Price 5s. net.

When I was given this book to review, owing perhaps to my being acquainted with life in Turkey, especially in Asia Minor, I naturally opened it with great expectations, because of the success it had achieved; and I must at once confess that these expectations were not disappointed. I may even say that I read through this interesting story at one stretch, only giving way to forcible interruptions, so much was I captivated with it. If I had felt, before opening the book, that I might be able to challenge the author with regard to her descriptions of Eastern life, I soon was convinced, in reading the first chapters, that I had found my master, and that the author, who appears as the heroine of her thrilling tale, is thoroughly versed in her subject.

Her name is Rathia, but for her bravery and courage she was christened Miss Haroun-al-Rashid by Mr. Wilburn, an American archæologist, and colleague of her father, Sir Horne Jerningham, a famous excavator in Asia Minor, who followed in the footsteps of Sir Austen Layard, Sir Henry Rawlinson, and Hormuzd Rassam. Rathia, who was an Asiatic on the distaff side, her mother, the first wife of Sir Horne, being an Abasside Princess, proves to be of very great use to her father in his dealings with the natives. The difference between her and her sister Evelyn—the would-be second heroine—daughter of an English mother, is very well accentuated. The situation reaches its climax when on one of her venturous expeditions, disguised in the garb of a Moslem woman, Rathia finds her-

self cut off from her party in a snowstorm, and reaches and enters one of the most fanatical towns of the land. When on her way to Halet Bey, the Mutessariff of the place, where she intends inquiring after her father, Sir Horne, she suddenly finds herself entangled in a rabble pursuing an Armenian boy for having stolen a loaf of bread from a Mahomedan baker. This poor boy, with wonderful intuition in his anguish, throws himself at the feet of Rathia. She shields him with her mantle and veil and throws a shilling to the baker, representing double the amount of the cost of the stolen bread. But this did not satisfy neither the baker nor the mob. They continued their persecution. Indeed, she would have been lost had it not been for a door suddenly opening at her back, and our heroine being seized by a powerful arm and hurried up some stairs into a Christian house, closely followed by her protégé, the Armenian boy. It was Mr. Wilburn, the American archæologist, who had rescued her. But the incident did not end there; it culminated in the uproar made by the crowd because a Moslem woman had found refuge in the house of a Feringhi. The situation became so serious that in order to save herself and her rescuer, Rathia had to proclaim from the top of the house, to the shrieking crowd below, that she was not a Moslemak, but a Feringhi woman, and that consequently there was no harm in her being where she was. "We do not believe thee," was the retort; "you are the daughter of a long line of liars." In order to prove her case she was now asked by the vociferating men in the street to unveil. At this juncture Kathia again raised her voice from the housetop, where she could not be assailed, asserting boldly, and in perfect Turkish, that she was called Miss Jerningham, daughter of one Sir Horne Jerningham, and subject of one the Sultana Victoria of England. Saying this, she flung back her cloak and veil. "Suhan Allah!" gulped a semi-chorus; "Allah Akbar!" gasped the rest, and silence was restored at last. The baker, not without disappointment, said to the crowd who had been so willing to help him: "It is true the woman is a shameless Feringhi, child of a long line of noseless mothers." He had lost his prey, and the Mutessarif, who had come rather late to this upheaval, advised the crowd, whom he called his dear children, to disperse; for, he said "that it is the express wish of our gracious lord the Padishah that Feringhis should be well treated in his domains."

One of the chief attractions of this story is the under-current of humour and wit which is mingled with its most dramatic incidents. With a masterly pen the author describes the "mysterious lady" who comes to Rathia's rescue in moments of great danger and anxiety, an Abasside Princess with a long line of ancestors, and who at the end reveals herself as her mother, who was not dead, as believed, but who had gone back to her people in order to shield her child.

In conclusion, we can strongly recommend the perusal of this book to those who wish to gain an insight into the lives of the people inhabiting the shores of the Tigris, where the scene of this story is laid out, a country which has been in the dim past a centre of civilization, and which may again become so in the future.

L. M. R.

ARTICLES TO NOTE: JULY ISSUES

NEAR EAST.

- "The Bagdad Railway," by H. Charles Woods; "The Revival of the Arab Nation," by Sidney Low (*Fortnightly Review*).
 "Greece," by Dr. Ronald Burrows (*Contemporary Review*).
 "Palestine: its Resources and Suitability for Colonisation," by E. W. G. Masterman, M.D. (*Geographical Journal*).

RUSSIA.

- "Protopopoff and the Revolution," by E. H. Wilcox (*Fortnightly Review*).

FAR EAST.

- "The Change of Scene in China," by Mr. Demetrius Boulger (*Contemporary Review*).
 "The Peace Menace," by Dr. E. J. Dillon (*Fortnightly Review*).

THE PRESS IN INDIA.

- "Why India should have a Motion Picture Industry," by N. C. Guha (*Modern Review*, May).
 "Indian Aspirations," by the Maharajah of Bikaner (*Wednesday Review*, May 16).
 "Why India should help the War Loan," by M. de P. Webb, C.I.E. (*Indian Review*, April).
 "Wanted an Academy of Literature," by Lady Katharine Stuart (*Wednesday Review*, May 23).

FAR EASTERN PRESS

- "Japan's New Foreign Minister," by C. Watanabe (*Japan Magazine*, April).
 "The Buddhist Messiah," by Noritake Tsuda (*Japan Magazine*, June).
 "China and the World War," by Hun Liang Huang (*Far East*, May 12).

THE MIDDLE EAST.

- "The Armenian Massacres," by Lewis Einstein (*The New Armenia*, May 15).
 "The Situation in Armenia," by G. H. Paclian (*Ararat*, May).

Among the publications issued in Ireland, *Irish Life* has lately been showing an increasing interest in the affairs of Asia in general and of India in particular. In this connection several articles have been published from the pen of Lady Katharine Stuart which are well calculated to stimulate a general interest in the Princes and peoples of the Great Peninsula.

MILITARY NOTES

BY LIEUT.-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL

OFFENSIVE OR DEFENSIVE ?

THE controversy which has for so long engaged the brains and the pens of military theorists and tactical experts as to the relative merits of the offence and defence in strategy and tactics may perhaps be decided as one of the results of the present war. Most of the great Captains of past ages have favoured a bold offensive policy as the surest road to victory. The past masters in the art of war, Gustavus Adolphus, Charles XII., Marlborough, Eugene, Frederick the Great, and Napoleon, always strove to secure the initiative both in the campaign and in the field. Clive never paid regard to any adverse odds of numbers or position, but pushed boldly forward to the attack. "*L'audace, l'audace, toujours l'audace,*" was the motto of the Generals of the armies of the French Revolution, and of the Marshals of the Empire. Wellington generally adopted defensive tactics, because they were forced upon him by the numerical inferiority and by the defective composition of his armies ; but his genius shone out equally in the offensive, as at Assaye and Salamanca. When the rifle and the breech-loader were successively substituted for the old smooth-bore musket as the weapon of the infantry soldier it was generally anticipated that the defence would thereby obtain a decisive superiority over the attack, and the Emperor Louis Napoleon and his military advisers adopted this principle

with fatal results in the war of 1870. The French soldiers were dispirited by being kept on the defensive, and the superiority of the Germans in point of numbers enabled and encouraged them to assume a bold offensive. Thenceforward the German General Staff has always sounded the praises of the offensive both in strategy and in tactics. Their plans have contemplated the invasion of the neighbouring countries, and in their annual manoeuvres the attack was practised in massed formations by the infantry, while the cavalry executed brilliant charges in the open field. It was argued that the superior *morale* engendered by the fact of being the assailant, and the choice of points of attack, would compensate for the heavier losses involved.

So far as strategy is concerned, the German idea has been crowned with success, for by choosing their own time for a sudden declaration of a war for which they had been long and carefully preparing, they were able to carry the war at once into the enemy's country, and so have succeeded in keeping their own land and people safe and secure from the horrors and miseries which inevitably result from the waging of war.

But with regard to tactics, their anticipations have not been realized. They commenced their first campaign with the attempt to reach Paris through Belgium, hurling masses of troops against the French and English fronts with no regard to the losses which they thereby sustained. The appalling amount of the casualties in their ranks was a contributory cause of the sudden cessation of Von Kluck's advance on Paris, and his retreat from the Marne to the Aisne. Arrived at the latter river, the Germans reversed their tactical ideas, and dug themselves in, and thus commenced the interminable trench warfare which has now continued without intermission for two years and a half.

So far as the lessons of the present war teach us, it would seem to be proved that when an army well supplied with artillery, machine-guns, and magazine rifles has once occupied a strongly constructed position, no power on earth can

dislodge it, short of famine or the faint-heartedness of the defenders. The Germans could not break through our line at Ypres after weeks of frantic endeavour and the loss of their best men ; and they were equally unable to pierce the French lines before Verdun. We could not get through the Turkish lines at the end of the Gallipoli peninsula, though we attempted the impossible task for six months. We did get through their fortified lines before Baghdad, but it took us a year to do it.

GERMANY'S INTRIGUES IN THE EAST.

Bismarck once said that the Eastern Question was not worth the life of a single Pomeranian Grenadier ; his policy was to maintain friendly relations with Russia, and so establish a barrier against the liberal ideas and principles of the Western nations, and prevent any attempt on the part of France to recover possession of Alsace-Lorraine. But it is probable that at the Berlin Congress the astute Chancellor picked Lord Beaconsfield's brains and recognized the value of Turkey as a pawn in the game of European politics, for from the time when Mr. Gladstone abandoned his predecessor's schemes and washed his hands of the Turkish cause altogether, Germany stepped into Britain's place as the defender of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The young Kaiser Wilhelm took up the idea of a new "*Drang nach Osten*" with avidity ; and the new activity of Germany in the Levant resulted, as Bismarck had foreseen that it would result, in an estrangement between Russia and Germany which soon ripened into mutual hostility. In the tremendous development of this world-war it has almost been forgotten that it originated in the rivalry between Slav and Teuton for ascendancy in the Balkan Peninsula. That land was the highway to Western Asia, the desolate land which was only awaiting the exploitation of its dormant riches by the skill and industry of European financiers and merchants. The markets of Asia Minor were captured by German *commis-voyageurs*, backed by the influence of the

German Embassy ; the Baghdad Railway was planned to bring the produce of the Far East to Central Europe via the Persian Gulf ; a Deutsche Bank was established in Teheran ; and the Turkish Army was organized and drilled by German officers to be used as an auxiliary against Russia in the inevitable struggle for supremacy in the East. The struggle was precipitated by the Balkan War of 1912. Germany had to strike quickly, lest the liberated Principalities of the Peninsula should coalesce with their Russian kinsmen into a Slavonic Empire, and so for ever bar the way of the German to the East. The Turk proved a docile and obedient vassal, and Bulgaria was won over to the same side through her German King.

But the Turk, in pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for Germany, has burnt his own fingers badly. He has already lost Armenia to the Russians and Mesopotamia to the British ; his shadowy suzerainty in Arabia, and his Protectorate of the Holy Cities, has vanished away, and he is getting perilously short of men and money. He is not likely to lend an ear again to the specious promises and blatant bragging of his new friends and mentors, who insinuated themselves into his confidence on the plea of rescuing him from his financial thralldom to the Western Powers. In Persia, too, German intrigue has been finally foiled, and Russian and British interests hold the field. The terminus of the Baghdad Railway is in British hands, and an Anglo-Egyptian army blockades the gates of Gaza. The prize for which the German went to war seems to have already vanished from his grasp.

IMPERIAL RECONSTRUCTION AND THE ROUND TABLE*

BY DOUGLAS JERROLD

It is refreshing to turn from the modern historians, with their endless documentary references and cynical disillusionments, to the history of the world written in the older style—flamboyant, rhetorical, argumentative, with a lesson from every country and a generalization for every century. But whether it is also instructive is a more doubtful question. Mr. Curtis and his colleagues of the Round Table, all of whom we suspect are contributors to the main report, the first volume of which we are here considering, have done a very dangerous thing. Sworn as they are to the scheme of Imperial Federation, they have appealed to history to prove the wisdom of their cause. But lest there should be any doubt as to the verdict, they have themselves rewritten the history of the world.

When we find that the failure to recognize and understand the essential principles of a Commonwealth is responsible alike for the "failure" of Eastern civilization, for the fate of Greece and the decay of Rome, and that the recognition of these same principles is responsible for the triumph of England as an Imperial nation, we realize that Mr. Curtis has attempted to prove a good deal.

Mr. Curtis assumes to start with that the civilization of the West is superior to that of the East. The present writer enjoyed an experience that might surprise Mr. Curtis. A distinguished Persian, himself a politician and a scholar, had come over to England to study. Friendly Englishmen showed him the Tube, Westminster Abbey, Harrod's, the Albert Memorial, and the City, and asked him to admire Western civilization. He replied that in Persia they had decided against modern industrialism, and he was not in the least interested for that reason. I asked him what he had come to study, and he said he wanted to see the effect on a nation's character of the practice of Christianity. But I need hardly say that Mr. Curtis's idea of civilization is contained in the blessed word "progress."

Anyway, it is not surprising to hear from Mr. Curtis that "the Oriental, regarding the framework of society as divinely ordained, has treated man as though he were made for the law; the European has treated the law as

* "The Commonwealth of Nations," Part I. Edited by L. Curtis. London: Macmillan and Co., 1916.

though it were made for man " What Oriental? and when? and to whom does Mr Curtis refer in the term European? To the ancient Greeks? the Papacy? the Hohenzollern? the Russian Revolutionaries? or Mr Lloyd George? We rather fancy that he had Professor Dicey at the back of his mind But such generalizations are mere Oxford journalism, and should have no place in serious history

But let us admit that the West has progressed materially far more quickly than the East, and let us see how Mr. Curtis accounts for it This is due, he says, to the reign of man made law in the West and to the prevalence of theocracies in the East After this rather large assumption Mr Curtis sails gaily on. The reign of law, and the idea that the law was subject to change led naturally to the adoption of the Commonwealth as the ruling principle of government. By the principle of the Commonwealth is meant the principle of the collective responsibility of the citizens of a State for the government and foreign policy of their country From this principle of the Commonwealth we can deduce the irresistibly logical claim of Mr Curtis to be allowed to proceed immediately with a federal Constitution

Now Mr Curtis's argument is invalidated by several considerations The Greek Commonwealth is his first instance he seeks to prove that the decline of Greece was due to the failure of their federal experiments. "The Greek Commonwealth was too slender to survive" On this there are only two comments that the prospect of failing like Athens is at least as glorious as that of succeeding like Middlesbrough, and that in point of fact Athens never was a Commonwealth, and never had an Empire To ascribe Greek civilization to the reign of law and the adoption of the principle of the Commonwealth is an unwarrantable assumption, for Greek civilization began before and continued after her political greatness. It was due in all probability to the same cause as brought about her political decline—to her geographical position, which developed an intimate local patriotism and enabled her to mix freely with other cultures. The rudimentary development of sailing kept most natives from external trade at a time when the Greeks of the Archipelago were in ceaseless communication with one another That Greek democratic institutions were the development of a thus advanced civilization is the ordinary, the conventional, the only really tenable view There is no trace of the rule of law in Homer, but much of trading between the islands and the mainland of Asia Nor was Athens in the least democratic, more than half of its inhabitants were slaves

Equally gratuitous is it to ascribe the fall of Greece to her failure to federalize—in other words, to make a "State" out of her Empire. A State or nationality is a compromise between race and government. Outside pressure forced Greece to unite against Persia, but the ordinary business of government was far more conveniently carried on without a central Government. Broadly speaking, we may say that nationalities come into permanent existence only where the conflicting claims of race and government are alike best met by this means In the days of faulty

communication the interests of government tended inevitably to small States. Athens soon found that if she wanted to keep her Empire she had to conquer it. To say that if she had made one State of her Empire, and made all its members citizens, she would have survived, is merely to beg the question. Had the Confederacy of Delos shown any desire to alter their status from allies to joint members of one State, Athens would probably have accepted at once. But the interests of Government were against it, each State preferred to manage its own affairs, and Athens had not the military resources to conquer her allies.

After the regrettable failure of Greece of which Mr. Curtis tells us, we are not surprised to hear that the downfall of the Roman Empire was due to the failure of Rome to adopt representative institutions. She did indeed avoid, we are told, the mistakes made by Athens by making Italy one State.

But once again Mr. Curtis has his eye on political institutions instead of on facts. Does he really think that the granting of citizenship to the Italians unified Italy? The plain fact is that Rome conquered Italy, and Athens did not conquer Greece. The reason why Rome succeeded as well as she did was because she had as much to give as Athens and far less to take away. Local patriotism was less intense, communication less hazardous, civilization (outside Rome) less advanced. The reason why Rome failed, according to Mr. Curtis, was that her citizenship was never a political reality. That is doubtful. The Roman Empire decayed because there was no community of interest. No federal Constitution could have provided this. The Empire was a military necessity imposed on Rome, not a natural compromise of race and government. Whatever form of constitution she had adopted, Rome could never have made one permanent State out of the Eastern and Western Empires.

We have dealt at some length with Mr. Curtis's arguments from analogy in the cases of Greece and Rome because they indicate to our mind a singular bias. To judge a society by its machinery of government is surely to misread history. What made Athens and Rome great was not their Empires or Constitutions, but the ends that their different Governments pursued. Athens definitely proclaimed the maintenance of a high standard of individual civilization to be her object, Rome implicitly did so by devoting her energies to securing over the world that good order and respect for law which were then essential for development. In so far as these ends were achieved, Athens and Rome succeeded. The Colonial Empire of Athens, had it become permanent, would probably have hastened her decline. Had it been possible for Rome (which was in the circumstances impossible) to stop short in her conquests at that point at which the organization of a permanent democratic State was possible, she might have lasted longer as a political power—as a civilizing agency she would have been less effective.

We pass over Mr. Curtis's sketch of medieval histories, and come to his sketch of English history. Here he finds his Commonwealth at last in its perfection: the principle of representative government, raising the level of

popular intelligence, and placing us ahead of the bigotry of Spain and the centralizing autocracy of France, won for us our Empire. So, we are told, England has succeeded where Greece and Rome failed, and English history is represented as one continuous movement towards a broader freedom, a movement which to-day has reached its zenith. Once again Mr. Curtis, instead of keeping his eye firmly fixed on social conditions, has considered only political institutions.

William the Conqueror made England one "State." In other words, he conquered it. Following on this, Mr. Curtis enthuses over the establishment of the King's assizes, which centralized justice and diminished the power of the barons; of Magna Carta, which was the reaction from this, we hear nothing, nor of the villeins. For Mr. Curtis, England was always a land of freemen. And we are surprised to learn that the first burgesses were summoned to Westminster as a training in self-government and responsibility! They were summoned because the King had wisely noted the great defect of representative government, which is that when representatives leave their constituency they cease to represent anyone but themselves. Locally, they could not resist local pressure, and voted but small credits. At Westminster they were more generous.

Eventually, however, the middle classes defeated the Crown, and the divine right of property succeeded the divine right of Kings. Modern industrialism, by giving to the middle classes an economic supremacy, enabled them to yield a shadow of political independence to their employees—that was in 1868. And yet the British Empire is ascribed by Mr. Curtis to the adoption of the principles of the Commonwealth. If it is due to one cause more than another, it is due to the fact that the manufacturing classes have acquired a more exclusive control of the political machine in England than elsewhere. But what has made the British Empire a thing for pride and not shame is that, acquiring it, as Seely said, in a fit of absence of mind, its governors have consistently pursued, at any rate as one of their aims, the good of its inhabitants. If we wished to draw a lesson in the utility of political institutions, the British Empire is a better advertisement for the bureaucracy which has governed India than for the Parliamentary Government which sees the English slum.

But in truth the one parallel is as false as the other; the workman, not the tool, is responsible; and it is the merest juggling with words to say that democracy has made England what it is.

If we are to learn anything from history it is that nationalities and States are creatures of delicate growth which must have a definite *raison d'être*, and that no political formula can be trusted to produce a definite practical result. What make or mar a Constitution are the intentions of the ruler who administers it.

Suppose a federal Constitution for the British Empire, and let us see in the light of these principles what is the likely result.

In the first place, as a compromise between race and government, the new State seems superfluous; the claims of race are slender. Australians, Canadians, Boers, have all a distinctive national feeling which is almost as

keen as, and in some cases keener than, their sense of British kinship. Would it be stimulated by the grant of British citizenship in its technical sense—sentimentally, such citizenship exists already? Would government be rendered easier or more efficient? For if not, the technicality of British citizenship would be more of a curse than a blessing. And what are the intentions of the federalists? The white man's burden, of course—that is to be distributed, India to be governed by a federal Parliament, also Egypt and the dependencies. Over the sacred duty of withholding the franchise from Indians Mr Curtis is indeed eloquent. In fact, he compares it, if we remember aright, with the withholding of the franchise from infants. Comment is unnecessary.

But so far these ends of government are in principle unexceptionable, we have embarked on a policy in India which we cannot leave incomplete. What other ends is this federal Government going to pursue? Of that we are told nothing, save that it will be able to pursue a united foreign policy. And here we come to the crux of the problem. Why should a federal Foreign Office lead to a foreign policy agreed by the federated States? What it does and must eventually lead to is that minority States will become responsible for a foreign policy with which they do not agree through the action of the majority of the federal Parliament. At present we cannot in practice commit Australia, Canada, South Africa, or New Zealand to an offensive war, in a federal Parliament we could commit any two of them against their will.

If Mr. Curtis had been less confident that the democratic character of the Ecclesia had made Athens, and that representative government had made the English Empire, he would perhaps have hesitated to offer as a working scheme a federal Parliament dealing with the Army and Navy, the government of the dependencies, and the foreign policy of the Empire.* History tells us plainly that States do not flourish without a *raison d'être*, and a *raison d'être* for destroying four budding nationalities and establishing a British Commonwealth is yet to seek. Yet, as Mr Curtis points out, the control of foreign policy is essential to real self-government, and so the dilemma is apparently complete. But the alternatives are not political realities. Federalism or separation—neither is a matter of practical politics. Nor does it matter, for nations are not held together by political institutions, but by the pursuit of common aims. As soon as the aims of a federalized Empire become diverse the political union would go the way of the spiritual union which had made it possible. As long as the aims of the five nations of the British Empire remain the same, the Empire stands. Against federalism there is one argument, that it is unnecessary. The safeguard of the Empire is that in any political adventure we have to carry with us the approval of five free nations and the goodwill of India and Egypt, if we are to maintain our prestige and our strength. That is an insurance against opportunism, rash promises, and greedy adventures which is worth much. By a federation of nations we

* "The Problem of the Commonwealth." Edited by L. Curtis. Macmillan, 1916.

should insure unity of action at a crisis, but not unity of heart; and unity of heart is essential to effective joint action. Of that unity of heart the Crown is the symbol, and the only possible symbol.

It is noteworthy in this connection that Lord Cromer,* in his last published essay on Imperial Federation, looks for his solution to regular consultations between the different States and the English Government as the most probable solution. An Imperial Parliament, he points out, would never be accepted as a solution unless England had a predominant voice in it. He further says that, unless the fatal principle of the "liberum veto" were introduced, no power on earth could prevent on occasions the coercion of a minority.

If we are to learn anything from Greece or Rome we can note that a measure of federation did not save the Athenian Empire, and that the failure to attempt any sort of federation did not interfere with the development of Rome. Empires are built on more solid foundations than written constitutions. In other words, the advantages or disadvantages of federalism depend on its practical convenience; in itself it will neither build up nor destroy.

Assuming, as we happily may, that community of interest which alone can bind five nations together, and assuming the justice of our political ends which alone can prevent the alliance from exciting the envy of the world, will federalism as a matter of practical politics strengthen our executive power? It seems hardly conceivable; the Imperial Cabinet may contain no representation of one of the allied States. If a question of policy arose dividing, say, Canada from the rest of the Empire, the Canadian minority in the Imperial Parliament would unquestionably not be represented, and if the Constitution rendered the assent of a majority of each State necessary to executive action, a deadlock would be created.

The test of constitutions lies not in their smooth working in peace time, but in their flexibility in time of stress and division, and Mr. Curtis gives us hints that his scheme will stand this test. It is noticeable that neither Lord Cromer nor General Smuts seems to place much faith in the ability of federalism to solve this particular problem. His experience of representative Governments may perhaps account for this. One man cannot in any real sense represent 70,000 men and women. The unrepresented minorities in Great Britain are often in aggregate larger than the majorities which are represented. This factor will tend to be more and more important as constituencies increase in population; only in constituencies homogeneous enough to have a predominant common interest is representation effective. An Imperial Parliament, unless it numbered several thousands, would represent little but the ironies of chance, and its members would have in all probability but little influence over their constituents. Of these intimate practical problems, which can here only be mentioned in the barest outline, Mr. Curtis says all too little; rather he seeks to sweep away objections by a torrent of rhetoric and a cumulative argument from

* "After-the-War Problems." London: Allen and Unwin, 1917. 7s. 6d. net.

history in which, as we have intimated, he attempts to show that it is on the measure of federation successfully achieved that the fate of Empires has in the past depended.

From this view we have, with all respect for Mr. Curtis's learning and eloquence, dissented.

Of the problem of India neither Mr. Curtis nor Lord Cromer, in the essay referred to above, has attempted a solution. Yet, if we are to accept the only hopeful estimate of our work in India, we are, slowly, perhaps, but very surely, preparing the way for the grant of self-government. And in that case federalism, so far from being a help in maintaining the unity of the Empire, might then prove an obstacle.

To picture to oneself an Imperial Parliament containing delegates from India in anything like fair proportions to her population is to envisage at once the complexity of the problem.

We venture to say that though Mr. Curtis and his colleagues have written an able and brilliant book, their solution of the imperial problem involves measures which are rash, uncalled for, and unlikely to achieve the desired end.

DOUGLAS JERROLD.



THE JUBILEE OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

(FOUNDED 1866)

CHAPTER V

ON November 20, 1885, a well attended meeting was held at the Westminster Town Hall under the presidency of the Right Hon. the Lord Harris, then Her Majesty's Under-Secretary of State for India, when a paper was read by Manecbye Byramje Dadabhoy, Esq., on "The Administration of India by England."

Mr. Dadabhoy, in a long and able review, showed how greatly India had progressed politically, morally, and socially, under British rule during the last fifty years. One by one almost every barrier of race supremacy had been swept away, and of late years especially the Indian Government had lost no fair opportunity of opening out new careers to native ambition. In its efforts to promote the material welfare of the Indian people, the British Government had also achieved a large measure of success. The rise of great mercantile towns and cities, the steady increase in various items of revenue, the good wages earned by large numbers of people on the many public works that cover the country, and in the many industries which during late years have been called into busy play, the vast extension of the cultivated area, the sextupling of the export trade in fifty years, the rapidly increasing numbers of the official and professional classes, the increasing number of suits in the Civil Courts, the increasing

value of landed property, the swift recovery of the land revenue after a widespread famine—all these things attested the progress in well-being which India has made, and is making, under the benign British rule. In conclusion, Mr. Dadabhoy begged his hearers to believe that the people of India, with the exception of a few fanatics and dreamers, have too long enjoyed the blessings of the just, merciful, and enlightened rule of England to think of exchanging it for any vision of an absolute freedom, which would almost certainly end in chronic anarchy or despotism of the worst type.

Early in the following year Nanda Lal Ghosh, Esq., B.A., read a paper in the Council Room, Exeter Hall, under the presidency of Sir Roper Lethbridge, C.I.E., M.P., on the "Necessity for an Inquiry into the Administration of India."

He urged that it was a fallacy to hold that the Liberal party alone was anxious to do justice to India. The leaders of both political parties were anxious to reduce the grievances of India, and were ready to mend defects in the machinery with which she was ruled—where such defects were proved to exist.

The Government had announced their intention of appointing a Joint Committee of a number of Members of both Houses of Parliament. He thought that such a proposal was defective in its nature, and that such a Committee was, to a great extent, unsuited to conduct the inquiry in its various phases. The operations of a Parliamentary Committee could only be confined to this country, and it would be precluded from seeking independent evidence in India and seeing the present administrative machinery actually at work there. The main channel through which they would obtain evidence would be the India Office, the very constitution that would stand upon its trial. Many independent and unquestionably competent witnesses, whose evidence would pre-eminently help the investigation, and many most able,

educated, statesmanlike, and recognized leaders of Indian opinion, would be prevented from appearing before this Committee, owing to their age and to religious and caste obstacles. The appointment of a Royal Commission instead of a Parliamentary Committee would overcome all these difficulties. He submitted that the inquiry should be directed to ascertain not only whether the Government of India Act, 1858, and the subsequent amending Acts, had been obeyed and carried out in letter and in spirit, but also to discover whether they had proved beneficial; and, if not, whether the time had not arrived for altering and amending them to suit the altered condition of the people, or, in other words, whether there should be a development of the Constitution. The inquiry should be directed to every Department of the Government of India, and should commence with the constitution and utility of the India Council. The next subject of inquiry should be the constitution and utility of the Viceroy's Council and the Councils of the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces of India.

Without revolution the Constitution of England had gradually drawn elements within its pale as they had proved ripe and strong, and the same process would have to be adopted in India. Whether the whole people or a portion are in a condition to be invited within the Constitution should be carefully inquired into. Nothing would be more satisfactory than a settlement once for all of the vexed question of Indian finance. Land was the chief source of revenue, but the condition of the soil was exhausted, and whether it could bear the burden placed upon it now was a problem the magnitude of which could not be exaggerated. Then the Civil Service question occupied a front rank in importance, and with regard to the military expenses in India, it was high time that the relation between the War Office and the Indian Exchequer was inquired into. The public works policy of the State, the salt tax, and the depression of the value of silver, were

all matters which demanded inquiry, together with many other subjects.

On Friday, July 8, 1887, the Right Hon. John Bright, M.P., occupied the chair at the Westminster Town Hall, when a very interesting paper by A. K. Connell, Esq., M.A., on "The Indian Civil Service and the Further Admission of Natives of India," was discussed.

Mr. Connell held that though the "New India," described by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Henry Cotton, might largely influence public opinion in the towns, "Old India" still governed the country; and he agreed with Professor Seely that the Native India was not in the modern stage, not even in the medieval stage, and, we might add, to some extent it was in the primeval state.

Dealing with the question of having Open Competition in India for the Indian Civil Service, he declared that the ultimate outcome would be the violation of the first principle of statesmanship laid down by all political thinkers since Aristotle—namely, "that political power and physical force must be in the same hands."

In reply to the contention that two or three years' training in England would produce the Imperial type of character which is requisite for Imperial service, he declared that character was not changed at this rate. He said: "Such training may no doubt give a certain amount of independence of mind to a native candidate, but I think it is much more likely to hamper his inherited force of will and natural common sense and to make him into a mechanical copyist of the worst qualities of Englishmen. The Bengali official would probably out-herod Herod in his Anglomania, and, like the French democrat of last century, be wholly given up to the theory of government by formulæ. The Bengali has his own natural excellences, but the spectacle of the Bengali bureaucrat supported on the throne of the Great Mogul by British bayonets, suckled on the tinned milk and swathed in the red tape of British bureaux, is not, to my mind, to be regarded as the beatific vision of Imperial

statesmanship. No; what we want is not to Anglicize, not to Bengalize, India, not to produce a dull uniformity, not to sweep away all diversity of genius, manners, and customs, but to foster diversity of native products, to fertilize the native soil, to improve the native seed, and to purify the native wells; to evoke a higher spirit in the heart of every native community, each native kingdom, to bring to the top those best qualified in every respect to be the leading men. It seems to me, therefore, that we must put aside as wholly impracticable an Imperial Open Competition system in India, and lay down as the conditions of any larger admission of natives to the public service—first, that the method of selection must be provincial; secondly, that it must secure the admission of members of those classes who may be called the natural leaders of native society."

He proposed that the whole Civil Service should be separated into three main divisions, with an appropriate scale of salary and pension assigned to each grade. The highest grade should remain on the whole European, on the ground that it is impossible to separate the supreme Civil and Military powers of the State, and that if the Army is to remain for the most part in European hands, the Civil Administration must be controlled by Europeans also.

He urged that the age of candidates selected by competition should be raised to twenty-one, if not to twenty-two or twenty-three, in order that men of wider experience, maturer judgment, and greater knowledge of the world might be sent out to India. For we must not forget what are the situations held by Europeans in India, even in the lower places of the Civil Service. They are, to use Burke's words, "the situations of great statesmen which, according to the practice of the world, require, to fill properly, rather a larger converse with men and much intercourse in life than deep study of books, though that too has general service. We know that in the habits of civilized life in cultivated society, there is imbibed by men a good deal of the solid

practice of government, of the true maxims of State, and everything that enables a man to serve his country." Such training is still more necessary in India than it was fifty years ago, because there is less of that administrative independence and individual responsibility which used to quickly develop the character and judgment of even young officers, and with the increase of Anglo-Indian society, and the closer contact of India and England, there is less social intercourse with native gentry than there used to be. The growing authority of every bureaucratic régime forces into its ordained course the personality of each newcomer and the younger he is the more likely he is to fall completely into official grooves, and the less likely to keep his mind open for the assimilation of extra-official ideas. This is especially the danger in India, where the existence of a somewhat secretive system of Government puts a great obstacle in the way of the formation of vigilant and powerful criticism outside the official body. In his minute on this question, Lord Ripon strongly insisted on this consideration : " It is important that the men who enter the Indian Civil Service should be men trained by the best English methods, and thoroughly imbued with the highest English thought. The influences to which English youths are exposed in this country are to no small extent of a narrow kind, powerful in a limited society, but not calculated to keep alive the best tendencies of English opinion. The boy whose real education is stopped at eighteen or earlier, and who, after that age, instead of receiving the widest and most complete education of the day, is thenceforth to be trained specially for an Indian career, will not have acquired, before he arrives in India, that grasp of sound principles, moral, economical, and political, which it is of the utmost importance that, as the future representative of English opinion and feeling among the natives of India, he should possess. What we want in India are Englishmen in the best and fullest meaning of the term, able to hold their own in the midst of narrowing influences and local prejudices, not

English boys, who are too young and too unformed in character not to fall, as a rule, into the current of the opinion in the midst of which their lot is cast." Not only would a higher age for open competition bring to India men of larger experience and wider culture, it would in all probability raise the social status of the candidates. It has been stated to me on the best authority that we have, since the age was lowered, been sending out to India a lower type of social man, and this has been attributed to the fact that parents of a socially inferior grade make up their minds more quickly as regards their sons' careers, while parents of higher social status, who generally send their sons to the Universities, have a tendency to postpone the choice of a profession. When their sons begin to decide for themselves they find an Indian career closed. Some may think that India is none the worse for losing such men, but as a matter of fact it suffers to a serious extent from the absence of some valuable qualities in its rulers, and those for the most part the instinctive outcome of hereditary breeding, tact, courtesy, and dignity of demeanour. No one who has been in India can fail to appreciate the remark of the late W. Bagehot, that good manners play a much more important part in the world the farther you go East. In the land of castles, ceremonies, and customs like India, any rudeness of manner is particularly resented, and brings discredit on the Government. The growing number of a somewhat rough class of Englishmen engaged in trade, or on the railways and public works, etc., makes it particularly necessary for the official classes to set an example of politeness and courtesy. The old traditions, which used, under the Haileybury nomination system, to be handed down in Anglo-Indian families, ought to be preserved as much as possible under the open competition system.

The aim of the Government should be to enlist in the different branches of its service those men who are most fitted by their training to perform well the duties required of them; and training must be understood to mean not

merely that of the school and college, but of domestic traditions, social positions, worldly experience, and professional success. But whether these be the best lines or not on which to proceed, Mr. Connell showed that there was an overwhelming body of reasons for adopting some method for further associating Indians in the work of administration, and for securing to them their inherent right to occupy administrative positions in their own country.

In commenting on this paper Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji declared that British rule in India was not based on sixty thousand or a hundred thousand bayonets : " No," he said ; " it is based on the confidence, the intense faith, like the one that I hold, in the justice, the conscience, and the honour of the British nation."

Dr. G. W. Leitner, who also took part in the discussion and debate, said that whereas from 1864 to 1882 he had the task of pointing out that being black was not a disadvantage, since 1882 he had occasionally had to bring forward the equally important fact that being white is not a disadvantage. He had to point out that " Indian opinion " was a vague term, just the same as to speak of " European opinion " would be the vaguest of terms. " If," he said, " you could come to think of the vastness of India, you have to approach every question advocated by a native of that great continent with the inquiry, ' Who is he ? '—of what particular caste, what particular race ? What are the traditions that govern him ? And, giving him the full benefit of that knowledge, receiving what he says with greatest respect, still you must limit your opinion by those particular circumstances ; otherwise you may be taking as ' Indian opinion ' what would be equivalent to taking as European opinion, say, the opinion of a Portuguese peasant, as contrasted with that of a British nobleman, upon Gladstone's last utterance. To begin with, the whole of Europe, educated as it is, may not know of that utterance—it is possible to conceive this—whereas in India the races are so different, the interests are so varied, that with every wish and desire to do the best for

the peoples of India, we are bound to ask, 'Who is he?' From that point of view, I find myself in some conflict with my honourable friend, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, than whom there can be no greater well-wisher of India; but a well-wisher of what part of India, and educated in what particular training, and representing what particular section of the community of India? He represents the sober-minded, educated community of Bombay, in which the ancient moorings have not been entirely lost sight of, and in which reverence for existing associations still combines a regard for ancient culture with a keen perception of modern requirements. It is not a Province in which the aristocracy is so prominent as elsewhere, but there, as elsewhere, what entitles people to rule is power, character, loyalty to the Government, and 'a stake in the country,' and, with regard to the rest, proved merit. If by proved merit any native of India, no matter of what caste, can rise, there is not the least doubt that he should be encouraged to do so, and if my humble aid is of the least importance in such an effort, that aid shall ever be ungrudgingly given. And I may say at once that I think that of ten men employed in the Government of India, certainly nine ought to be natives."

In closing the debate, Mr. John Bright recalled the fact that as far back as the year 1853, when the question of the renewal of the Charter was before Parliament, he formed one of a small Committee that called itself an "Indian Reform Association," which did its best to expose what they regarded as the evil characters of the Government of the day with the view of preventing any renewal of the East India Company's Charter. "We were not," he said, "fortunate in accomplishing more than some exposition of our views; we were not fortunate in preventing the renewal. On one occasion we had a debate in the House of Commons, and Sir Charles Wood, afterwards Lord Halifax, who was then the President of the Board of Control (which was the title of the Indian Minister of that day), rose at five o'clock in the afternoon, soon after the House met, and made a

speech which lasted until ten o'clock. (Laughter.) That was five hours, and the whole of his speech was a continuous eulogy of the India Company, and of its manner of managing this great Government of India. When he sat down at ten o'clock, I rose to answer him, and I spoke until twelve o'clock. (Laughter.) The Indian Minister and myself had the whole of that night to ourselves, but he had five hours and I had two. Since, then, as we all know, there has been a wonderful step forward in India, although it might have been still greater. There have been canals dug, some of them, I believe, not very successful undertakings; there have been railways made to a large but still to by no means a sufficient extent. There have been telegraphs established to all the principal portions of the country. There have been many steps taken, as Dr. Leitner could tell us, on behalf of education, and there is abundant room for much more effort in that direction. There has also been in existence a Free Press, which is a remarkable thing in a country under a despotic Government, and not only a Free Press, but there is the right apparently—for I have read many reports of them—practised of holding public meetings in various parts of India, and discussing freely, apparently, all kinds of public questions. Now, it is a wonderful thing for a despotic Government to allow to the people it governs the privileges and the practices of free nations. It is one of the things of which I think the English Government in India may be proud, and one also, I think, which the natives of India ought to take into account when they are sometimes probably induced to judge hardly of those who have become their rulers."

In 1888 Sir Roper Lethbridge read a most interesting and instructive paper on "The Gold Fields of Southern India," the Right Hon. the Lord Harris being in the chair, and this was followed later on by a paper by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Leslie Charles Probyn, formerly Accountant-General and Commissioner of Paper Currency in Madras, dealing with the "Proposed Gold Standard for India."

The year 1888-89 closed with a paper read by C. W. Whish, I.C.S., on "The Indian National Congress and the Indian Patriotic Association." The meeting to hear this paper read was held in the Westminster Town Hall, and Sir Roper Lethbridge presided. Mr. Whish advocated the formation of a moderate party of Indian politicians, having a journal and charging itself with the guidance of Indian politics on moderate lines, and urged that it was the duty of all who desired to do something for the good of the Indian Empire to bring their collective intelligence to bear upon this task.



WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME,
BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

ON the arrival in Bombay of the delegates from India to the Imperial War Cabinet and Conference, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir gave the following message from His Majesty the King-Emperor :

"I hope the war has brought India and England together. The part India has played, her splendid patriotism, and the bravery of her gallant sons, appeal to the imagination of England as nothing ever did before."

The delegates were able to tell of the goodwill towards India which had been evident in all parts of this country among statesmen and people and the representatives of the Overseas Dominions ; also of the hope that mutual confidence and understanding would go far to remove specific grievances of Indians against particular Dominions.

In the House of Commons, in reply to a question by Mr. Charles Roberts, the Secretary of State for India made a statement with regard to the results of the historic gathering. He laid stress on two important decisions : that India is to be represented at the annual session of the Imperial Cabinet by a nominee of the Government of India as well as by the Secretary of State, and that by the amendment of the constitution of the Imperial Conference India will be represented at future sittings with the same right of speech and vote as is accorded to the representatives of the other Governments.

"These decisions," said Mr. Austen Chamberlain, "mark an immense advance in the position of India in the Empire. They admit the Government of India to full partnership in the Councils of the Empire with the other Governments represented at them."

In answer to further questions Mr. Chamberlain stated that, with regard to the nominee to the Cabinet, no rule as to race or qualification had been laid down, but it is clearly contemplated that, except under peculiar circumstances, the representative will be an Indian. Also the assent of Parliament was not required for carrying these changes into effect, but he was sure it would be heartily given.

On the subject of Indian emigration to self-governing Dominions the Secretary of State observed

"The representatives of India recognize the right of each Dominion to settle its own immigration laws whether as regards emigrants from Asia or Europe, and we do not claim the unrestricted right of settlement for Indians. What we asked was that, in the first place, such questions should be treated on a footing of reciprocity, in the second place, that British Asiatics should be as favourably treated as alien Asiatics, thirdly, that facilities for travel and study, as apart from settlement, should be freely given, and that, lastly, sympathetic attention should be given to those Indians who had already been permitted to settle in the Dominions."

Commenting on these results, *The Times* declared that "if the War Cabinet had done nothing more than to admit India to full partnership in the Councils of the Empire, that would have been an immense step forward", and added, concerning the probability of satisfactory arrangements about the vexed question of Indian emigration "It shows what can be done when responsible men, who are conscious of the strong community of devotion to British ideals, meet on equal terms to find a way out of apparently hopeless dilemmas."

A Blue Book has been issued giving reports of the sittings of the Imperial War Conference, with asterisks denoting certain necessary missions.

On the day before his departure for India Sir S. P. Sinha attended an "At Home" of the Indian Women's Education Association, given by Lady Muir Mackenzie and Lady Wedderburn at 22, Draycott Place, London. He was warmly welcomed, and, speaking of the great need of education throughout India, asked, how could the nation of India be built up if the larger half of the population were uneducated? He pointed out that in Calcutta there were only three High Schools for girls, they were quite inadequate to meet the demands made upon them, other cities might be a little better equipped, but fell far short of requirements. An excellent means of helping, said Sir S. P. Sinha, was for friends in this country to impress upon the authorities that money could not be better spent in India than on education, especially the education of women. Sir John Cockburn, who, as Governor of South Australia, had been instrumental in carrying through the bill for the enfranchisement of women, expressed his faith in the ability of women to take their part in the full life of the nation, advocated the extension of educational facilities for women in India, and declared that East and West must be brought together as complementary factors, each giving to and receiving from the other. A special interest of the meeting was the presence of two trained Indian women experienced in teaching—Miss Mary Sorabji, whose school at Poona is well known for its long record of excellent service in the education of girls, and Mrs. Raj Kumari Das, who has for several years been Principal of the Brahmo Somaj School for Girls at Calcutta, and holds the Gokhale Scholarship for this year, she is studying at the London

County Council Training College for Teachers. Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Abbas Ali Baig, Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, Lady Muir-Mackenzie, and the two Indian teachers, also spoke at the meeting.

Lord Carmichael presided at the meeting of the Royal Society of Arts (Indian Section), at which Mr A. C. Chatterjee, I.C.S., read a valuable paper on "The Development of Banking and Thrift in India." The lecturer insisted that in the future India must, in the main, rely upon herself and look to her own resources for the capital required for her own development, and pointed out that the habit of saving for profitable employment is not contrary to the tradition of the people of India, therefore there should be no insuperable difficulties in resuscitating this instinct in a more active and widely diffused form. Speaking of co-operation, Mr Chatterjee said that not only does it teach thrift, but it enlightens the mind of the peasant and makes him anxious to adopt new and improved methods which involve the investment of larger capital. He gave particulars of the various kinds of banks in India, and declared his belief that events are shaping towards a Central State Bank, which, he said, would be likely to carry out with success the work of raising loans for productive or development purposes. Mr Chatterjee maintained that it is unsafe to leave the question of a State Bank for settlement as one of the numerous after-the-war problems, when there may be a renewed impulse for speculative, ill managed, or dishonest enterprise. "It is essential," he added, "at the present critical moment that national thrift and sound banking should be encouraged by every possible means, and one of the means is to exterminate all doubtful pretenders to the name and prestige of a bank." In a short speech Lord Carmichael expressed his pleasure in hearing the paper and his gratification that Mr Chatterjee was on the alert with regard to the danger of speculation after the war.

"What characteristic will India contribute to the Co-operative Movement?" asked Dr John Matthai in a lecture he gave on "Agricultural Co-operation in India" before the National Indian Association on June 8. He said that European countries had each contributed their characteristic: Germany, legal rules and innumerable regulations; France, centralization; Denmark, shrewd business; Ireland, idealism. India's contribution, he considered, would be a greater feeling of brotherliness. The whole social life of India is based on groups—caste, joint family, village communities. With regard to association of the State with the Co-operative Movement, Dr Matthai pointed out that although it was the wisest to eliminate State control, India must be regarded as an exception. Association with the State was essential; the enormous prestige of the sircar was necessary for financial success, and based on the security of the Government the movement inspired confidence. Sir Murray Hammick and Sir James Wilson spoke warmly in support of the Co-operative Movement in India.

It was a happy arrangement which put Lady Carmichael in the chair at the annual meeting of the National Indian Association, 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, on June 13, for she has been associated with the branches of the Association in Madras and in Calcutta. She pointed out from personal knowledge how the war has brought together the members of the Association in the desire to help those who are suffering. The Association provides comforts for eleven regiments, all of which have been sent by post. The work of packing the parcels in waterproof, and then in jute, is no light task, but British and Indian ladies have become quite experts in this direction. Indian ladies, she added, have also undertaken the work of making sweets for the Indian soldiers, and their thought has been keenly appreciated wherever Indians are fighting, and an exhibition in Calcutta of all that was being made for the soldiers attracted a great many visitors and showed the useful work carried out by the Association. Recently a sub committee has been formed with the special object of forwarding educational work. "The National Indian Association," said Lady Carmichael, "has done much, and I hope will do still more, to bring about that spirit of friendliness which, perhaps more than anything else, is needed in India, where people of different race and traditions must work together."

Lady Katherine Stuart spoke on the importance of the co-operation of men and women for national welfare, and Sir Leslie Porter on the necessity for the extension of education, particularly among women, in India. He declared that the last three years have taught the necessity of the solidarity of the Empire, to bring East and West together is a paramount duty.

Other speakers were Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Sir James Wilson, and Sir Charles Lyall.

A. A. S.

At the meeting of the United Russia Societies on June 15 at King's College, Baron Heyking delivered a very interesting lecture on English and Russian ideas of duelling. Sir Albert Spicer was in the chair.

The lecturer pointed out that duelling was an anachronism in England, and should also become one on the Continent. It set up an entirely false standard of honour, and gave an unfair advantage to skilled swordsmen. It could not even be said that an ardent duellist was a courageous man. On the contrary, during the agrarian disorders in Russia in 1905, when the landlords required real courage, it was found that those who did not face the music were for the most part very keen duellists. He thought that the present Anglo-Russian friendship, with its ventilation of English ideas in Russia, would serve to put a stop to duelling in Russia.

Dr. Burrows, in opening the discussion, declared that Baron Heyking's paper was just the sort of thing required to make the debates of the Society successful—in fact, it was a model paper. He reminded us that the last duel fought in England was in the grounds of King's College, by the Iron Duke. Madame Olga Novikoff related the true story of that last duel. At the end of an interesting debate, in moving a vote of

thanks to the lecturer and chairman, Dr. John Pollen called attention to the perfect elocution of the lecturer, the admirable grouping of the facts, and the deeply interesting personal recollections with which he was able to illustrate his subject. His clearness and excellent elocution were only rivalled by that of Madame Novikoff, who certainly must have deeply gratified the audience by the interesting anecdote with which she too had thrown light on the subject of the lecture. Dr. Burrows, to whom they were all indebted for the interesting manner in which he opened the debate, had shown how closely King's College itself had been connected with the final stages of duelling in England, and the audience would not soon forget that the Great Duke himself had not thought it unworthy to assert the rights of the College by means of a challenge. Dr. Burrows had expressed the hope that he (Dr. Pollen) could give some evidence as to the manner in which duelling was regarded by the Japanese, but unfortunately, although he knew something of the Near and more of the Middle East, he had never yet had the privilege of visiting Japan. We know, however, that the duel of Japan often took the form of suicide, a struggle between the two natures in the man himself, and the Japanese was always ready to sacrifice himself for his own highest ideal. Duelling, as the lecturer had explained, had certainly died out amongst the nobler nations, but, like war, it would never entirely disappear until the nations abandoned what he would call "top-dogging"—i.e., the domination of one race over another race or people, and until it was established as the first principle of a world-wide citizenship that every man was entitled to speak the speech he preferred, and worship his Creator according to his own ideas of worship, in the land or country in which he happened to be born or bred. (Cheers)

With Sir John Hewett to present the Royal Asiatic Society's Public Schools' Gold Medal on June 12, there was a double interest in the gathering, for, in addition to the link between schoolboys of the West and the history and romance of India, which the Society's medal furnishes, Sir John, as chairman of the Governing Body of the School of Oriental Studies, represented an institution which stands for a still wider contact between East and West. There was a fitness, too, in the presentation of the medal by a representative of the new School, for it is largely through the efforts of the Royal Asiatic Society that the School of Oriental Studies has come into existence. The history of the Sikhs was the subject of this year's essay, and both Mr. Longworth Dames—who presided in the regretted absence of Lord Reay, owing to his serious accident—and Sir John Hewett gave speeches on the Sikhs, emphasizing special points in the wonderful record. In this way the audience, on the occasion, received enlightenment. The winner of the Gold Medal this year is Mr. A. Mervyn Davies, of Bishop's Stortford College, one of the schools which have come within the scope of the competition since it has been thrown open to those—114 in number—which are represented on the Headmasters Conference. Mr. Davies was warmly complimented upon his essay, which was declared to be one of the best ever sent in for competition for the medal.

An interesting point mentioned by Sir John Hewett, in connection with the Sikh soldiers who fought in France, was that, through the Indian Soldiers' Fund, the men were made happy by the provision of their five sacred symbols, to replace those lost through stress of war conditions. Copies of the Granth Sahb were also given to them; and the provision of cocoanut oil and combs for their hair gave great satisfaction.

With regard to the School of Oriental Studies, Sir John stated that there are 124 students this term, among them thirty officers of the army, who are studying Arabic and Turkish. Dr Demson Ross, Principal of the School and Professor of Persian, also teaches Tibetan. Classes have been opened for Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Pali, Chinese, Japanese, and the African languages Swahili, Hausa, and Bantu. Public lectures also are given, including two courses under the Forlong bequest, on Oriental religions, customs, and history. Sir John said that India, with its many languages, could hardly be spoken of as a nation, but he thought it might become a nation through the general dissemination of the English language. He fully endorsed the strong insistence in the report of the Public Services Commission on the need for the study of Indian history, and declared that no one can regard himself as qualified to take an active part in the solution of Indian administrative problems to day unless he has acquired a general knowledge of the history of India from the earliest times and has studied the effect of the different religious movements on the feelings, customs, and prejudices of the people influenced by them.

London saw a special and unique celebration on Empire Day, ably carried out in the Y M C A Central Hall, under the auspices of the Union of East and West, under the title of "Bharata." Mr K N Das Gupta, the author of this clever presentment of Indian history, expects to publish it shortly, and so make it possible for it to be given in the schools throughout the land. Fourteen children, girls and boys, from one of the London County Council schools of the north of London were the delightful and delighted players, who, through a wandering minstrel, a story teller, and others, heard of the ancient, medieval, and modern history of India, and were fascinated by stories from the "Ramayana" and "Mahabharata," of Padmini and the Rajputs of Chitor, and other great men and women of India, and by question and answer came to understand something of the extent and diversity of the land and its people, of the method of government in pre-British days and under British rule, of the great services of India throughout the war. They sang, with the musician, a Hindustani song, and joined in a solemn invocation, and the National Anthem concluded the proceedings.

At the annual meeting of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association it was pointed out that although intemperance had not become widespread in India, it was assuming threatening dimensions, and its evil results had been accentuated by the war. If the people were allowed to decide their own policy, it would be along the lines of popular control. The Association has

now two hundred branches in India. Sir Herbert Roberts, its President, took the chair at the meeting, and paid tribute to the splendid service of Indian troops in the war, but expressed regret that the Government had not taken special measures to restrict the drink traffic during the war. Other speakers were Mr Charles Roberts, M P., Mr Leif Jones, M P., Sir William Collins, M P., Mr. A Yusuf Ali, Surgeon-General Evatt, Mrs Caine, the Hon Mrs Eliot Yorke. A very pleasing incident of the gathering was the presentation to Mr. F. Grubb, secretary of the Association, and his wife, of an illuminated address, in recognition of splendid service rendered during twenty-five years.

In a paper read before the Central Asian Society on May 30, Mr Demetrius Boulger urged the necessity of railway communications through Syria and Mesopotamia to India. He criticized the policy of the British Governments in the past which has allowed Germany to make great progress eastwards, and advocated the adoption of the report of the Parliamentary Committee of 1872 in favour of an alternative route between the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf, and India. "The railway from the Levant, not from the Bosphorus," he declared, "is to be our lever, the master key to the position in the Near and Middle East."

Sir Paul Vinogradoff, speaking at the Lyceum Club on the Revolution in Russia, said that a great revolution was not so simple an undertaking as cooking an egg. No country could go through such an experience without suffering. Russia has had a severe operation, he added, the high temperature will go down, and the patient must be regarded as convalescent. He laid stress on the strong underlying community of interest and moral feeling between the British and Russian peoples. Sir Frederick Pollock advocated patience and trust, pointing out that when there was a revolution in England it took fifty years to carry through, and at times seemed in danger of failure. Mrs. Sonia Howe spoke of the strong common sense of the Russian peasant, and Miss Czapliska regarded Professor Vinogradoff as typical of the people who will gain influence in the new era in Russia.

LONDON THEATRES

Savoy Theatre—"Humpty-Dumpty," by H. A. Vachell.

Mr. H. B. Irving at the Savoy Theatre has become one of London's great institutions. Whether as an Alsatian inn-keeper, or the Prince of Denmark in tragedy, or as a doctor or professor, we obtain from him a certain high level of interpretation which commands enthusiasm. And now we must needs admire him in the rôle of a barber. The playwright also is bold in his experiment. He entertains us with the vagaries in the fortunes of a socialist barber who becomes a lord, gets bored, returns to his shop, and finds that he is no lord after all; of a young idealist, who in his transparent honesty renounces his claim to the estate in favour of this supposed cousin, and loses his fiancée in the bargain, and of certain very human relations of the young John Delamothe, who are very upset by his idealism, and their consequent dependence on the generosity of the ex-barber.

Albert Mott began as a coiffeur in love with Chrissie Parkins of Swashcombe-on-Sea, and his dear mother, who adopted him when a baby, and he ends up in the same position. The interlude of Mayfair left no mark on him, nor the Mayfair girl, Nancy Delamothe, whose father, General the Hon. Henry Delamothe, was so impecunious that she must needs marry money. Some would say that this is unlikely in a barber, it is only natural for anyone who respects himself and his profession. We do not know, however, whether Mr. Vachell desired to go any farther than write a delightful comedy, with clever situations and some shrewd character-drawing.

Miss Hilda Trevelyan as the Swashcombe, and Miss Violet Campbell as the Mayfair girl were admirably contrasted. Mr. Barry Baxter as the idealist John Delamothe looked his part. Mr. Holman Clark was a rather genial villain, Miss Mary Jerrold as the barber's mother very effective.

Mr. H. B. Irving's "barber" was a bold experiment, for it was an exceedingly difficult rôle to play, and that, after all, is the aim and the test of the great actor.

OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

THE King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. Justice Saiyid Sharf-ud-din, Puisne Judge of the Patna High Court, to be a member of the Executive Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa, in succession to Maharaja Bahadur Sir Rameswar Singh, G.C.I.E., of Darbhanga.

The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Sir Saiyid Ali Imam, K.C.S.I., to be a Puisne Judge of the Patna High Court, in succession to Mr. Justice Saiyid Sharf-ud-din.

The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. T. F. Dawson Miller, K.C., to be Chief Justice of the Patna High Court, in succession to Sir Edward Chamier, who will shortly retire from the appointment.

The Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P., Secretary of State for India, has appointed Sir Edward Chamier to be Legal Adviser and Solicitor to the Secretary of State at the India Office, in succession to Sir S. G. Sale, K.C.I.E., who will retire in the autumn.

INDIAN HONOURS LIST

KAISAR-I-HIND GOLD MEDAL

The King has been graciously pleased to make the following awards of the "Kaisar-i-Hind Medal for Public Services in India" of the First Class :

1. Mrs. Isabel Whitehead, wife of the Right Rev. Dr. Whitehead, D.D., Bishop of Madras.
2. Miss May Reed, in charge of the Leper Asylum, Chandagh, Pithoragarh, Almora District, United Provinces.
3. Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D., V.D., Indian Civil Service (retired).
4. Seth Motilal Manekchand, Millowner, Bombay.
5. The Rev. James Hair Maclean, B.D., of the United Free Church of Scotland Mission, Chingleput District, Madras.
6. Dr. Behari Lal Dhingra, M.D., M.R.C.S., Chief Medical Office, Jind State.
7. Lieutenant-Colonel Kanta Prasad, Indian Medical Service (retired), of Rangoon, Burma.
8. The Rev. Arthur Ernest Brown, of the Wesleyan Mission, Bankura, and Superintendent of the Bankura Leper Asylum.
9. Captain Robert Henry Bott, M.B., F.R.C.S., Indian Medical Service, Professor of Surgery, Medical College, Lahore, Punjab.
10. The Rev. William Emerslie Wilkie Brown, of the United Free Church of Scotland Mission, Jalna, His Highness the Nizam's Dominions.

The Right Hon. Austen Chamberlain, M.P., Secretary of State for India, has appointed: Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, barrister-at-law, to be a Member of the Council of India, in succession to Sir Abbas Ali Baig, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Sir Prabhashankar Dalpatram Patani, K.C.I.E., in succession to Raja Daljit Singh, C.S.I., who has resigned his appointment on his acceptance of the post of Chief Minister in Kashmir. Mr. Chamberlain has also appointed Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, Additional Member of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General, to be a Member of the Council of India. There will therefore now be three Indian Members of the Council of India instead of two as heretofore.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

AUGUST 15, 1917

CH'IU CHIN: A CHINESE HEROINE*

BY LIONEL GILES, M.A., D.LITT.

THE revolution that changed the face of China in 1911 was only the culminating wave of a movement which had grown steadily in volume for several years, and was heralded by a number of sporadic outbreaks the significance of which was not altogether apparent at the time. The real awakening of China may be said to date from the disastrous war with Japan in 1894, which was soon followed by territorial aggression on the part of the great European Powers. The Reform Edicts of Kuang Hsü seemed to open a door to the new aspirations of the Chinese people, but all hopes were dashed by the return of the Empress-Dowager to power. The "Boxer" explosion of 1900 was directed at first against the throne, and it was only by consummate craft on the part of the Manchu Government that it was turned into a war of extermination against the foreigner. When China emerged, broken and breathless, from the unequal fray, saddled with a crushing indemnity, bankrupt and discredited as a civilized nation, she realized the extent to which she had been hoodwinked by her rulers. The anti-foreign animus gradually died away, for the Chinese knew that the real enemy they had to reckon with was within their gates. It became the aim of every patriot to shake off the Manchu incubus

* A paper read before the China Society at Carlton Hall, Westminster, Mrs. Archibald Little in the chair.

which had been the cause of their bitterest humiliation. The task, however, was one that might well appal the stoutest heart. In a land of great distances like China, the difficulty of accomplishing a successful revolution is immense. Popular discontent is like a flame that has to be assiduously tended and watched—fanned in one part of the country, controlled and restrained in another—until everything is ready for a simultaneous and overmastering conflagration. In the years following the return of the Manchu Court to Peking the political atmosphere was charged with electricity. As Victor Hugo says of France after the restoration of the Bourbons, "Un certain frisson révolutionnaire courait vaguement." Secret societies multiplied rapidly, but too often acted independently of one another; hence the isolated outbreaks that occurred were generally premature, and came to an untimely end for want of co-operation. The year 1907 brought forth several such uprisings, one of which, ineffectual though it was at the moment, is likely to find a permanent place in history, if only because it was engineered from start to finish by a woman.

Ch'iu Chin was the daughter of an official whose native place was Shaohsing in the province of Chekiang. This city is mentioned by Marco Polo under the name of Tanpiju: "When you leave Kinsay (the modern Hangchow) and travel a day's journey to the south-east, through a plenteous region, passing a succession of dwellings and charming gardens, you reach the city of Tanpiju, a great, rich and fine city, under Kinsay." Owing to its numerous canals it is sometimes styled, like Soochow, "the Venice of China." The surname Ch'iu means "autumn," and the personal name Chin "a lustrous gem." At a later period she took the sobriquet Ching-hsiung, which means "Vie-with-male," and she was also known as Chien-hu Nü-chieh, "Female Champion of the Mirror Lake." At the age of eighteen, Ch'iu Chin was married to a gentleman named Wang, and went with him to Peking, where she gave birth to a boy and a girl. Hers was not a temperament, however, that could

resign itself gladly to the placid joys of domestic life. During the Boxer crisis of 1900, when she was an eye-witness of the mournful events at Peking, she was heard to exclaim with a sigh: "We mortals must grapple with difficulties and dangers in order to show what stuff we are made of. How can people spend all their days amidst the petty worries of domestic concerns?" She had received the education of a scholar, wrote poetry, and held advanced views on the emancipation of women. In a popular Chinese account of her life, published some years later,* we find the following résumé of a public lecture which she delivered on the subject of foot-binding:

"We women," she said, "have for thousands of years past been subjected to a system of repression, and at no time have we enjoyed the smallest measure of independence. Rigidly bound by the ancient rules prescribing the Three Obediences and the Four Virtues, we were unable to utter the faintest word of protest. Into this point, however, I will not enter at present. What I wish to say is this: we women, who have had our feet bound from early childhood, have suffered untold pain and misery, for which our parents showed no pity. Under this treatment our faces grew pinched and thin, and our muscles and bones were cramped and distorted. The consequence is that our bodies are weak and incapable of vigorous activity, and in everything we do we are obliged to lean on others. Being thus necessarily dependent on external aid, we find ourselves, after marriage, subjected to the domination of men, just as though we were their household slaves. All our energies are confined to the home, where we are occupied in cutting out clothes, cooking and preparing food, making tea and boiling rice, sprinkling and sweeping, waiting on our husbands, and handing them basin and towel. In any important business we are prevented from taking the least part. Should a guest arrive, we are obliged to make ourselves scarce and hide in our private apartments. We are not allowed to inquire deeply

* Procured for me in Peking by my friend, Major W. Percival Yetts.

into any subject, and should we venture to speak at any length in reply to some argument, we are told that our sex is volatile and shallow. My sisters, do you know where the fault lies that has brought us to this pass? It is all due to women's lack of energy and spirit. We ourselves drew back in the first instance, and by-and-by that came to be regarded as an immutable rule of conduct. Sisters, let us to-day investigate the causes which have led to this want of spirit and energy among women. May it not be because we insist on binding up our girls' feet at an early age, speaking of their 'three-inch golden lilies' and their 'captivating little steps'? May it not be, I say, that this process of foot-binding is what has sapped and destroyed all our energy and spirit? To-day my blood is up, and I want to stir your blood as well, my sisters, and rouse you to a sense of your degradation. All women should, in the first place, refuse to adorn themselves with paint and powder, or trick themselves out in seductive guise, realizing that every human being has his own natural countenance given to him by God. Secondly, you must never bind your feet again, nor utter nonsensical verses like:

Contending in beauty with their three-inch feet and slender bodies,
light enough to flit over the waves,
The gentle swaying of their willow waists reminding one of the flight
of a swallow.

"Do not wrong your intelligence by thus dissipating your precious strength, but rather bewail the lot of those unhappy maidens who for thousands of years have been shedding tears of blood. In bringing forward this question of unbound feet, my sisters, I want you to realize that the result of having feet of the natural size will be to abolish the evils attendant on injured bones and muscles and an enfeebled constitution—surely a cause for unbounded rejoicing. I feel it my duty to lose no time in rooting out this vile custom amongst women. For where, in all the five great continents, will you find a single country that follows this Chinese practice of foot-binding? And yet we, who were born and brought up

in China, look upon it as the most civilized country in the world! If one day we succeed in wiping out this horrible blot on our civilization, our bodies will begin to grow stronger, and the steps we take in walking will become a pleasure instead of a pain. Having thus regained their natural energy, the whole sex will progress without difficulty, and an endless store of happiness will be built up for thousands of generations of women yet unborn. But if you shrink from this reform, and wish to retain the pretty sight of small feet beneath your petticoats, you will remain imprisoned to the end of the chapter in the seclusion of your inner apartments, quite devoid of any strength of character, and it will be impossible to manifest the native brilliancy of the female sex. I earnestly hope and trust that you, my sisters, will bring about a thorough reform of all the ancient abuses, rouse yourselves to act with resolution, and refuse to submit to the domination of man, asserting your own independent authority, and so ordering things that the status of women may rise daily higher, while their dependence on others grows less and less. Let there be thorough enlightenment on the subject of foot-binding, and progress in the matter of equal rights for men and women will surely follow."

That matrimony as it is understood in China should have proved irksome to such an ardent and self-reliant temperament is no matter for surprise. Husband and wife agreed to an amicable separation some two or three years after the Boxer rising, and Ch'iu Chin, having lost the whole of her capital in speculation, through misplaced confidence in an unworthy person, seems to have conceived the idea of educating herself on modern lines in order to be better equipped for the struggle of life. Accordingly, she raised some money by the sale of her hair ornaments and other jewellery and prepared to start for Tokyo, a centre to which Chinese students were then flocking in great numbers. An incident which occurred before she left Peking throws some light on her character as well as on her political sympathies. A member of the Reform Party of 1898, who had surrendered

himself to stand his trial for complicity in the measures of that memorable year, was languishing in the prison of the Board of Punishments, where, for want of funds to expedite the hearing of his case, it is probable that he might have remained indefinitely. On hearing of his plight, Ch'iu Chin sent a large portion of the sum which she had set aside for her own education to help him in his hour of need. With noble delicacy of feeling she enjoined on the messenger not to reveal the name of the donor, so that until the prisoner had been released, he was unaware to whom he was so deeply indebted.

Ch'iu Chin sailed for Japan towards the end of April, 1904. As one of her biographers puts it, she was "quite alone, and oppressed by a thousand anxieties." It was the first time she had left China; both the country and the people to which she was journeying were strange to her, and their language unintelligible. And it must be remembered that Chinese women at that date were only just beginning to throw off the age-long shackles of convention. To most Chinese eyes her enterprise must have appeared in the light of a grave impropriety. Truly, it was a great adventure on which this dauntless young woman of twenty-eight was embarking. When she arrived in Tokyo, sheer force of character soon brought her to the front. We find her a member of the debating club attached to the hostelry for Chinese students, training herself as a speaker, and, a little later on, forming a secret society with ten other ladies, having for its aim the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty. She also became acquainted with an ardent young reformer named T'ao Ch'êng-chang (who was afterwards to write the most detailed and reliable account of her life) and several of his friends, who had already been engaged in sowing the seeds of revolution throughout the province of Chekiang. In the spring of 1905 our heroine's slender pittance was almost exhausted, and it became an urgent necessity for her to return to China in order to raise fresh funds for the continuance of her studies. Before she left, she had an important conversation

with Tao Ch'êng-chang, and begged for a letter of introduction to the leaders of the revolutionary party, so that she herself might join in the work. After some hesitation on his part she obtained what she wished, and in July she had her first interview with Hsi Hsi-lin, a man of fierce energy and fanatical temper, whose fortunes were thenceforward irretrievably linked with her own. Having been formally enrolled in the ranks of the Kuang-fu (Glorious Restoration) Society—a branch of the Tung-mêng Hui, or Sworn Brotherhood, founded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen—she made a tour of South-east Chekiang, accompanied by her friend Tao, and visited various revolutionary leaders.

September saw her back again in Tokyo, and there she seems to have met Sun Yat-sen himself. A severe illness prostrated her for more than a month, but as soon as she was convalescent she entered the Jissen Jo Gakkō, a Training College for Women. Her studies, however, were soon to be cut short by an unexpected occurrence. The Manchu Government had got wind of the revolutionary plots being hatched in the Japanese capital, and at their request a number of stringent police regulations were put in force against the Chinese students. A storm of indignation immediately arose, and Ch'iu Chin, ever ready to fight against oppression, was active in organizing mass meetings at which she herself was one of the principal speakers. She was also the moving spirit in the formation of a league the members of which pledged themselves to return to China unless the obnoxious regulations were rescinded. After a time things quieted down, and the majority of the students yielded to the force of circumstances. But Ch'iu Chin's indomitable spirit refused to be coerced; she kept her word, and shook the dust of Japan off her feet for ever.

Two of her friends, Mr. Tao and another, met her on her return to Shanghai, and saw her off on the final stage of her journey home. Knowing her to be an accomplished scholar, they begged for some autograph composition as a memento, and Ch'iu Chin responded by copying out, before she left

Shanghai, a small volume containing the product of her muse—that is to say, 150 short pieces of poetry of various kinds. It is to this fortunate incident that we probably owe the preservation of her poems, for after her death the manuscript was printed and published. I have here a copy of the second edition, prepared in 1910, which was sent to me by an anonymous donor in that year. It bears the title, "The Literary Remains of the Heroine Ch'iu," and prefixed to it is the biography by T'ao Ch'êng-chang already mentioned, with a postscript containing further details by Mr. Kung. A large proportion of these poems are inspired by flowers and other objects of Nature, and their delicate fragrance would hardly survive translation into English. Others are addressed to various friends, notably the lady Hsü Tzū-hua, a poetess like herself, of whom we shall hear more presently. Only a few are political, or concerned with current events, as, for example, the stirring lines in which she celebrates the naval victory of Japan over Russia. I must content myself with offering you a single specimen, turned as literally as possible into prose. It is the last in the book, written in irregular metre after the fashion of an ode, and it illustrates Ch'iu Chin's ardent aspirations for the full emancipation of her sex.

ON THE STRUGGLE FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS

We of the female sex are in love with liberty:

Let us pledge our resolve to win liberty in a bumper of wine!

By the dispensation of Nature, men and women are endowed with equal rights;

How can we be content to abide in our inferior position?

With all our energy we must raise ourselves up, and wash away, once for all, the shame and degradation of the past.

If only men will acquiesce in our becoming their comrades,

They shall see our white hands toiling in the great task of winning back our beloved country.

Full of dishonour is the ancient custom

By which women are allotted to their respective mates like cattle.

Now that the light of dawn is visible, ushering in a new era of civilization, Man's claim to stand alone, usurping the first place,

And to hold the other sex in slavish subjection, must be utterly abolished. Wisdom, understanding, mental culture—all will come by dint of training and practice.

O my heroic countrywomen, shoulder your responsibilities!

I am confident that you will not flinch from the task that awaits you.

These verses—from which it must be confessed that most of the beauty and power have evaporated in my feeble translation—rang like a trumpet blast through the literary and political world of China at a time when the land was still groaning under the humiliation of a foreign yoke. The veiled allusion to the coming revolution, and the eagerness of Chinese women to take their share in that struggle, shows the direction in which Ch'iu Chin's thoughts were tending. In truth, she soon realized that the winning of political liberty was the necessary preliminary to sex emancipation.

In the meantime, she had her own living to make. In February, 1906, she was recommended for the post of teacher to a girls' school at Nanzin, in the extreme north of Chekiang, but was rejected in favour of another applicant, Madame Hsü Tzū-hua. Ch'iu Chin was much annoyed, but curiosity seems to have impelled her to call on her successful rival; no sooner had they met than each confessed herself vanquished, and their sole regret was that their meeting had been delayed so long. Madame Hsü insisted on keeping her new friend with her to share the work of the school, and for the next six months they lived together in the closest intimacy. But the fever of revolution was already in Ch'iu Chin's blood, and the drudgery of a school was unsuited to her restless and ambitious temper. She paid frequent visits to Shanghai, helped in the foundation of a new Chinese College there, and spared herself no exertion in working for its success. She also opened a branch of the Kuang-fu Secret Society at premises in North Szechuen Road, and gradually formed a large circle of acquaintance among the revolutionary leaders, who were not slow to recognize her transcendent abilities as well as the flame of disinterested patriotism which burned within her. Hsü Hsi-lin was now an expectant official at Anking, where he had won the complete confidence of the Manchu Governor Ên-ming. From this coign of vantage he was able to act as a spy in the interests of the revolutionary party, and was in constant communication with Ch'iu Chin and another fellow-towns-

man named Ch'ên Po-p'ing. The latter was a somewhat younger man, of reckless bravery, who acted as a loyal henchman to Hsü Hsi-lin, and appears to have been especially devoted to our heroine. In conjunction with him and a few others she hired a house in Hongkew for the manufacture of bombs. Doubtless owing to their inexperience in the handling of dynamite, an explosion took place one day, which might have had the most serious consequences; as it was, Ch'ên was injured in the eye and Ch'iu Chin in the arm, and both narrowly escaped being arrested by the police.

Checked in this direction, her activities soon found a new outlet. With the help of her friend Hsü Tzū-hua, she started the *Chung Kuo Nü Pao*, or Chinese women's journal, a small monthly magazine published at 91, North Szechuen Road. Through the kindness of Mr. Ch'ên Kuo-ch'üan of Shanghai, a copy of the second number of this interesting periodical has come into my hands, and I think I cannot do better than give you a brief conspectus of its contents. First comes a portrait of the editor—Ch'iu Chin herself—unfortunately a poor photograph, which, however, gives some idea of her personal appearance. Then, after the table of contents, comes a general statement of the aims and scope of the new publication. The first three articles are entitled "Notes on Moral Philosophy," "Female Education," and "A Happy New Year" (China New Year, 1907, had fallen twelve days before the number went to press). After this follows the second instalment of an article, "Hints on Nursing," translated from the English by Ch'iu Chin. This occupies ten pages, and deals with the temperature and ventilation of the sick-room, invalid diet, bed-sores, sleep, and the use of the clinical thermometer. We learn from one of her biographers that Ch'iu Chin was an omnivorous reader, and here we have further proof of the wide range of her interests and her remarkable appetite for knowledge. Incidentally, it appears that she had somehow acquired a very considerable knowledge of the English language. Next we have the second chapter of a story called "The Independent

Maiden," by a lady writer. This is followed by two collections of poetry—"Jade Fragments" and "Desolate Mountains"—including four poems by our heroine; and there are also the verses quoted above, on Women's Rights, set to music. The last section is devoted to the cause of female education. It includes an essay urging the necessity of organization and mutual co-operation amongst women, notes on the practical results that had already been achieved, and items of news from various quarters. On the whole, this journalistic venture must be pronounced of high literary quality. It compares favourably with the average woman's paper in this country, and the only fault that can be found with it is that it was somewhat too ambitious in its aim. Very few Chinese women at that date can have been sufficiently educated to appreciate the intellectual fare that was set before them, and there is reason to believe that most of the subscribers belonged to the other sex.

Clouds were now gathering apace on the political horizon, and suddenly, in the winter of 1906, the storm burst. An armed uprising took place in Kiangsi, and a meeting was hurriedly convened at Shaohsing in order to debate the question of sending military aid. But it was already too late. No other province showed any sign of moving, and the insurrection fizzled out after the vain sacrifice of many gallant lives. Ch'iu Chin had attended the conference and charged herself with the direction of affairs in Chekiang. She immediately embarked on the perilous enterprise of touring through the interior of the province in order to organize a sympathetic revolt. With the exception of the northern part, Chekiang is almost wholly mountainous, and there are even now no railways. The exhausting nature of travel under such conditions can well be imagined. After a short stay at Kinhwa, Ch'iu Chin returned to Shaohsing, and there she first heard the bad news from Kiangsi—the execution of many of her personal friends, the arrest and imprisonment of others. All hope of co-operation was thus destroyed. It was a staggering blow, but Chin's ardour was only height-

ened by misfortune. . It was now, so we are told, amid the wreck of her hopes, that she secretly determined to reanimate the drooping spirits of her party and to bring about a revolution single-handed. Her opportunity soon came. The Ta-t'ung College of Physical Culture at Shaohsing was in need of a head, and Ch'iu Chin's prestige and ability marked her out as the fittest incumbent. Amazing as it may seem to those who knew what China was only twenty years ago, this young woman was publicly appointed Principal, and the Prefect himself, accompanied by the two district magistrates, came in person to the College in order to present her with a complimentary address. This Prefect, Kuei-fu by name, who was a Manchu, evidently had no inkling of the propaganda which was being carried on under his very nose, nor could he have suspected that the seemingly innocent institution which he was visiting had already become the centre and focus of a dangerous agitation.

Little more than four months of life now remained to Ch'iu Chin, but they were filled with feverish activity. In this short time she reorganized the Kuang-fu Society from top to bottom, making frequent journeys between Shaohsing, Hangchow, and Shanghai, and turning her attention especially to the army and to the student population in those centres.

Mr. Ch'ên Ch'ü-ping has preserved for us an interesting account of her last two meetings with Madame Hsü, which may be given in his own words: "On March 17, 1907, the two friends made an excursion up the Phoenix Hill at Hangchow, where they mourned together in the Old Pavilion of the Southern Sung, shedding tears as they gazed down upon the Western Lake. Chin then proceeded to make a secret survey of the roads and paths leading in and out of the city, and drew a map of the country for military use, in order that she might be prepared for eventualities. Madame Hsü, seeing that Chin was much concerned because the moment for action had not yet arrived, rallied her jocularly on the subject, and Chin listened in silence. Then they went

together to visit Yo Fei's tomb,* which they gazed upon with reverence, pacing up and down until it grew dark, and still unable to tear themselves away.

"Madame Hsü chaffed her friend again, saying: 'I suppose you would like to be buried in this spot when you die?' Chin replied with a sigh: 'To have the privilege of being buried here would be too much happiness.' 'If you die,' said Madame Hsü, 'I will see to your funeral. But it might happen that I should die first. Will you in that case be able to have me buried here?' To which Chin laughingly replied: 'If I find that it can be done cheaply, I will.' So they bade each other farewell and separated. About three months later, after the revolutionaries at Shaohsing had had their posts allotted to them, Chin went to Shanghai in order to make the final arrangements with Hsü Hsi-lin and the other leaders, and took Shihmen (where Hsü Tzū-hua lived) on her way. In the middle of the night she knocked at the door of her friend's house, and on being admitted, she announced that the rising was about to take place, but that she was in difficulties owing to the exhaustion of her funds. Madame Hsü immediately turned out her jewel-case and gave her the contents, whereat Chin was very grateful, and taking two kingfisher bracelets off her arms, she handed them to Hsü Tzū-hua, saying: 'As one never knows what may happen, I should like you to have these as a memento of bygone days.' And again, when about to resume her journey, she said to her friend: 'Of course I can trust you to keep the promise that you gave me at Yo Fei's grave?' Madame Hsü replied sadly: 'If it should ever come to that, my dearest, you may rest assured that I will find a way to meet your wishes.' Thus, with gloomy forebodings, they parted."

Meanwhile, a second tour through Chekiang had satisfied

* Yo Fei (A.D. 1103-1141) was a brilliant General who distinguished himself under the Southern Sung Dynasty by his successes against the Chin Tartars, then masters of the whole of North China. Having incurred the enmity of the traitorous Minister, Ch'in Kuei, who had sold himself to the Tartars, he was arrested and thrown into prison, where shortly afterwards he was officially reported to have "died."

Ch'iu Chin that Kinhwa and several neighbouring towns were ripe for an upheaval, and the main difficulty now was to restrain the eagerness of the revolutionaries, so that the outbreaks in different parts of the province might be as far as possible simultaneous. It was planned, however, that the main body of insurgents at Shaohsing should wait until the Manchu troops in Hangchow had sallied forth against Kinhwa and Chuchow, in order to make a surprise attack on Hangchow when denuded of its defenders. It was also arranged that a party of soldiers and students should co-operate with them from within the city. In case of failure, the army was to march back, effect a junction with the Kinhwa contingent, and eventually strike a blow at the important city of Anking on the Yangtse. The date of the rising was fixed for July 19, but, as usual in such cases where there is so much gunpowder lying about, the explosion was premature. It was hastened by the action of one of the leaders, who in the middle of June began hastily concentrating his troops between Tungyang and Chenghsien, and was foolish enough to unfurl the revolutionary standard. This precipitated the crisis. On July 1, the insurrection broke out at Wuyi, not far from Kinhwa, where further outbreaks occurred two days later. Ch'iu Chin immediately despatched Ch'ên Po-p'ing to Anking to apprise Hsü Hsi-lin of the state of affairs. He, fearing the consequences of delay, seized his opportunity and slew Ên-ming, the Governor, on July 6.

It is hard to see how this crime can be justified, even as a stroke of policy. Its immediate effect was the arrest and execution of Hsü Hsi-lin and Ch'ên Po-p'ing, both of whose lives might have proved most useful at this juncture. It alienated a number of moderate men, who, though detesting Manchu rule, were unable to reconcile themselves to methods of assassination. Worst of all, it succeeded in thoroughly alarming the Government and opening its eyes to the existence of a formidable and widespread conspiracy. A strict search was at once instituted for all members of revolutionary clubs, and the Ta-t'ung College fell under suspicion. It

appears that secret information, incriminating Ch'iu Chin, was given to the Prefect of Shaohsing, Kuei-fu, by a member of the local gentry, Hu Tao-nan, who had previously had a passage of arms with our heroine in which he had come off second best. Madame Hsü speaks of "the unguarded way in which she would make cutting remarks" as having led to her death. Anyhow, the affront was never forgiven, and her accuser chose this dastardly method of paying off old scores. Kuei-fu lost no time in taking action. He crossed over to Hangchow by night and made a personal report on the situation to the Governor, Chang Tsêng-yang, after which he returned to Shaohsing.

It was only on July 9 that Ch'iu Chin herself heard of the abortive attempt at Anking, and it is recorded that she sat down in her room and wept. For the first time her iron nerve seemed to be shaken. There can be little doubt that she was privy to Hsü Hsi-lin's intentions; but, whether or no she condoned political assassination in general as a means for securing national liberty, she must have realized that in this instance it was a tragic blunder, likely to prove fatal to the cause which she had at heart. Her native resolution, however, soon reasserted itself. A council of war was held by the students in Shaohsing on the 10th, at which it was proposed to rise at once, kill the Prefect, and get possession of the town. This desperate scheme would have rendered impossible the attack on Hangchow, already fixed for the 19th, and Chin preferred to take the risk of waiting, in order to carry out her original plan. On the 12th, at daybreak, some students arrived with a secret missive from Hangchow, in which it was stated that the Manchu troops were already in motion, and that some counter-stroke must be decided on at once. Another mass meeting of the students was convened in the Ta-t'ung College building, but in the end no decision was arrived at, and a large number of them, abandoning the cause, went back to their homes. The next day, early in the afternoon, a body of scouts returned with the report that a Manchu regiment was marching on Shaohsing.

Chin sent them out again to reconnoitre, and they brought back the news that the enemy had crossed over to the east bank of the river. This time she saw that the news was only too true, and shortly afterwards the soldiers had entered the city. The students held a last hurried meeting, and all urged Chin to make her escape, but she made no reply. When the Manchus arrived in front of the College they did not dare to force an entry immediately. There were still some dozen or more students remaining on the premises. Of these, a few got out by the back door and escaped by swimming across the canal, while the others rushed out of the front door and faced the enemy with weapons in their hands. The Manchu soldiers were taken by surprise, and a number of them were killed or wounded by the students, two of whom were also slain. Chin remained sitting in an inner apartment, and was taken prisoner, together with six others, whose names have been recorded by T'ao Ch'êng-chang. The next day, when brought before the district magistrate, she steadfastly refused to utter a word for fear of implicating her associates, but only traced a single line of poetry: "*Ch'iu yü ch'iu fêng ch'ou sha jên*" ("Autumn rain and autumn wind fill the heart with melancholy sore").* Sentence was pronounced, and on the morning of July 15, at daybreak, she was executed near the Pavilion at Shaohsing. It is said that a rosy cloud was floating overhead at the time, and a chilly north wind blowing. The executioners as well as the on-lookers were all shuddering with emotion, but Ch'iu Chin herself went tranquilly to her doom, and even when her head lay severed from the trunk the expression of her face still remained unaltered.

The news of Ch'iu Chin's martyrdom was received with an outburst of grief, mingled with horror, not only by her friends, but by all who believed in the cause for which her life had been sacrificed. Public opinion was stirred to its depths, and thousands of elegies bewailing her fate were

* This contains a play on her surname Ch'iu, which, as I have said, means "autumn."

circulated in all parts of China. Perhaps the most beautiful and pathetic of these was composed by Madame Hsü Tzū-hua, after she had recovered from the illness caused by the shock of her friend's death. I regret that I have not time to give it in full, and must content myself with quoting a few extracts:

"Alas, Hsuan-ch'ing!* All too great was thy love of glory, and now calamity has overtaken thee

Many indeed were those who admired and loved thee, but many, too, regarded thee with jealousy and spite
The calumnies of slanderous tongues have brought thee to thy lamentable doom

It is the nature of the enlightened to be full of ardent zeal, of the stupid and obstinate to be full of slander

In what family will a girl again bring herself to seek education?

In what household will a wife again be willing to become a leader of men?

* * * * *

Alas, Hsuan-ch'ing! 'Twas only last year, in the second month of spring, that I first came to know thee,

With thy pointed sallies in conversation, thy lively wit which always found its way home,

Thy heroism and sense of duty, thy lofty indomitable spirit,

Thy melancholy songs, thy sword-play, thy convivialty, thy skill in composition

Once, in turning out thy travelling trunks, I espied a copy of thy writings—
Works full of zeal for humanity, noble sentiments, ardent enthusiasm, and deep-seated emotion—

And lo! I was overcome with an inarticulate yearning of sympathy over thy talents and aspirations, which proclaimed thee a heroine among women

* * * * *

Alas, Hsuan-ch'ing! 'Tis but a little while since I parted from thee, and the sound of thy voice is with me still, thy smiling face is still in my mind's eye

Never shall I see thee more! How can I restrain my grief?

Who will gather up thy jade-like bones? Who will prepare thy fragrant tomb?

Who will call back thy wandering spirit? Who will demand justice for thy grievous wrong?

Man's life on earth may only be one great dream,

But if it be an evil dream like this, the pain that wrings my breast is but increased

Alas, Hsuan-ch'ing! the wheel comes round full circle, bringing with it success and failure, fulness and decay

To escape death there is no other way than never to have been born

Truly, thou hast passed away before me, but neither am I immortal
Sooner or later I must rejoin thee

* Ch'in Chin's literary style

If my tears fall fast like rain, it is only that thinking of the days gone by,
the bond of our common studies, the intimacy of our friendship,
Makes my heart swell with emotion. . . . How can I ever forget those
things ?

Clever as thou wert in life, after death thou surely hast an angel's intelligence.

O spirit of Ch'iu Chin ! come back to me and ease my aching heart."

None of Chin's relatives had the courage to come forward and claim her body, which accordingly lay exposed in the Pavilion until a charitable institution provided a coffin and buried her on the adjacent hill. But her devoted friend, mindful of her promise, in spite of the danger determined that she should have a more worthy resting-place. One night in January, 1908, she made a secret journey to the spot, had the coffin disinterred, and brought it back with her to the Western Lake near Hangchow, where she and another great friend of the dead woman's, Wu Chih-ying, had bought a piece of land alongside the tomb of the Sung Dynasty hero, Yo Fei. Here she was buried in state, and shortly afterwards a society was formed with the express object of carrying on her life-work. But in the autumn the Manchu authorities caused the tomb to be levelled to the ground, and ordered Chin's brother to remove the coffin to Shaohsing. In 1909 her husband died, whereupon her son, then a boy of about fourteen, came all the way from Hunan and transported his mother's remains back to that province. Two years later came the dawn of the new era, which she had striven for so passionately, but had not lived to see, heralded by the guns at Wuchang. It was felt that a national memorial was the only fitting tribute to one who had worked and suffered so heroically for the nation's cause, and so in the summer of 1912 she was finally laid to rest by the Western Lake, the funeral being attended by a large concourse of people. On the site of the old grave, near the Hsi-ling Bridge, a pavilion was erected, bearing the name *Fêng Yü T'ing* (Wind and Rain Pavilion), which may be seen by anyone who has occasion to visit that lovely spot. The commemorative inscription on her tomb was composed by Hsü Tzū-hua and written in calligraphic style for the engraver

by Wu Chih-ying. A facsimile has been published in book form, and from this, sent to me with several other documents by Mr. Ch'ên Kuo-ch'üan, I have drawn many details of her career. Her character is there summed up in a few sentences which will form an appropriate close to this brief biographical sketch: "In tracing the acts of her life, if we find that her lack of conventionality in small matters, her independent attitude and impatience of authority, her delight in wine and her fondness for sword-play, cannot be made to square exactly with rigid canons of conduct, yet on the other hand her inmost nature was upright and conscientious in the extreme. . . . Although she loved to be independent, it is certain that she never, from first to last, overstepped the bounds of morality and virtue. . . . This inscription is engraved on her tomb as a memorial for after generations, to let them know that the spilling of patriotic blood on hollow pretexts did not cease with the Southern Sung period. Then, reflecting on her noble example, as they pace to and fro with upraised or downcast head, they will be moved to shed hot tears, and find it hard to tear themselves away; thus may her tomb stand imperishable even as the tomb of the princely Yo Fei."

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

IN her opening remarks, the CHAIRMAN (Mrs. ARCHIBALD LITTLE) said that the paper was of particular interest at the present moment, when women were winning their spurs, so to speak, in this country. She hoped that the audience would regard Dr. Giles's heroine as an example of the extraordinary courage and ability of Chinese girls, which had astounded her again and again. Once, at a gathering of the fashionable world at Soochow, she saw a poorly-dressed girl get up and move the audience as none of the other speakers had moved it, and enforce her views upon them with the greatest ease. Some of the audience might also remember that great gathering at Shanghai when speech after speech was made after the first revolution. Nothing went really home to the hearts of those present until a young girl came forward. Afterwards some missionary spoke to her, and asked her what she was going to do next, what were her ideas for the future—for they had grave anxieties for her—and she answered quietly: "I don't know, except that I feel I must go to Japan to complete my education." Mrs. Little presumed that the great bulk of the audience had been to China, and felt that affection for the Chinese which no other nation seemed to evoke in like measure. Even the Italians, who stood next in her regard, had not inspired in her the same degree of love and respect as the Chinese, and that although she had more than once been stoned and hustled by a Chinese mob. Therefore she rejoiced to see that the great Chinese people had joined the ranks of those who were fighting for the right against the united powers of evil, and had broken off relations with Germany.

At the request of the Chairman to initiate the discussion, Dr. TIMOTHY RICHARD said he thought the best person to speak on the subject before them was the Chairman herself, for she had had a great deal to do with the formation of the Anti-Footbinding Society, and it would be noticed that it was indicated at the beginning of the interesting paper which they had heard that Ch'iu Chin wished ultimately to free the women from the cruel bondage in which their feet had been held for thousands of years.

Mr. Y. H. YAO said that during the events which led to the death of Ch'iu Chin he was spending his summer vacation at his home in Shaohsing. One of the heroine's purposes, he pointed out, was to establish military schools and colleges to supply the revolutionist army. It was unfortunate that the outbreak was premature, and that Ch'iu Chin was unprepared, so that she became a victim herself. If she had lived during the Revolution of 1911 she might have earned much glory in the history of the movement.

Mr. L. Y. CHEN, who had met Ch'iu Chin, was also prevailed upon to say a few words. He came from Kiangsu, he said, and he met Madame Ch'iu once at the house of Madame Hsü Hsi-lin. He was only a little boy at the time, so he could not remember much about the heroine, except that she was a very handsome woman. Most people thought that as she was a revolutionary, she could not be very affectionate, but in reality she was extremely tender-hearted and very fond of children. He remembered how kindly she talked to him and his little brother at the time.

Mr. G. WILLOUGHBY-MEADE said that what he had to say was in the nature of a question. Could it be said that in China, as in other Eastern countries, the subjection of women was almost a modern development? It was stated that other Oriental peoples placed restraints upon their women as a measure of precaution against outside elements of a rough character. Perhaps the character of Ch'iu Chin had various parallels in the old history of China before the days of the segregated ladies whose small feet brought so much misery. Another point that struck him was how much this heroine was handicapped by the utter lack of railway communication. Let them hope that that disability would not stand in the way of future development, and that China would reach that position which she certainly ought to have amongst the civilized nations of the world. (Applause.)

Mrs. LITTLE said, in reply to the last speaker, that the custom of footbinding was generally thought to be about a thousand years old; that being so, it was clear that Chinese women had not enjoyed much liberty for a very long period. But whether the custom originally started as a measure of precaution she did not know; she had never heard anyone in China give that explanation. As the binding of women's feet prevented their getting about, it necessarily affected their intellectual capacity; therefore the narrowing of women's intelligence in China was not a recent growth, but at least a thousand years old.

The CHAIRMAN then proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Giles, which was carried by acclamation.

Sir WALTER HILLIER remarked that the Chairman had invited them to give some experiences of their friendships with Chinese ladies. He was one of the old stagers in China, but he had never had the opportunity of meeting with any Chinese ladies, for, as Ch'iu Chin said, they always went into the back room on the arrival

of visitors. Being an official, he had also never had the opportunity of hearing anyone talk about revolutions; but Mrs. Little, on the other hand, had mixed with these revolutionary people. She was asking if any of them could say anything about other celebrated women in China. Well, there was a book that they all knew—"Lieh Nü Chuan," biographies of distinguished ladies in China—and when that book came to be brought up to date he felt sure that it would include an account of the work of Mrs. Little, who had done so much towards removing the evil of footbinding. The speaker proposed a vote of thanks to Mrs. Little for presiding, and this was carried amid applause.

RESOURCES OF JAPAN IN THEIR RELATION TO BRITISH COMMERCE AFTER THE WAR

BY K. YAMASAKI

UNTIL quite recent times, Japan has not been very well known to people at large in the countries of the West. She was described by such expressions as the Land of Cherry Blossom, or the Land of Madame Butterfly.

Some years ago, a Japanese travelling in Europe was asked whether he was a Chinese. The Japanese politely replied : "No, I am a Japanese." The response he received was : "Then you are a Chinese after all, aren't you?"

The beautiful scenery of Japan—her snow-clad mountains and silver streams, her vast rice-fields and evergreen pine-woods—are constantly alluded to by foreign tourists, but her industry and commerce have been only studied by those specially interested.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, under the terms of which Japan has been fighting in the Far East in the course of the present gigantic struggle, was concluded in the year 1902, and ever since she has figured conspicuously in the eyes of English statesmen. However, I am afraid that English merchants and manufacturers have not studied industrial and commercial development in Japan so much as could be desired.

In feudal times, industrial and commercial pursuits were not considered so honourable as the military profession in Japan. When business men met military men in the street, they had

to give way to the latter. If they offended soldiery by their impolite behaviour, they would do so at the risk of their lives. Such was the social position which the commercial class enjoyed in relation to the military class. It was only after the time of the Reformation, brought about by a bold stroke of the late illustrious Emperor Meiji, that the distinction between the various social classes was totally abolished. Nowadays, highly educated young men of good family rather take up a commercial career than enter upon Government work. Commercial and technical schools exist all over the country, and there is a tendency for business men to take the lead in the nation's progress.

Japan, it may be recalled, was opened up to international intercourse in the latter part of the nineteenth century. It was an American Commodore who first visited Japan and induced the Japanese Government, then under the Tokugawa family, to open her ports to foreign trade. When the American fleet appeared off the harbour of Uraga, the port authorities reported on the mysterious visit of "huge black ships manned by a red-haired crew," and the whole nation, which was in happy and peaceful slumber, was rudely awakened to reality. The first English Envoy sent to Japan was Sir Harry Parkes, who was responsible for the conclusion of the first Commercial Treaty between England and Japan. Since the Meiji Reformation in 1868, Japanese industrial resources have rapidly developed. Englishmen have contributed greatly to the progress of Japan, and we are grateful for the kind assistance which this country has given to us. The railway between Tokio and Yokohama for a length of eighteen miles was constructed in 1872, this being the first railway built in Japan. I was told by my grandmother that when she had her first ride in a train, she felt as if she had encountered a thunderstorm and earthquake all at once, and she never ventured again to travel by train. At the present time there are more than 7,000 miles of railway in Japan. The Japanese mercantile marine has been very much increased in recent years. In 1915, the total gross tonnage of her commercial fleet was

over 1,600,000 tons. It is very gratifying to note that with the development of Japanese industrial resources and the improved facilities of communication, Japan's trade with Great Britain, France, Russia, and other friendly countries has shown a great increase. However, the present war has considerably disturbed international commerce. While the Allies are putting forth their utmost exertions to bring this war to a victorious issue, it is incumbent upon us to study the economic resources of each allied country in their relation to international trade after the war.

Japan is one of the most densely populated countries in the world. The total area of her territory is about 259,000 square miles, including Formosa, Korea, and Saghalien; and her population was about seventy-seven millions in 1916, the average population to the square mile in Japan proper being about 350. It may be asserted that her large population is an important asset of Japan's industry. Being a mountainous country, only twenty per cent. of the total area of Japan proper is under cultivation; yet those engaged in agriculture constitute sixty per cent. of the total population. How important a rôle the peasantry is still playing in Japanese economic and social life is demonstrated by the step taken by the Government the year before last, when the price of rice, one of the principal agricultural products of Japan, fell on account of the good harvest. The Government bought the greater part of the stock of rice on the market in order to raise its price. This measure, though it may appear rather curious to you, had in view the lessening of possible suffering on the part of the agricultural class owing to the fall in the price of rice. Besides rice, which is the principal diet of the Japanese people, the chief agricultural products are raw silk and tea, most of which is exported to America. Raw silk and tea are chiefly produced by the labour of women of agricultural families. I am inclined to think that they take a very meagre interest in the suffrage question.

As to Japan's mineral resources, Japan is the second largest copper-producing country in the world. The total production

of copper in 1914 was valued at about four million pounds sterling, and its export in the same year nearly three million pounds sterling. Japan is supplying this country and her other allies with a large amount of copper, which is indispensable for the manufacture of munitions. Coal is also abundant in Japan. We now supply India and Australia with a certain amount of coal. Anyone who has visited Japan may remember that at a port at which European and American liners call in order to fill their bunkers, working people stand close together in a line on the gangway of a ship, passing along baskets of coal with mechanical precision and rapidity. Their faces are all grimed with coal-dust, but one is surprised to observe some *women* participating in this hard work with as much ease as men. The production of gold was fairly large until recent times. Before the country was opened up for international intercourse gold had been abundant as compared with silver, and the proportion of gold to silver in value was something like ten to one, while the international ratio then prevailing between the two metals was sixteen to one. When Japan was thrown open to international trade, a great amount of gold flowed out of the country on account of the difference in the ratio, entailing a great loss to the nation.

Now we come to the industrial resources of Japan. It is significant that Japan is rapidly changing from an agricultural to a manufacturing nation. Although domestic industry is still in vogue in various branches of manufacture in Japan, many modern factories have recently been built and extended. Silk and cotton manufacture is the principal industry of Japan. As regards cotton manufacture, the statistics show that the average number of spindles working daily in Japanese cotton mills in 1914 was about 2,400,000, and some factories are admirably equipped for looking after the welfare and comfort of their employees. Woollen manufacture was not carried on before on any considerable scale, but the war has given an impetus to this industry, and Japanese woollen factories are executing orders from the Russian Government. As to the production of iron and steel, there is a Government iron-works,

and besides there are others in private hands. As Japan lacks rich iron mines, she imports iron ore chiefly from China. Ship-building is very flourishing in Japan at present. The total tonnage now under construction is estimated at 300,000 tons.

After thus giving a short survey of the agricultural and industrial resources of Japan, let me speak briefly on the subject of her financial condition. In 1915, the total revenue of the Japanese Government amounted to about £62,300,000, and its total expenditure was about £61,700,000. After the Manchurian campaign in 1905-1906, Japan's external loans reached the high total of £152,000,000, but this debt was reduced to £142,000,000 in 1916. I am happy to say that quite recently Japan lent about £12,000,000 to Russia to enable her to cover the payment for war materials ordered in Japan. The Japanese Government also bought British Treasury Bills to the amount of £10,000,000 in America to help ameliorate the Anglo-American exchange, and in December last year a British loan for ten million pounds was raised in Japan most successfully.

Now I come to the subject of trade between the United Kingdom and Japan. This country used to export to Japan far more than it imported from Japan. In 1913, the total exports to Japan amounted to nearly £15,000,000, while imports from Japan were only about £4,000,000. The principal exports to Japan were ships, iron and steel, machinery, sulphate of ammonia, woollen, worsted and cotton manufactures; and the chief imports from Japan were silk manufactures, straw and hemp braids, which are the materials for ladies' hats, chemical products, buttons and studs. Thus you will see that Japan has been a very good customer of English manufacturers. Since the beginning of the war the exports of this country to Japan have greatly decreased, owing to the English factories having devoted themselves to the production of war materials, and a great number of articles for export being on the prohibition list. On the other hand, the imports to this country from Japan have increased considerably, partly because, since the beginning of the war,

Japan has been supplying to this country certain materials used in the manufacture of munitions, foodstuffs, and other necessities, and partly because this country has been importing from Japan goods which Germany used to send here before the war. The exports from the United Kingdom to Japan in 1915 were valued at about £5,000,000, while the imports to this country from Japan in the same year were about £9,000,000, the balance of trade between the two countries being thus reversed.

The principal commodities exported from this country to Japan in 1915 were iron and steel, machinery and cotton manufactures; and the chief articles imported to this country from Japan in 1915 were silk manufactures, copper, vegetable oil, straw and hemp braids, dried peas and rice.

It may safely be asserted that the trade between the United Kingdom and Japan during the last two years has been in an abnormal state. How long this war will last no one can possibly tell, but when the world again enters upon a peaceful existence, international trade relations will be flung into the melting-pot. As to Anglo-Japanese trade, to a certain extent it will return to pre-war conditions, but after the war new and powerful elements will be at work. After the conclusion of peace, Japan's demand for highly finished articles such as machines, electrical apparatus, iron and steel manufactures, cotton and woollens of high grade and chemical products will certainly receive a stimulus. German merchants used to be the unscrupulous competitors of English merchants in the Japanese market before the war. I trust that in future no Japanese will buy German goods, and English manufacturers will find Japan a very attractive market for their finished products. In the same way, I hope that a greater amount of Japanese goods than before will be supplied to the English market hitherto flooded with German and Austrian goods. It is highly advisable that you should further develop various *key* industries within the British Empire, if not within the United Kingdom. With this object in view, you might perhaps adopt some form of Protection. How-

ever, it is also highly advisable to encourage trade between the Allies for their mutual benefit after the war. As regards trade relations between Japan and the British Empire, it is gratifying to note signs of an increase of trade between Japan on the one hand and India and Australia on the other. We must see to it that after the war German trade shall never revive in Japan, nor in the United Kingdom, nor in the British Dominions and Colonies, so that commercial relations between Japan and the British Empire may become closer, *unless* undue obstructions are placed on the road. China is one of the greatest commercial markets in the world. Japan has been accused of encroaching upon British trade interests in China. But, in my belief, the accusation is absolutely devoid of foundation. Lancashire will continue to supply China with cotton goods of high grade, only a comparatively small quantity of cotton of coarse grade being shipped from Japan to China; and above all, I hope that friendly feeling will continue to prevail between English and Japanese merchants in China, in order that they may advance hand in hand, united in the task of developing the vast resources of China, most of which are remain dormant.

The cordial sentiments and common interests consecrated by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance are still more firmly strengthened by the joint task which Great Britain and Japan are carrying out in penalizing the enemy of human progress and human welfare, and it is our earnest desire that the trade between the two countries may receive a fresh stimulus after the war, in order to enable England and Japan to contribute yet further to international good fellowship and civilization.

THE CHINESE PUZZLE

BY E. H. PARKER

THE portraits of the three individuals chiefly concerned in the recent transformation scene at Peking were given in the January number of this Review, and perhaps more portraits would illustrate the present irresponsible gossip were it not that times are hard, money tight, and interest in non-war subjects flaccid. Meanwhile, one respected figure-head has gone under, and, as often happens in political scimmages, this victim is an innocent scapegoat, being none other than the artless but impeccably honest President Li Yuan-hung, who, however, is probably only too glad to be at last well out of *cette galère*. Submarines and revolutions all along the line, both by land and by sea, have made letter and newspaper connections with China so delayed and so precarious that it is difficult for a mere European in these parts to piece happenings together in intelligible form, even supposing there were any intelligibility at all to be got out of the harlequin and clown rough-and-tumble, which for the moment seems to have only had the figurative effect of knocking the two policemen's heads off with the usual old-time pantomimic string of sausages (possibly, it is hinted, of the German persuasion), and the flattening up of the said policemen against what may be called the Dutch-Japanese scenery. Certainly the foreign Press in China can tell us little more than we can see or guess at

for ourselves—namely, that wooden swords and sausages are “flying round” on a serio-comic stage. Meanwhile, the Chinese Leninites and Bolsheviks are airing their mischievous views *ad libitum* in the native Press, probably primed with “German gold”; but luckily the three real things that matter—the people, trade, and British-guided revenue—are going on much as usual, and China is once more proving what has over and over again been asseverated in these successive articles—that her 3,000-year-old stability is practically independent of both central and local “government.” We may hope therefore that wise counsels will gradually supervene, and China find her feet again, and that she may not commit suicide by dividing herself off into two hostile factions, north and south. Even if the writer “knew a thing or two, you know” (which he does not), it would be highly improper for him to disclose it; he therefore takes refuge in competent native assertions as conveyed in a private letter from a highly-trained Chinese gentleman of high character, who is watching the fun on the spot with detached eye. Put into English, his words are as follow: “The crazy Chinese ship seems to get into more troubled waters than ever; the rabid Republicans could only talk-talk-talk in Parliament, and thus they disgusted the military powers, who, however, do not know how to get even that far. Though there are some honest souls among them, they are as a body not statesmanlike. The Vice-President [Fêng Kwoh-chang] is as astute and ‘knowing’ as ever, but, unless assured of support, he will not accept the responsibility of the *k'ih-fêng* [‘highest-peak,’ modern political jargon for ‘supreme office’]. The pigtailed Commander-in-Chief [Chang Hün] is now [middle of June] flushed with his success in having dictated the dissolution of Parliament; he is strong, and makes no pretence about anything [since then he has bolted for safety to the Dutch Legation], in which particular he resembles Yüan Shi-k'ai; but of course he does not possess the finer qualities of Yüan, for, after all, Chang Ta-shuai [meaning ‘Marshal

Chang Hün] has not passed through the mill of a long, serious official career under a properly constituted Government. Since 1911, indeed, he has never been under any Government at all; he is utterly spoiled. The leaders of the *Kwok-min-t'ang* [written with the same characters as the Japanese *Kokumindō*, which, however, is quite a different association] are flocking to Canton, and are preparing for another fourth or fifth revolution to sweep away the *tuh-küns* [military governors]. This time Li Lieh-kün, whose face, you will observe, has a curiously Japanese expression, desires to emulate the late Ts'ai Ngoh [whose Yün Nan revolt caused Yüan's overthrow], or at least to get a *tuh-künship* for himself; it is a puzzle to me how men like him can get any following at all."

In the spring of 1905 Chang Hün was sent with a division of the so-called Hwai army trained troops to Kalgan, as it was then not quite clear how the Russo-Japanese affair was going to be settled. Ever since 1902 he had been titular Brigadier-General of the wild Lolo region known as Kien-ch'ang (in 1284 Marco Polo's "Kaindu" or *Kien-tu*, was renamed Kien-ch'ang, and was governed by Kublai's nephew, Essentimur), and in 1908 he was appointed titular General of Yün Nan province. Everyone remembers his gallant defence at Nanking in the Manchu interest after the Revolution of 1911; his masterly "shortening of the line," seizure of Sü-chou, and *j'y suis j'y reste* attitude ever since upon the Tientsin-P'uk'ou railway; his chase after the rebel White Wolf; his reconquest and looting of Nanking; his temporary *tuh-künship* of the Kiang Su province; his fanciful Generalissimoship of the River Yangtsze; his nominal *tuh-künship* of An Hwei province—all these episodes had failed to rootle him out of his safe *gîte* at Sü-chou until, on June 1, the bewildered President (probably setting this trap quite guilelessly at someone's suggestion) issued a decree ending with the following words: "Things have gone so contrary to my wishes and intentions that I am over-

whelmed with vexation of spirit. Chang Hün, *tuh-kün* of An Hwei, is a patriotic and loyal man, who has done distinguished service to the State; I earnestly hope that he will with the utmost speed hasten to Peking and discuss the political situation with me. I am sure he will find a way out, and in prospect of it I am on the tiptoe of expectation." So far from a way out, poor Chang put his own head into the noose, and, sad to say, these two honest *sondards* between them found their noblest prospect (as Dr. Johnson, referring to needy Scotsmen, said of the high-road to England), in the high-road to the Japanese and the Dutch Legations respectively. *Kultur*, whether Chinese or German, or both, had betrayed them and failed them—according to newspaper reports, of course.

As to Li Lieh-kün, he was one of the self-appointed *tutuks* (now called *tuh-kün*) of the Revolution, in self-arrogated possession of Kiang Si, his native province. When Yüan Shi-k'ai was at last firmly seated as President in July, 1912, he "confirmed" in their posts those *tutuks* he could not get at in any way. Li Lieh-kün was one of them. He was, however, removed on June 9, 1913, in consequence of the Yangtze rebellion, in which he had been seriously and discredibly involved. In 1916 he was once more deeply involved in the "triangular duel" for possession of Canton, and on July 6 of that year was "ordered" to Peking. Honest Li Yüan-hung's main, if not only, idea of "policy" seems to have been to reward the sinner that repenteth on the same scale as the faithful who is sinned against; accordingly, on January 1 last Li Lieh-kün was decorated with the order of the "Excellent Crop," and, as a further reward for his disgruntled behaviour and repeated rebellions, was, on the 19th of that month, dubbed *Hwan-wei tsiang-kün*, or "Marshal of Ever-Conquering and Subduing Prestige." As to Fêng Kwoh-chang, his record is given in the January article of this Review above referred to; his action in the recent opium "buying-out" question recently brought him into the

limelight of somewhat unfavourable criticism. If anything more of a startling nature occurs in China before the proofs of this paper are corrected, a few remarks will be added at the end.

The action of Siam in joining up of her own free will with the Entente is perhaps much more important than our home Press seems to perceive. In March, 1888, the writer had the pleasure for two or three days of travelling with one of the Siamese Ministers named Bhaskara Wongsee, and after spending a month in Tonquin, Cochin China, etc., subsequently made his way *via* Pulo Condor and Kompot to Bangkok, where, through the good offices of the Minister just named, opportunity was gained to visit the lions of the place, including (if the hibernicism may be allowed) the white elephants and H. E. Devawongsee, the Foreign Minister. The first German Minister, Kempermann, arrived at the same time. In 1892 further opportunities were provided for visiting a number of the western states of Siam. In those days the Scottish Oriental Company had a practical monopoly of the Hongkong-Bangkok trade, whilst the Blue Funnel line and various powerful British-Chinese steamships worked the business between Singapore and Bangkok, and also between Singapore, Penang, Rangoon, Sumatra, and the Siamese peninsular States, all of which places were duly studied in detail. The Germans were just beginning to establish themselves strongly in Deli (Sumatra) in 1888, which place was, of course, also visited; in 1902 they had a hold on Sumatra tobacco. Shortly after the Boxer War of 1900-1901 the North German Lloyd bought up the Scottish Oriental Company, and as Butterfield and Swire, perhaps somewhat foolishly, held their agency in Bangkok, the Germans soon succeeded in conciliating the old clientèle and gaining a general trade predominance or control between Bangkok, Singapore, North Borneo, Hongkong, Swatow, and Hoihow. The Japanese tried to "chip in" with a line of steamers for a year or two, but were either

bought out or run out. It need hardly be said that the *lupinum caput* of Germany should, after its recent display of the basest trade treachery, be remorselessly hunted out from all these regions, her main object having been, of course, to annoy both British and French India by driving a political and economical wedge in between them, sowing mischief and ill-will in Macao, Japan, and Manila, and ultimately wresting the Dutch and Portuguese islands from their present inoffensive owners, who, as matters stand, undoubtedly owe a century of peaceful possession to the disinterested naval command of the Far Eastern seas exercised by Great Britain, and now by Japan, which last country, it must be remembered, had once fairly extensive relations with Siam. Germany has always enjoyed absolute "freedom of the seas" at the hands of Great Britain, not to mention perfect equality of settlers' rights; for all which she has shown a reptile's spite in place of gratitude. The present King of Siam is a highly-educated gentleman—a 'Varsity man—who speaks English perfectly, and no doubt now sees clearly what a mistake was made when German predominance, at the cost of Danish military influence, crept in at Bangkok during the last years of his father's reign. It is about fifteen years ago since he visited Liverpool on his way home, and the writer had the honour of being present at a Chamber of Commerce dinner given to him by the late Sir Alfred Jones, on which occasion no doubt His Majesty heard one or two suggestions likely to be of future advantage to his country.

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P.S.—With reference to the remark on p. 158, events *have* since taken place, but it would not be proper for me to make any observations upon matters still under official negotiation.



THE
JUBILEE OF THE EAST INDIA
ASSOCIATION
(FOUNDED 1866)

CHAPTER VI

ON the retirement of General R. M. Macdonald from the Vice-Chairmanship of Council at the end of the 1889 Session, Sir Richard Meade, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., was unanimously elected Vice-Chairman; and on November 25, at The Westminster Town Hall, Sir Richard Temple, Bart., G.C.S.I., C.I.E., M.P., the President, delivered an address on "India in the House of Commons."

He said that it was a libel on the House to assert that its members had neglected the interests of India, and he declared that during the past session the Indian Empire had received more attention than all our Colonies put together.

The three great classes of Indian Revenue—the salt, the excise and the opium taxes—had all been brought under notice, and he pointed out to those who regarded with anxiety any increase of the salt tax that this was perhaps the only Imperial tax paid by the Indian peasant. Some of the best debates in the House had related to railway policy in India.

He concluded with what he regarded as the most important subject of all—the National Congress and the Council at Whitehall—and he said he thought there was a general disposition amongst the Members of the House to grant what might be called "Representative Institutions" to India to some extent.

A meeting was held on Wednesday afternoon, April 23, 1890, in the Westminster Town Hall under the presidency of Sir George Birdwood, when a paper was read by Mr. C. Purdon Clarke, C.I.E., entitled "Is the Preservation of the Industrial Arts of India Possible?"

Mr. Clarke took the view that Hindu art will be preserved only so long as the Hindu religion endures. He considered that we owed the bulk of the Indian art-wares to the Moghul invaders, and that the great period of Indian art began with the Emperor Akbar in the sixteenth century.

The Chairman contended that Hindu art industries were really essentially indigenous, and he quoted from the Code of Manu and other authorities in support of this view.

Dr. G. W. Leitner, who joined in the debate, said:

"I think there is little doubt of the possibility of preserving the Indian industrial arts while they have such advocates as Mr. Purdon Clarke and Sir George Birdwood both with the British and the Indian public. The latter suffers from the drawback of a conquered nation, of losing the power of judging, and of imitating the conqueror; it is, therefore, by the conqueror himself appreciating and following the art of the conquered, as in the case of Rome with reference to Greece, that the preservation of that art becomes possible. There is, I think, every reason for taking a hopeful view of this subject when we take note of the growing influence of Oriental culture in European countries; for instance, there is the remarkable progress of Buddhism in France, and the influence which ancient Eastern ideas have now upon philosophy and even science. In the industrial arts it is also from India or from the East in general that we are largely drawing for inspiration. 'Ex Oriente lux, ex Occidente lex.' What Eastern inspiration has of beauty must live for ever; for it has the elements of eternal life. We are gradually beginning to see that 'Civilization' is not necessarily 'Culture'; that, after all, the telegraph is only useful if you have something to say; that a railway is necessary if the business really requires despatch; but telegraphs, railways,

etc., are mere agencies; all these mechanical conquests or facilities of our civilization are only worth having as aids to the far greater conquests of culture. Among the remnants of ancient culture in India are the trade-guilds, to which reference has been made. These guilds have really a religion of their own. Take, for instance, the carpenters. God, as architect, arises out of a particular combination of Siva and Vishnu; then follows a mythology and literature with customs and songs for that particular caste. The same ideals exist in every caste, and, if faithfully perpetuated, would indeed make the lowest a man of light and leading in his own occupation, above which no man can rise except in the sense of being perfect in his own calling. Even the Indian sweeper is from his point of view 'a Prince' ('Māhter,' as he is called), and his prototype is 'Mahter' in the Indian Olympus. I will give you two instances which came under my notice at Bhowanuggur, first of the influence of English teaching, and secondly of the absence of such teaching. In one case a sculptor who had done good work in his own native indigenous way was sent to Bombay and received in our excellent Art School. When he came back he told me in the greatest agony that all his goddesses now had English faces! The other instance is that of a carpenter, who was a member of a caste comprising about 130 odd families, who had preserved a mythology of their own. One evening I asked him: 'What is the practical use of this mythology? Can you tell me, for instance, where is the true north?' I admit, in passing, that my question was more European than wise. The carpenter, however, proceeded to find the true north by his own methods. He took a lump of mud and laid it square on a table, then he placed upon it up to the centre three thin slips of wood, and lit them, and—judging by the shadow which they threw—showed the true north. That was his caste method. It reminds one of the injunction in the Zendavesta to 'bind up a three-twigged Barosma against the way of the sun.' Now it seems to me that in the sculptor's case there was a

distinctly pernicious influence of our art training, while in the other case of the unadulterated native carpenter there was something to learn and admire. It is the same with all the castes, down to the humblest occupations. They have sometimes an ancient dialect running concurrently with the technical dialect of their trade. English feeling in this country is on the right side because we wish the perpetuation of India with all its goodness; we should not meet in this room as we do if we wished to destroy Indian culture; we should try to make the people hewers of wood and drawers of water by giving them a smattering of English just sufficient to put them into a state of ferment (which they would call 'reform'), and thereby ruin their national vitality; because a nation that copies another nation is physiologically doomed to destruction in the third or fourth generation. I will now conclude with the hope that we may find with regard to India what we have found with regard to Greece—that

"India capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
Intulit agresti Latio."

On February 14, 1890, the following address was presented by the Association to Lord Harris, the Governor Designate of Bombay:

" My Lord,

" It is gratifying to the Council of this Association, of which your Lordship is a Vice-President, to express their sincere pleasure at your Lordship's appointment to the high office of Governor of Bombay. They are aware of the very great interest—a great hereditary interest, it may be said—which your Lordship takes in that vast Empire of the Realm in which you are about to hold so important a post, and they wish you God-speed in your new career, assuring your Lordship of their sympathy in the arduous duties which you will be called upon to discharge, and begging you to accept their most cordial congratulations.

" As your Lordship is aware, this Association was estab-

lished solely for the furtherance of the interests of India and for the advancement of the welfare of her people.

" Your Memorialists are unwilling to encroach on your valuable time by entering into any detailed observations or urging their own views with respect to any of the varied and important subjects connected with the Presidency of Bombay, such as the judicious encouragement of means by which the available water-supply of Western India will be turned to the utmost account for irrigating the arid districts of the Deccan, Kattiawar, Cutch, and Scinde.

" The improvement of the economic condition of the peasantry of Western India.

" The introduction or revival of suitable mechanical arts so that the masses of the people may be less dependent on agriculture, and the continuation of the efforts already made on behalf of primary and secondary education and industrial training.

" The cautious development of railways and canals.

" The development of the principle of decentralization of provincial finance.

" The participation of the people in the administration and management of their own local affairs, and the further extension of the principles of municipal government.

" The removal of race antagonism by the promotion of friendly social intercourse between Europeans and natives of India.

" The organization of the Native Army so as to offer suitable openings for advancement to native officers.

" The improvement of the numerous Native States in Western India.

" The amelioration of the condition of the poorer members of the European and Eurasian communities, and the removal of the disadvantages under which they labour in procuring employment.

" All of which the Council feel assured will receive your Lordship's earnest consideration.

" The Council hope that the people of Bombay, under the

guidance of your wisdom and judgment, recognizing the beneficent effects of salutary influence judiciously exercised, may be strengthened and confirmed in their attachment to the Paramount Power; whilst enlightened men of rank and position may be encouraged to take a legitimate interest in the transaction of public affairs.

"In conclusion, the Association venture to express an earnest wish that in the execution of the weighty task you have now undertaken your labours may be crowned with complete success."

In a paper on "Some Results of the Permanent Settlement," read under the presidency of the most Hon. The Marquis of Ripon, K.G., Mr. Herbert I. Reynolds, C.S.I., argued that a consideration of the results of the Settlement as a whole led to the conclusion that it was a wise and statesmanlike measure; that politically it had been a tower of strength to the Empire; that from a social and economical point of view it had stimulated the prosperity and fostered the intelligence of the Province of Bengal; and that even from a strictly financial standpoint the surrender of an increased land-tax has been in some measure compensated by a steady development of other branches of the public revenue.

He therefore urged that the principle of the Permanent Settlement should be extended.

Lord Ripon, the Chairman, said he was not prepared to recommend the extension of the Permanent Settlement, because he thought the Permanent Settlement of Bengal in many ways went too far. He thought that, after an assessment had been made, there should be assurance that no increase will be made except upon certain distinct, clear, and acknowledged grounds—such as the bringing under cultivation of new land, or the introduction of railways, or anything that is brought into the district by the action of the Government (or on their behalf), or a large change in the value of money.

The "Progress made by the Punjab" since 1849 was described in an elaborate sketch read before the Association, under the presidency of the Rt. Hon. The Lord Reay, by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles L. Tupper. In the course of this paper he (Mr. Tupper) happened to denounce the litigiousness of the people of the Punjab. But Mr. T. H. Thornton, c.s.i. (a Member of the Council of the East India Association), pointed out that the fallacy of this statement about the growth of litigiousness had been exposed by the Chief of the Punjab Court, Mr. Boulnois. The error arose from viewing matters too much from an official standpoint, the fact being that, judged by standards of European countries, and England in particular, the people of the Punjab were singularly moderate in their resort to Courts of Law.

Whenever Government is by law there will be lawyers! For many years they were kept out of the Courts in the Punjab, but they flourished outside the Courts, till at last even that Patriarch of Patriarchs, Sir Donald McLeod, was forced to yield, and removed the prohibition, observing that: "If you must have scoundrels about the Courts, it is better to have them *inside* under control rather than outside not under control."

At the annual meeting held in May, 1891, the President, Sir Richard Temple, laid it down as a desirable policy that the Association should always continue carefully non-partisan, "while affording an arena for the expression of all sorts of views and opinions from all sorts and conditions of people. He said: "It had fully maintained its usefulness by careful dissociation from all party, and had discussed all public questions regarding India in the broadest and most comprehensive spirit."

He earnestly trusted that the Association would retain that character, and that Indians would see that if they wished to be heard in the Councils of the British nation they would most efficaciously advance that object by joining in the Association's work.

On December 14, 1891, under the presidency of Sir Richard

Meade, Dr. Leitner delivered an address on the "Races, Religion, and Politics of the Pamir Regions." He described the country, from his own observation, as consisting of a series of plateau valleys beyond the Hindu Kush, placed so high as to entitle them to the name of the "Roof of the World." The people, inhabiting several interesting principalities, constituted tribes of about twelve hundred persons each, chiefly shepherds, wandering from place to place on the fertile pastures. In religion, customs, and laws they were nearer to us than from the geographical distance might be supposed. In the northern part they were under the influence of Russia, and in other districts under that of Afghanistan and China. British policy should be to lead them to regard us as powerful though distant friends, rather than to fight against their matchlocks and bows and arrows in order to make roads through their country, which would serve to facilitate the advance of Russia. The absence of roads through the Pamirs constituted one of our mightiest defences of India. The Nagyris were a pious people devoted to agriculture, whom we were shooting down with Gatlings. He thought it was a great shame. Gilgit, Dr. Leitner stated, is a plain, or plateau, surrounded by some of the highest hills of the Himalayas, and the language of the people is particularly refined. He denied emphatically that they had encroached on British rights, and he doubted the necessity of taking their forts. He entreated the English not to destroy the vestiges of some of the earliest civilizations of the world. On concluding, he showed several specimens of native work.

A meeting was held on Wednesday, June 1, 1892, at the Westminster Town Hall, under the presidency of Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E., for the purpose of considering a paper on "The Opium Question," read by Surgeon-General Sir William Moore, K.C.I.E., honorary physician to the Queen. Sir William argued that while opium-smoking was less injurious than opium-eating, still, the latter was not such a destructive habit as has been portrayed; that the effects

of opium taken in any manner were altogether on the nervous system, and, however great, passed off; that no organic disease was traceable to the use of opium, whether used in moderate quantities or in excess; that opium was almost a necessity of life to some people; and that there was no more immorality in smoking opium than in drinking wine or in smoking tobacco. It had been asserted that the habitual use of opium terminated life in about five years, but he was acquainted with natives of India who had used opium from boyhood, and who, at forty, fifty, or even the grand climacteric of sixty-three, were hale and hearty as any of their fellows. Against the common platform assertions that "Indian opium was rapidly destroying the Chinese nation," he pointed to the fact that in almost all walks of life the Chinaman could compete with and beat the European, surpassing him in industry, sobriety, and carefulness of living. He insisted that opium was not the injurious agent it had been asserted to be; that there were reasons connected with climate, disease, food-products of the country, manner of life, habits and customs, why Easterns used opium; that the beneficial result from the use of opium far counterpoised its injurious effects.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Hobhouse, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., presided on March 2, 1893, at the Westminster Town Hall, when Mr. Justice (now Sir John) Jardine read a paper on "Trial by Jury in England and India." Mr. Jardine held that the considerations, which on the whole weigh in favour of trial by jury, are quite appreciated by the Indian authorities, and that it was probable that the system would be extended as strong judges and more careful charges became more common.

On Thursday afternoon, March 28, 1893, Mr. James B. Pennington, formerly of the Madras Civil Service, under the presidency of Mr. Justice Pinhey, dealt with Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's "Theory of the Poverty of India."

Mr. Pennington began by urging that the difficult business of governing India should not be made more difficult by

unnecessary and delusive reasoning upon the economic conditions of the native population.

India, he admitted, was a very poor country, but it was not poor by reason of the so-called British tribute, for which it gained amply compensating advantages. As regarded taxation, Sir William Hunter had pointed out that the poll-tax of the Emperor Akbar, if now levied from each non-Mussulman male adult, would yield an amount exceeding the whole taxation of British India; and there were forty such taxes under the Moghal rulers, besides the land-tax. The contention that the enormous taxation of the Moghals was less injurious to India than the much lighter burdens of the present day, because it was all spent in the country, could not be sustained when it was recalled that the revenues of the Delhi Emperors were squandered in maintaining hordes of half-disciplined troops. The plain matter of fact was that the condition of the cultivating classes was improving under British domination, as far as Government could improve it, and the reform most needed was in the habits and customs of the peoples. While fully admitting the disadvantages of a foreign and absentee Government, Mr. Pennington concluded that there was no alternative in India between foreign government and no government at all.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE Annual Meeting of the Jubilee Year of the East India Association was held at Carlton Hall, Westminster, London, S.W., on Tuesday, June 19, 1917, the Rt. Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., presiding. The following, amongst others, were present : Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir William Ovens Clark, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. T. H. S. Biddulph, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, Mr. Owen Dunn, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. Phillipowsky, Mr. Emanuel, I.C.S., Mr. and Mrs. James McDonald, Mr. Patvardhan, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. J. McIver, I.S.O., Mr. K. Ismail, Mr. R. G. Udani, Mr. and Mrs. H. G. West, Mr. V. F. Vicajee, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, as you are no doubt all aware, this year is the Jubilee of the Association, but the effect of this time of terrible struggle and strife will be possibly that this Jubilee year of the Association will not be marked by such pleasing features as it otherwise would, but I am happy to say that now, in spite of the War, there are a greater number of members than there have been since 1900. Allowing for the resignations and deaths, we are still thirty-six to the good in our membership during the past twelve months. Of those new members elected, thirty-five were Indians and the rest Europeans, so that you will see that there is a slight increase of Indians who have become members of the Association over the Europeans. We shall all rejoice at that particular feature, as also at the increase of our membership on the whole.

Now, no doubt you will ask : How has it been possible for this to have been achieved ? Of course, there is only one answer, and that is "Pollen." I know we all realize that. Without his continued activities and zeal, and true and honest labour, I do not suppose for a moment that we should have been able to be in the proud position of having increased our membership. He has not only done that, but he has also throughout the year presented a very considerable number of papers which have been read before the Association, and papers of very considerable interest. I very much regret that, owing to my duties elsewhere, I have not been able to preside at one of them, but I have seen the papers, and I have noticed

how they dealt with various subjects connected with India in a very thorough and masterly manner. Now, so much being due to Dr. Pollen, and judging by my own feelings, I think that what gives me more pleasure than anything else was that which I read in the paper that His Majesty had been pleased to confer upon him the Kaiser-i-Hind medal. (Hear, hear.) I am quite sure that you all enter into my feeling, and share it equally with myself, and therefore I trust that there has been also great pleasure accruing to Dr. Pollen as the recipient of that distinction. I dare say he dislikes me speaking in his praise in his presence, but I am confident that there could not be a more worthy bestowal of honour than that. You may call the work that he carries on unobtrusive, and out of the regular line of those who usually receive this medal, who are naturally those working in India itself, and who therefore are more likely to attract the eye of the authorities to be recommended for their labours. But I think anyone who knows the working of this Association—and I believe this is perfectly true—knows that he has done a great deal of good in bringing together Indians and Europeans, and getting them to understand one another better, and to increase the liberality of ideas, even among those of our Indian friends who may not quite see eye to eye with the lines on which this Association conducts itself. I am confident there is not one of them who would not say that in Dr. Pollen we have a gentleman whose one aim and object is to further that very laudable result, and no one could achieve more than he has done himself by his singleness of purpose and unselfish work. (Hear, hear.) You will all approve of his action as having helped to improve the relations between ourselves and our Indian friends.

Now, perhaps I may also offer a word of praise to Mr. Pennington (Hear, hear), who is such a very excellent coadjutor to Dr. Pollen in his really very onerous labours. I do not suppose many people realize what it means, the carrying on of the work of a modern Association of this kind—the constant attendance and being always practically on the spot to try and help someone who wants information and advice; to have someone always there means a very great sacrifice of time, and therefore it is very pleasing to find that in Mr. Pennington Dr. Pollen has had a very excellent supporter.

We are also very grateful to all those who have read papers before this Association, not only the gentlemen, but also the two lady lecturers—one, Lady Katherine Stuart, whose paper I have read with great interest, and which I thought had several novel features about it, on the subject of "To-morrow in India"; and the second one being Miss M. Ashworth, who read a paper on "The Education of Women in India." We are very grateful to those ladies, as also to the gentlemen who have been good enough to be at the pains of preparing and reading their papers before this Association.

I should also refer to the fact that the Council of the Association offered their congratulations to those who came to join in the Conference over here as representing India on the Imperial War Council: Sir James

Meston, K.C.S.I., Colonel H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., A.D.C., and Sir Satyatyendra Prasanna Sinha, Kt. They came over here for very responsible work indeed, for the first time making India representative in the Imperial Council. It is the first move of what may possibly be a very big development and one which no one can possibly forecast how it will take shape. It was a great departure, and one which this Association heartily approves of. I think, therefore, we were quite right in addressing to them such a welcome as we did.

Now, the next feature is with reference to those we have lost. First of all we have lost Sir Lesley Probyn, who has been for a very long time a member of our Council, and he has been a true friend of the Association, and we feel that a great gap has been made in our ranks by his death. We shall still continue to be associated with his memory, as by his will I understand he has left a gift of £100 to this Association.

Then there is another gentleman whom we have lost in the person of Mr. B. Lal Gupta, who has had a very distinguished career; and there have been others, too, who have been more or less connected with the work of the Association. I cannot help remembering that it is usual for the chair on this occasion to be occupied by Lord Reay. As we all know, he met with an untimely accident some time ago, and he has been a sufferer by the loss of that very highly cultivated lady, Lady Reay. Then again, this country has lost the Duchess of Connaught, whose memory was so much endeared to many of the people of India. I often used to hear her name mentioned in Bombay in terms of great affection and regard. Then the Council has been good enough in the Report to mention my mother, who often used to come here from time to time and be present with me at these lectures.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I think that really covers the ground of what you will all find in the more voluminous pages dealing with the Jubilee Report of this Association, and it only remains for you to pass that Report. The Accounts are presented to you in the Report, and I see we have an excess of income over expenditure of £40.

The SECRETARY: If we had got our income-tax refunded in time, we should have had £40 over, after covering all expenses; we have no debts or liabilities of any kind.

The CHAIRMAN: I think that is a very satisfactory working indeed, considering the great activity of this Association.

Then you will see that we have published in book form certain papers connected with India, which it is hoped the public will buy so as to defray to some extent the cost of them.

I have now pleasure in moving the adoption of the Report and Accounts of this Jubilee Year of the East India Association.

Sir CHARLES ARMSTRONG: I have much pleasure in seconding that.

The CHAIRMAN: Is it your pleasure that the adoption of the Report and Accounts be passed? Those in favour please signify in the usual way. (Carried unanimously.)

Dr. POLLEN: I hope your Lordship will allow me to express my deep

sense of personal gratitude and obligation to you for your very kind remarks about me and the little I have been able to do for the Association. Your Lordship very justly said that Mr. Pennington has been with me nearly every day, and we have worked together closely from the first. However, we are both getting well advanced in years now, and we hope that some younger member of the Association will soon come to our rescue and help us with the work of the Association in the future. Your Lordship has very kindly referred to the honour the King has conferred upon me in judging me worthy of the Kaiser-i-Hind medal, and I see my friend and "Brother-Medalsman" (if I may so call him) sitting here to-day—Mr. Coldstream—and I think I may say we are both equally proud of having earned—or being held to have earned—what we have always regarded as the O.M. of the East. The recognition is for work done outside official duty, and he and I both feel highly honoured by His Majesty in that he has been graciously pleased to confer upon us this distinction.

In conclusion, I am glad your Lordship has been able to preside over us to-day, and we all fully concur with you in your sympathy with Lord Reay in the accident which has befallen him, and in the sad bereavement he has suffered by the death of Lady Reay. I have had a very kind letter from his Lordship saying how sorry he is not to have been able to be with us to-day. I understand he is quite prepared to stay on with us as President if we re-elect him to that office; and I think our next duty is to move the election of our President.

Sir M. BROWNAGGREE: My Lord and Gentlemen, I would like to associate myself in the expressions of congratulation that have fallen from your lordship in regard to the honour that has been conferred upon our excellent Secretary by His Majesty. I entirely concur in the sentiments expressed by you as to the affable manner in which he brings together the British and Indian members of the Association. It is no doubt due in a great measure, if not entirely, to the activities of our Secretary. It is due to his genial influence amongst my countrymen that so many of them are on the rolls of its membership.

The honour conferred upon him by the King, we know, is a high distinction; as he says, it is perhaps the O.M. of the Indian roll of honours, but let us hope the Authorities have not finished with him, for the sake of the Association, if it will induce him to stay on with us until a higher honour is conferred upon him, which in my opinion, at all events, and I dare say in that of many others here, he amply deserves, and which we trust may come to him before long.

With regard to the proposition I have to move, I do not think I need say many words. Lord Reay's eminent position, and the affectionate remembrance in which he is held in India, and the devoted and zealous way in which he has presided over the fortunes of this Association for many years past, entitle him to be re-elected as President of this Association for a further term (Hear, hear), and we trust it will be many years before it becomes necessary to replace him. Your Lordship has expressed in feeling terms the sympathy which has gone out from all of us to him on account

of the suffering he has undergone as the result of his recent accident and the great deprivation of his life in the loss of Lady Reay. Reference has been already made to that sad event in the Report, and I am sure Lord Reay has appreciated it as a genuine expression of the esteem in which he is held by all members of the Association. (Hear, hear.)

I have great pleasure in moving that Lord Reay be re-elected President for the forthcoming year.

Mr. OWEN DUNN : I have great pleasure in seconding that. (Carried unanimously.)

Mr. COLDSTREAM proposed the re-election of the retiring members. The list given was :

Sir Krishna Gobinda Gupta, K.C.S.I.
 Sir William Owens Clark.
 W. Coldstream, Esq.
 Sir Frank C. Gates, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
 Sir Daniel M. Hamilton.
 Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I.

He said : I understand that these gentlemen are willing, if re-elected, to continue to serve, and it is also open to any member of the Association to propose any candidate for election ; meantime I move that these gentlemen be re-elected—except with regard to one, and it is not for me to say in that respect ! I am quite sure we shall be all delighted if they will accept office, which I believe they have signified their readiness to do. I therefore propose these gentlemen, retiring by rotation, be re-elected to the office of Members of the Council.

Mr. McDONALD : I have very great pleasure in seconding that.

The CHAIRMAN : It is proposed and seconded that these gentlemen be re-elected. Those in favour ? (Carried unanimously.)

The SECRETARY : I should like to propose the name of Sir Abbas Ali Baig as a new Member of Council, and also the name of Mr. John Nicholson, who is a leading merchant in the City of London, and was recently the Master of the Painters' and Stainers' Company, and who takes a very deep interest in India. He is a thoroughly nice man in every way, and has been a member of our body for some time.

Mr. SEN : I have pleasure in seconding that.

The CHAIRMAN : It has been proposed and seconded that these two gentlemen be elected as members of the Council. Those in favour ? (Carried unanimously.)

The HON. SECRETARY : Then there is one point about the election of a Vice-President. We have vacancies, and it has occurred to me some member might like to propose that Lord Carmichael should be elected a Vice-President. I have every reason to believe that he would not be reluctant to accept that position.

Mr. PENNINGTON : I shall be glad to propose that.

The SECRETARY : Sir Roper Lethbridge is a Member of our Council, and I have great pleasure in proposing him also as Vice-President.

Mr. SEN : I have pleasure in seconding those two gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN : It is proposed and seconded that Lord Carmichael and Sir Roper Lethbridge be elected as Vice-Presidents of this Association. Those in favour please signify in the usual manner. (Carried unanimously.)

The CHAIRMAN : Then I think that concludes the business of the meeting.

The SECRETARY : Except that we ought to offer a vote of thanks to our Chairman.

Mr OWEN DUNN : I have pleasure in seconding that.

This was put to the meeting, and carried by acclamation.

THE FIFTIETH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE Council submit the following Report on the proceedings of the Association during the year 1916-1917 (its Jubilee Report).

Sixty-one members were proposed and elected during the year. Of these, thirty-five were Indians and the rest Europeans. Nine members died and sixteen—the same number as in the preceding year—resigned, so the total increase in membership during the year amounts to thirty-six, not an unsatisfactory result, seeing that we are in the third year of war.

Amongst the deaths the Association has had to deplore the loss of one of their Members of Council, Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., who for twenty-eight years had been a Member of the Association, and who had served on the Council for twenty-two years, "where his kindly wisdom, based on his long service in India and ready sympathy with her people and her needs, was always welcomed and highly valued." By his will Sir Lesley Probyn left one hundred pounds to the Association, free of duty.

The Association also lost by death during the year a valued member in the person of Mr. Bihari Lal Gupta, C.S.I., who had a distinguished career in the Bengal Civil Service, became a Puisne Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, and after his retirement was selected by H. H. the Gaekwar to be Diwan of Baroda.

One of the first acts of the Council during the year was

the submission to Lord Hardinge, K.G., of a letter of welcome on his return from his pre-eminently successful six years' administration as Viceroy of India.

In his reply his Lordship thanked the Council for their appreciation of his administration and assured them that any success that might have attended his efforts to draw England and India closer together were largely due to the loyal co-operation of all those who worked with him during his term of office.

On the attainment of his ninety-second year a letter of congratulation was sent by the Council to the venerable Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Founder of the Association.

The attention of the Council was drawn to the excellent service rendered by Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., in the publication of his booklet "The Verdict of India," containing a crushing reply to German falsehoods with regard to India, and it was resolved that in view of Sir Mancherjee's prolonged services to the Association, extending from the early days of its foundation until now, he be appointed an honorary member.

The Council placed on record their regret on hearing of the accident which happened to their esteemed President, Lord Reay, to whom they subsequently tendered their sincere condolences on the irreparable loss his Lordship had sustained by the death of Lady Reay. Her ladyship had always taken the deepest interest in India, and had devoted herself to the welfare of its people, especially in the matter of the education of Indian women (see NOTE, p. 11).

The Council also placed on record the deep sorrow with which they had heard of the death of Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Connaught, who had always so graciously identified herself with the well-being of the people of India, and they respectfully tendered to His Royal Highness the Duke their most sincere condolences.

They also offered to their Chairman of Council, Lord Lamington, their sympathy with his Lordship on the death of his mother, the Dowager Lady Lamington, who so

frequently attended the meetings of the Association, and took so much interest in its proceedings.

On the arrival of the Delegates to the Imperial War Council from India the Council addressed to them the following welcome :

" The Council of the East India Association offer their cordial congratulations and welcome to Sir James Scorbie Meston, K.C.S.I., Colonel H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., A.D.C., and Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, K.T., (the first Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council), on the important and historic occasion of their visit to England, at the invitation of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, as Representatives of the Government, the Princes and the People of India, to aid him, in conjunction with the Delegates from the overseas Dominions of the Empire, in the deliberations of the War Council of the British Government."

The following replies were received from the Delegates :

From Sir James Meston.

" Will you kindly convey to the Council of the Association my warm and respectful thanks for the high honour they have paid me in their resolution of welcome? It is indeed a historic occasion, and we all feel not only the distinction, but also the grave responsibility, of being the Secretary of State's assistants in the representation of Indian interests in this Council of Empire. It is also a new and sincere pleasure to meet in consultation the representatives of the Dominions, from whom we have already received the most cordial friendliness. The result cannot but be the strengthening of the bonds that unite India with the other component parts of the British Empire, and the greater good of us all. The welcome extended to us by the East India Association will support and encourage us in our work.

"Yours sincerely,

" JAS. MESTON."

From H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir :

"Will you kindly convey my sincere thanks to the Council of the East India Association for their kind congratulations and welcome as expressed in their resolution of March 26 ?

"I much regret that having to attend a meeting at the India Office prevented my being with you on Monday.

"Yours sincerely,

"GANGA SINGH"

From Sir Satyendra P. Sinha to Dr. Pollen :

"Many thanks for your kind letter enclosing the resolution of welcome from the East India Association Council. I am deeply grateful for it to them, and to you for the kind words in which you proposed it. It was indeed kind of you to have quoted Lord Minto's more than kind reference to me.

"With kindest regards,

"Yours very sincerely,

"S. P. SINHA."

No fresh "Truths about India" were issued by the Association during the year, but two hundred and fifty volumes of "Truths about India" and "More Truths about India" have been bound together and carefully indexed, and are now on sale (to cover expenses of printing, etc.) at 2s. 6d. a volume.

It has been resolved by the Council that additional pamphlets containing truths about India should continue to be issued on constructive rather than on critical lines.

Mr. T. H. S. Biddulph, C.I.E., a member of the Association, has offered to deliver a course of lectures on India to leading schools throughout the country under the auspices of the Association, and this kind offer is now under the consideration of the Council.

A brief historical sketch of the activities of the Association for the last fifty years is appearing in serial chapters in

the *Asiatic Review*, under the heading, "The Jubilee of the East India Association," and can be published in book form hereafter if approved.

Papers on the following subjects were read during the year :

May 22, 1916.—"Famine Protection Works in British Bundelkund," by Henry Marsh, Esq., C.I.E., M.L.C.E. Sir Charles Stuart Bayley, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., L.S.O., in the chair.

June 19, 1916.—"Thirty-five Years' Advance in Indian Railway Development," by Herbert Kelway-Bamber, Esq., M.V.O. The Right Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

July 17, 1916.—"Indian Railway Policy," by Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, K.C.I.E. Sir Stephen Finney, C.I.E., in the chair.

October 17, 1916.—"The Magnesite Mines of India," by C. H. B. Burlton, Esq. Sir J. D. Rees, K.C.I.E., C.V.O., M.P., in the chair.

November 13, 1916.—"Co-operation in India: Its Aims and Difficulties," by B. Abdy Collins, Esq., I.C.S. The Right Hon. Lord Islington, P.C., G.C.M.G., D.S.O., in the chair.

December 18, 1916.—"Indian Weights, Measures, and Money," by Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, K.C.I.E. Sir Stephen Finney, C.I.E., in the chair (in the absence of Sir Albert K. Rollit, D.C.L., LL.D.).

January 22, 1917.—"To-morrow in India," by Lady Katharine Stuart. The Earl of Ronaldshay, M.P. (Governor-Designate of Bengal), in the chair.

February 26, 1917.—"The Native States of India in their Relation with the Paramount Power," by T. H. S. Biddulph, Esq., C.I.E. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Donald Robertson, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

March 26, 1917.—"The Education of Women in India," by Miss M. Ashworth. Sir Frederick S.

Lely, K.C.I.E., in the chair (in the absence of the Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.).

April 30, 1917.—"Agricultural Tenures in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh," by Sir Duncan Colvin Baillie, K.C.S.I. Sir William F. Duke, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., in the chair.

The following have been elected Members of the Association during the year :

Shiva Darshan Lal Argawala, Esq.

Sant Ram Anand, Esq.

Sir Charles H. Armstrong.

A. M. Ahmad, Esq.

Shamsul Ulma Kamaluddin Ahmad, Esq.

George Adams, Esq.

Henry Deacon Allen, Esq.

Kapoor Chand Bhandari, Esq.

Edward Alfred Birch, Esq.

K. Sorabji Bhiwandiwalla, Esq.

Captain H. Wilberforce-Bell, F.R.G.S.

Sir Henry Parsall Burt, K.C.I.E.

General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

Premnath M. Chopra, Esq.

P. Cox, Esq.

Major-General Sir Vaughan Cox.

R. N. Dhauran, Esq.

Rai Bahadur P. Deirchand.

V. G. Dani, Esq.

Juanankur De, Esq.

Alfred Ezra, Esq.

Sir Stephen Finney, C.I.E.

Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart Hill Godfrey, C.I.E.

Colonel H. L. Goodenough.

Sharafat Hussain, Esq., B.A.

Elias C. Henriques, Esq.

Khan Bahadur Mosilvi Syed Illifat Rasool Hashmi.

Charles Hamilton, Esq.

Manchershah Framroze Joshi, Esq.
 J. P. B. Jeejeebhoy, Esq.
 Mirza Hashim Ispahani, Esq.
 Captain Mohammed Akbar Khan, Chief of Hoti.
 P. D. Kharé, Esq.
 Malik Firoz Khan, Esq.
 Sir James S. Meston, K.C.S.I.
 Rao Bahadur K. G. Srinivasa Mudaliar.
 Bankim Behary Mukharji, Esq.
 John MacIver, Esq., I.S.O.
 Lieutenant Jehangir Karkhusro Nariman, I.M.S.
 H. James Newson, Esq.
 D. L. Patvardhan, Esq.
 Atma Ram, Esq.
 The Hon. Mr. A. Suryanarayana Row.
 Mohamed Bin Seif, Esq.
 The Hon. Raja Sir Rampal Singh, K.C.I.E.
 Walter Shepherd, Esq., I.C.S.
 Samuel Henry Slater, Esq., I.C.S.
 Miss F. R. Scatcherd.
 Miss Julia Elisabeth Severs.
 The Right Hon. Sir Albert Spicer, M.P.
 Lady Katharine Stuart.
 Jehangir Nusserwanjee Setna, Esq.
 Sir Lancelot Sanderson, K.C.
 Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha.
 Rustom J. Tata, Esq.
 Francis Samuel Tabor, Esq.
 V. F. Vicajee, Esq.
 James Procter Watson, Esq., J.P.
 Brigadier-General William Crawford Walton.
 Muhammad Abdul Wajid, Esq.
 M. Zahur-ud-din, Esq.

The following have resigned membership during the year :

Nawabzadah A. F. M. Abdul Ali.
 Sir Robert Smith Aikman.

Sir John Benton, K.C.I.E.
The Hon. Rai Bahadur Hari Chand.
Pratap Chandra Chatarji, Esq.
William Doderet, Esq.
Walter Hill Dawson, Esq.
Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D.
F. M. Garda, Esq.
Dr. Fram Gotla.
The Hon. Mr. A. K. Ghuznavi.
Jehangir Dosabhoy Framjee Karaka, Esq.
Sir Walter Roper Lawrence, Bart., G.C.I.E.
D. Alan Purdie, Esq.
Rup Kishore Tandam, Esq.
Sirdar Arjan Singh.

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members:

F. H. Barrow, Esq.
F. C. Chamier, Esq.
Sir Edward Lee French, K.C.V.O.
W. F. Grahame, Esq.
Bihari Lal Gupta, Esq., C.S.I.
Jal Dinshaw Nicholson, Esq.
Sir Lesley Charles Probyn, K.C.V.O.
Harry Marshall Ross, Esq.

Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart Hill Godfrey, C.I.E., and Sir Charles H. Armstrong, have been co-opted Members of the Council. The following retire by rotation :

Sir Krishna Gobinda Gupta, K.C.S.I.
Sir William Ovens Clark.
W. Coldstream, Esq.
Sir Frank C. Gates, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
Sir Daniel M. Hamilton.
Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I.

These gentlemen are willing, if re-elected, to continue

to serve, and it is open to any Member of the Association to propose any candidate for election to Council.

The Accounts show a balance of £337 9s. 3d. (including cash and postage in hand), as compared with £336 16s. 8d. last year.

BALANCE SHEET, APRIL 30, 1917

ASSETS.		LIABILITIES.	
Investments in India Govern- ment Promissory Notes for Rupees 92,400	£4,248 0 0		
Library and Furniture	.. 350 0 0		
War Loan	190 0 0		
Balance of Bank and Cash Account	337 9 2		
	£5,125 9 2	General Fund Balance car- ried forward	£5,125 9 2

Examined and found correct.

G O WM DUNN, Member of Council.

G. M RYAN, Member of Association

J. POLLEN, Hon Secretary.

/s/ June 1, 1917.

SOME TENDENCIES OF MODERN RUSSIAN LITERATURE

BY V. MOURAVIEFF APOSTOL

THE PREACHERS: DOSTOEVSKY AND TOLSTOY

AFTER the period of romanticism that flourished in the middle of the nineteenth century, there follows two famous philosophical humanitarians who may be said to represent a whole epoch in themselves. They are quite a contrast to the group of writers who came before them. Instead of rising up in revolt against contemporary realities, they are full of sympathy with them. They sacrifice the problematic heroes and preach the insignificance of individual leadership—the necessity that every unit should bow before the truths which the majority has accepted. This is the teaching of these two great thinkers, and is the reason why they are called preachers.

Dostoevsky lived from 1826 to 1881. His father was a poor military surgeon. Though a weak and sickly child, subject to hallucinations and periodical attacks of epilepsy, he passed with brilliant success through his rather complicated school education, and possessed all his life a powerful brain and an instinct for elaborate and deep psychological analyses of the human soul.

Unluckily his life was a frightfully sad one; his exile in Siberia and his most unfortunate marriage made him a real martyr, and caused him to see the worst sides of life, and

study and depict the miserable and forlorn, or else criminals, idiots, and moral degenerates.

His style also suffered thereby, and was heavy and often difficult to understand at first reading. At the bottom of each of his works we always find the idea of forgiveness and the mystical joy of the repentant sinner.

Dostoevsky did not believe in his own martyrdom, neither did he believe in the infamy of the common thieves and murderers who were his companions in durance vile. He always thought that once the forfeit of the lost sheep is paid, the individual soul is clear, and neither crime nor dishonour remains. This feature reappears in his great work "Crime and Punishment," and partly in the "Memoirs of the House of the Dead."

Dostoevsky's great merit lies in the fact that he has demonstrated the likelihood that the development of the criminal germ, in one solitary intelligence, may foster a social malady.

In the domain of psychology and pathology the great novelist owes nothing to anyone. Another of his works, "The Idiot," is really an apology for the moral essence implanted in every human creature. The last of Dostoevsky's works was the famous "Brothers Karamazoff." In this book he has endeavoured to depict the intellectual progress of the Liberals in Russia, with all their excitement and their revolutionary idealism. The power of this novel is immense; it touches every chord of the human soul and all the information concerning the contemporary life of Russia, moral, intellectual, and social. The legendary episode of the Inquisition contains the most powerful pages that had been written by any Russian author up to that time.

In his writings, after a scrupulous analysis of man's soul, Dostoevsky decides to forgive everyone and pardon every crime. His novel contains but few descriptions of the external things of this world, and that is why I doubt whether this treasure of thought, without external beauty, could be accessible to the reader in Western Europe. To sum up, he was a man subject to semi-hallucinations, with a most

marvellous power of observation and not less wonderful inspiration, guided by a sort of permanent mysticism. He had a noble mind and a proud spirit, although he was of plebeian birth. In the whole field of our contemporary literature there is only one man—Tolstoy—who, perhaps, stands a step above him.

Count Leon Tolstoy was also a mystic and a preacher in the last years of his life, but of a quite different sort. Tolstoy began by being an artist, then evolved into a thinker, and ended by being a preacher. His literary career is still in everyone's mind, and therefore it seems needless to describe or criticize him; let each one retain his own opinion concerning him.

The exact opposite of Dostoevsky, who was generally ill and physically weak, Tolstoy was well known all his life for his extraordinary strength, physical, intellectual, and moral. This strength is felt in all his writings, and it was only when his physical strength began to give way on account of age that his literary strength began to waver too. His style, descriptions, bold plots, and deep thoughts are quite unique, and the works of the first half of his literary career, such as "Childhood and Youth," "Memoirs of the Crimean," "War and Peace," and "Anna Karenina," are one and all *chefs d'œuvres*. No one has attained that artistic fulness in the nineteenth century. The study of human nature reached its highest point in his masterpiece of 1875—"Anna Karenina." After that work Tolstoy was no more the same artist, and the thinker-philosopher took the first place. All hope of a continuance of the fine work which had raised him so high seemed lost, and Tourgeneff, lying on his death-bed, sent him this eloquent appeal: "My friend, come back to your literary work! That gift has been sent to you by Him who gives us all things! My friend, great writer of our Russian soil, grant this prayer of mine." The prayer was granted. Tolstoy appeared to bow before the parting wish of his great rival. Although his mental crisis, the date of which was in 1875, left on Tolstoy an imperishable mark,

still all of us welcomed him back on reading those new pearls of his such as the "Kreutzer Sonata," "The Power of Darkness," and especially "Resurrection."

But from 1880 onwards, after his famous "confession," Tolstoy again abandoned his purely artistic work and gave himself up more and more to his new religious preaching: "Don't resist evil." With his usual titanic strength and example, he carried thousands of young people away with him; but his theories, though picturesque, clear and strong, gave nothing new to his followers.

In 1894 Tolstoy spoke of Christianity not as a mystic religion, but as a new Theory of Life, with the candid acknowledgment that numerous letters from Methodists and Quakers had informed him that his teaching had long been known and disseminated under the name of "spiritual Christianity."

In spite of that, Tolstoy did not even then suspect the contradiction and the childishness which mark this new attempt, in which he comments on the sacred text, denounces all previous commentaries as sacrilegious, and bases on it an attack on the authority of the Church.

It seems to me to be an undeniable fact that Tolstoy as artist is far greater than Tolstoy as preacher and philosopher. In all his artistic writings he has created endless new types, new forms and epochs, whereas in his philosophy he upset and destroyed many ideals, but built up no new ones to replace them. Tolstoy's influence as philosopher was more or less forced on people. His influence as artistic writer was irresistible; there he was in his element! But, strange to say, Tolstoy has not founded any literary school. As to his religious followers, they have all turned back to the teaching of conscience and the New Testament, in order not to remain fruitless and passive lookers-on in life.

From the human point of view Dostoevsky, preaching on universal forgiveness, seems nearer our hearts than the famous doctrine of Tolstoy: "Do not resist evil."

CONTEMPORARY WRITERS

Gontcharoff partly, and Grigorovitch especially, are our last widely read authors, though after them comes a series of talented men such as Tchekhoff, Korolenko, Gorky, Merejkovsky, Andreieff, Kuprin, Sollogub; poets Odoevsky, Nadson, Fet, Balmont, Sofanoff, Kupernik, and two philosophers, Solovieff and Michailovsky, etc. But of course their importance is far less great; they have replaced classical literary strength with symbolism, materialism, and a strongly political tendency. Many of these authors do not in the least appeal to readers who seek in literature not so much political propaganda and party tendency, as deep psychology, beauty of form, and interesting "parables" and "synthesis."

We have also several classical writers of lyrics, such as Count Kutuzoff, Grand Duke Constantine, Maykoff, Fet, and although very graceful in style they add nothing to existing thought. There are some translations of their poetry.

Our historical and periodical literature is interesting just now. I grant that, on the one hand, even among modern novelists and poets there are some who do honour to our present literature, but it is doubtful whether even the best of their literary gems will outlive their authors. They cannot be compared with others whose works are transmitted from generation to generation, and will always serve as examples of literary truth and beauty; on the other hand, I must remark with regret that, abroad, it is not our classical and well-known authors that are read, but the contemporary Russian writers. Among them some have not yet spoken their last words, and others display ultra-modernism, and even sometimes a credulity and a cynical style which is not always appreciated by the more cultured of Russian readers.

In England, among the best authorities on Russian contemporary literature are Stephen Graham, F. P. Marchant, Mrs. Howe, and a few others, who are writing a great deal on authors and their present train of thought. Stephen Graham

has travelled a great deal in every part of Russia, and had the opportunity of approaching the soul of our modern people, therefore one must await in the near future great results from his continual efforts to penetrate the spirit of real Russian aspirations and ideals. One must hope that he will broaden his now somewhat undecided outlook on the Russian life, which idealizes the peasants' spiritual state of mind. Stephen Graham is still a young psychologist and therefore his conclusions on Russian tendencies do not always coincide with the history of the whole of the Russian nation. Here is a brief example of one of the writers of to-day :

I've come into this world to see the sun,
The flowers, and the sea;
I've come into this world to see the sun,
The mountains, and the lea !
I am the sovereign of all on earth,
The master of the world.
I fear not life ; I fear not cruel death
And its oblivion cold.

My songs have sprung from suffering acute,
But mankind loves my strain,
And hearkens, breathless, when I take my lute.
To sing of joy and pain !

I've come into this world to see the sun,
And if the light goes out,
I'll sing, I'll sing, about the glorious sun
Until my eyes are shut !

BALMONT

(Translated by O. VITALI).

CONCLUSION

To sum up the principal facts, the periods of our literature are in close touch with the different changes in our political life, and reflect the social emotions. Real literature, as it is understood in the west of Europe, began in Russia only about 1820—that is, some hundred years ago. Without referring any more to the talents or importance of our nineteenth-century writers, I must point out their special characteristics :

Firstly, preponderance of psychology over the appeal to the concrete ; *secondly*, romanticism nearly always accompanied

by realism; *thirdly*, irony and satirical doctrines without sarcasm; *fourthly*, "democratism," which I will now briefly explain. With the exception of Pushkin and Tourgeneff, all our other writers and poets took their heroes from the lower peasant classes, in which, owing to their primitive state, they found more individualistic and interesting types. Also most of the writers themselves rose out of these simple classes. Even Count Tolstoy finds his true hero with invariable delight amongst the plebeians.

Many consider the present period of Russian literature to be one of decadence, but all its symptoms coincide with the general trend of European literature at present.

This is true not only of literature, but also of music, painting, and sculpture. It seems to be a transitory time everywhere. I do not know how long this period will last, but we seem just now to be aiming for something new, yet plodding always in the same place.

It would take too long to give the reasons of this unfavourable metamorphosis of human creation, but it seems to me that science itself and its progress have tended to a great extent to atrophize our former inspirations.

The wonderful progress in electricity, telephones, telegraphs, motor-cars, etc., adds to the comforts of life, but at the same time it militates against contemplation, the study of nature, and the serenity necessary for great literary achievement—that is to say, it is alien to what is needed for the development of the artistic and literary sides of life. We tire our brain-centres with all the bustle of every-day existence and leave them too tired to work out spiritual and artistic questions. It may be that, in the generations to come, our brains will have got accustomed to live in this atmosphere of lightning progress, and will again find an outlet for our thoughts in the contemplation of higher and more beautiful things. Let us hope so!

A RUSSIAN CRUSADER AND A EUROPEAN STAR

(MME. SHROEDER DEVRIENT)

BY OLGA NOVIKOFF.

THE world will not cease to develop itself till the moment of the Last Judgment. A man, according to ancient Greek teaching, ought to study and improve till the last moment of his life; but a girl's education is supposed to finish when she attains a marriageable age. Thus, when I was on the point of reaching that blessed epoch of my life, I was taken to Dresden to "finish" my intellectual and artistic school.

A teacher of singing was secured without delay, and he introduced mother and myself to several musical circles. Invited to one of these centres, we arrived one evening at the appointed hour, and were told by the musical hostess that the famous Mme. Shroeder Devrient was expected, and had even promised to give one or two songs for the benefit of the young artists *in spe*. But the impatiently awaited star seemed to have forgotten her promise, and we commenced to amuse ourselves with a beautiful chorus from Mendelssohn's "Elijah."

I thought we were singing rather well, considering that we had never before sung it together and had had no rehearsal. Suddenly an angry, scolding voice sounded behind our backs: "Why do you shut your mouths? How can you produce proper tones when your lips are closed? Do you imagine *you are singing!*" The company only smiled, but I felt rather shocked and humiliated by this tone of contempt, and turned brusquely towards the arrogant intruder. . . . She then stopped and regarded me with interest. How long that exchange of mutual examination continued I do not exactly remember, but suddenly she exclaimed:

"Are you a Russian?"

"Yes, madame," replied I.

"From Moscow?"

Same polite reply from me.

"Did you know Alexis Kireeff?"

"He was my father. He died when I was quite a child," answered I with emotion, for I had loved him above all the world.

"What a wonderful likeness! It is just as if he stood before me," muttered she to herself, regardless of those who stood around. At that moment supper was announced, and we adjourned to another room.

I then guessed that I had been speaking to the famous Shroeder Devrient, though she was much older in appearance than in the portrait which never left my father's table. Needless to say, how impatiently I awaited the promised song of the great artist; instead of which she suddenly became perfectly still, and told her hostess that she could not sing that night.

"The sight of that young girl brings back to me important moments of my life, and I cannot sing to-night." Thus the only chance of hearing the "divine singer," as she was described by her worshippers, was lost to me. She had brought with her a large basketful of the ribbons with printed dedications addressed to her which had been attached to her bouquets. She fell ill, and after a couple of months died.

At an advanced age she had married (for the third time) a man from our Baltic provinces, Mr. de Bock. "A late marriage," observed a cynic, "is a public confession of a sinful youth." And I think it probable that she had led a rather Bohemian life, as though she never cared what people thought and said of her.

Whether she liked or disliked the Jews I do not know, but that she failed to observe all Moses' Commandments, especially the seventh (or the eight, according to the new calculation defended by some scholars), is, I think, beyond doubt! One of her earliest admirers was Beethoven. Having written his "Fidelio," he was in despair not to find a voice capable of executing the chief part in that Opera. At last a young girl of sixteen was introduced to him; it was the little Shroeder, and then he had the joy to find his Leonora. The number of her admirers was countless, and ranged from Weber to Wagner.

But to return to early days. It happened that my father was then a student in the Leipsic University, and had fallen under her despotic spell. Meeting a man of mature years who spoke disparagingly of her, my father exclaimed: "How dare you speak in that way? I cannot tolerate such infamous calumnies." The other interrupted the young modern Crusader, then hardly more than twenty years of age: "But I know her better than you do," observed he smilingly. Upon which my father, with Russian impetuosity, threw his glove in the speaker's face. A duel resulted. My father was wounded, and bore a slight mark on his face all his life. He kept Shroeder Devrient's portrait in his room to the day of his death. What my mother thought of that unexpected meeting I never knew!

OLGA NOVIKOFF (*née* KIREFF).

RUSSIAN CENTRAL ASIA

(A BRIEF SKETCH OF ITS HISTORY, ETHNOLOGY, AND
COMMERCIAL FUTURE)

BY THE EDITOR

EVER since the welcome foundation of the Anglo-Russian Entente, which has so dramatically ripened into the closest alliance, very little has been written of the development of the great Russian province of Turkestan. And yet it may be said that no province of Russia was so directly affected by the substitution of harmony for friction between the two great Asiatic Powers. There was now no longer any reason for the strict military régime which had existed in the eighties. The authorities could, on the contrary, turn their thoughts to the commercial development of the new province, to the encouragement of its old art and industries, to the introduction of modern institutions and improved systems of irrigation and agriculture. In fact, just previous to the War it was even proposed to apply the system of the Zemstvo. It may therefore be of interest to recall briefly some of the leading features in the history and ethnology, as also the future possibilities of what is now generally known as Russian Central Asia. In area about half the size of India, being just short of a million square miles, it is made up of the provinces of Ferghana, Samarkand, Semirietshansk, Syr-Daria, and Transcaspia, together with the "vassal States" of Bokhara and Khiva, which are ruled over by Emirs. Together, these comprise the Government-General of Turkestan.

Early History.—The original inhabitants were undoubtedly Aryans who began to be subjected to Mongol invasions about the third century A.D. They have always been closely bound to their soil and accustomed to bring their produce to the cities, whereas the Mongol invaders have never quite thrown off their nomad habits.

The Mongol penetration appears to have been gradual and lasted through four centuries. With the arrival of the Osman Turks the Iranian or Aryan rulers found it no longer possible to maintain their civilization and culture, and the land did in truth become the "Turk-land" or "Turkestan." Passing on rapidly, we find that in the thirteenth century the Usbek princes (who were connected with the Golden Horde) ruled the land. The best known of these was of course Timur (1333-1405), who could trace back his descent to Genghis Khan, the Mongolian prince (1150-1227). To Timur are due the glorious monuments of Samarkand and other Turanian cities. That may be described as the Golden Age of pre-Russian Turkestan.

The Russian Advance.—Turning now with more detail to the Russian conquest, we find that Peter the Great, who opened the window on the Baltic with such great success, tried to perform the same operation in the opposite direction. In 1711 he sent General Bekowitch-Tsherkassky to force his way through to Khiva. In that he was unsuccessful, but he succeeded in detaching the Kirghiz tribes, who used to owe allegiance to the Khan of Bokhara. About the same time Omsk was occupied. In 1730 a second expedition, this time based on Orsk, which is situated to the east of Orenburg on the Ural River, also proved abortive. It was then decided to trust rather to steady pressure and cautious progress. Thus two lines of advance were traced: the "Orenburg line," pointing south-east, and the "Siberian line," aiming south-west. In 1839 the admirable policy of Catherine the Great and Alexander I. was departed from, with the result that General Perowski suffered the fate of General Bekowitch. Thereupon a strong fort was built at Uralsk in 1845; at the same time the "Siberian line" was advanced to the outskirts of Wyermyi. One unfortunate result of the defeat of General Perowski, which proved a great blow to Russian prestige, was the defection of the Kirghiz tribes and the Khan of Kokand; in fact, the latter now proved to be much the most redoubtable foe. However, his stronghold Ak-Metchetj was captured

in 1853, and renamed Perowsk ! It now remained to carry out the last part of the original programme so wisely adopted by the great Catherine—viz., unite the Siberian line (now at Wyermyi) with the Orenburg line. This was achieved by the conquest of Pishpek, Tchimkent, and Anlie-ada. In 1865 the Khans of Bokhara and Kokand formed an alliance and planned a converging march on Tashkent. However, General Tshernaiev by a bold stroke captured the town before they could unite, and advanced to Tchinas, on the Syr-Daria, an important junction of caravan routes. In the year of Sadowa the Emir of Bokhara suffered a signal defeat, and General Romanowsky occupied Khojend, which gave him the command of the Ferghana Valley.

The Russian Province.—Next year General Kaufmann was appointed first Governor-General of the newly created province of Turkestan. He acted with great energy, captured the famous city of Samarkand, and, leaving a small garrison there, pursued the enemy as far as Katty-Kurgan. There he received news that great enemy forces had gathered in his rear and were threatening the little garrison with destruction. His relief of the town is one of the most thrilling episodes of Russian history. All resistance was now broken. Three vassal States were formed : Bokhara, Khiva, and Kokand. The last of these, owing to the persistent misrule of the Khan, was converted in 1876 into the province of Ferghana.

Later, the brilliant Skobeleff subdued the last enemy, the Turcomanni, by capturing their stronghold, Goek Tepe. In 1884 the important oasis of Merv was added, and the Russian armies were pushed as far as the Kusch. The work was now completed, and if the immense difficulties of distances, the precariousness of the lines of communication which lay through deserts, the embarrassing tactics of a foe who knew all the ground, are taken into full consideration, it may be said that it was one of the greatest achievements of military history.

It has been stated that the original inhabitants of Turkestan were Indo-Germanic, and suffered invasion from the Mongols. The present population, though greatly varied in character,

is in fact composed of these two constituents. On the one hand there are the Tadjiks : original Iranians who fled into the Pamirs at the time of the Turkish invasions, and are attached to the soil. Their occupation is agriculture, and it is to their initiative that the native irrigation work is attributed. They number about 400,000 and speak a Persian idiom. At the other end of the scale we have the Kirghisians, who are pure Mongols, and whose language is pure Turkish. This is particularly the case with the Kara-Kirghisians, living in the Pamir-Orlai. They are herdsmen and emerge every spring from their Kishlan (winter quarters) to the Dshailan (mountain pastures). Lighter in complexion and also of a more nomad disposition are the Kasak Kirghisians, who live in the plains. Between these two extremes are at least five other races, mixtures of Mongolian and Iranian, which may now be briefly summarized. The Sarts form three-quarters of the population, and are described by all travellers to Turkestan. They like nothing better than being in the bazaars, are Mohammedans, and have adopted the Turkish language. If the Sarts are chiefly the servants, the Ouzbeks are as a rule aristocrats ; in fact, the reigning houses of Turkestan always called themselves "Ouzbeks." They now live chiefly in the vassal States. The Tarantshis came across from Khasgari in the eighteenth century, hastened on their way by the Chinese Government. They settled in the Ili valley. There also are the Hungarians, who wear Chinese dress, but are Mohammedans. The Turcomans used to be robbers pure and simple ; however, the Russians are gradually making them settle down. They also are a race mixture, speak a Turkish idiom, and profess Mohammedanism. Their women do not veil themselves, and enjoy considerable liberty. The Turcomans are to be found chiefly at Merv and in the oasis of Achal, and number 400,000.

The distribution of these various races is indicated in the accompanying table (in thousands) : *

* Votikov : "Turkestan Russe," pp. 120, 124.

	Rus- sians.	Tadjiks.	Sarts and Ouzbeks.	Turco- mans.	Kirghiz.	Natives.
Syr-Daria -	32	5	249	4	707	—
Samarkand -	18	270	635	—	73	—
Ferghana -	7	83	766	—	135	—
Transcaspia -	97	21	3	650	194	—
Semirietshansk -	25	—	—	—	—	1,200
Khiva -	4	—	—	—	—	800
Bokhara -	10	—	—	—	—	1,500

There is, however, proportionately, a very large population in the towns as the following list shows (in thousands): Tashkent, 272; Kokand, 114; Samarkand, 94; Namangan, 73; Osh, 51; Margelan, 46; Kodshent, 40; Wiernyi, 40; Merv, 16; Skobelev, 16.

The commercial possibilities of Central Asia are very great, at present, however, only about 23,000 square miles are under cultivation. Even of these nine-tenths have been brought to their present state of fertility through artificial irrigation. It is calculated that through a better use of the rivers this area might be doubled, but this work would entail considerable expense, which at present, of course, cannot be entertained. Taking the interior of the Transcaspian region first, we find that it is nearly all waste land. The most fertile parts are in the state of Khiva, but even here only six per cent. of the area is cultivated. The capital, Kunja-Urgandj, now has only 6,000 inhabitants, a state of affairs which is partly due to the alteration in the course of the River Amu-Daria. The fortress-like farms of the State recall more bellicose times. Outer Transcaspia is, however, much more hopeful. There the inhabitants can count on the moisture brought by the mountains of Kopet-Dagh and Pamir-Alai, and cultivation is facilitated by the long-practised system of irrigation. Among the products of the soil are grain, beans, peas, sesame, hemp, spices, lucerne (very valuable in a land that is lacking in good pasturage), cotton, mulberry-trees, melons, tobacco, fruit. On the other hand, a great proportion of the food is consumed in Central Asia itself, though the construction of the Orenburg-Tashkent line has caused the export of a considerable amount of grapes.

But the two most valuable products are undoubtedly silk and cotton. In fact, it is hoped that once direct railway connection with Siberia has been established, it will be possible to devote all the available land to the encouragement of these two industries, and secure food supplies from more northern provinces of far-flung Russia. Russia uses every year about twenty-one million puds of cotton, and grows at present only about eleven million puds. There ought to be a great future for cotton-growing in Central Asia. The same may be said of the silk industry. Unfortunately, silk manufacturers from Europe made a practice of carrying off cocoons by the thousands, and nearly ruined this important industry altogether. Through the efforts of General Kaufmann this pilfering was arrested, and the Russian Government with commendable energy induced experts to come and settle in the country. Chief among these was M. Aloisé, who came from France with 500 boxes of eggs, and has devoted his time to the work ever since, and is now known to all as "le roi des grains."

In the bazaars of the towns fine examples of native skill and art in silk, cotton, fur, leather, and metal goods are numerous. In Ferghana there is considerable mineral wealth, especially coal and naphtha.

The colonization of the Transcaspian region with Russians has not made much progress. In all, there are about 60,000 Russian peasants settled in the four provinces, and they are distributed in 145 villages.

In Central Tienshan, which is chiefly populated by Tarantjis, there are double the number of Russian colonists, especially numerous in the province of Semirjehjensk. As a consequence the Russian Bishop resides not at Tashkent, but at Wiernyi. Besides agriculture there is a considerable amount of pasturage available, the great need of Turkestan.

Lastly, the upper Tienshan and Pamir-Alai can point to mineral wealth; moreover, the Kirghiz traverse this region with their flocks. There is a colony of Russian peasants at Prjewalsk on the Issykull.

CORRESPONDENCE

'A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR'

INDIAN WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND MONEY

It is only recently that I have seen the full account of Sir Guilford Molesworth's paper on Indian Weights, Measures, and Money read before the East India Association in December last, and trust that it is not too late to enter a protest against the method in which the work of the Weights and Measures Committee has been treated. This method is that of the advocate, and the paper contains not a little of the "*petitio falsi et suppressio veri*" of the professional advocate, not to mention also a certain amount of the abuse of the other side to which advocates occasionally resort—usually for lack of any better argument. The lecturer stigmatizes the proposals as "neither unanimous nor practical," and states that "the President issued a report subject to minutes of dissent from the two members." From the rest of his lecture it would never be inferred that Mr. Rustomji's objections were not by any means against the system proposed, but against certain procedure, on the ground that this procedure was too drastic, and would result in too vigorous an enforcement of the proposed system. I note that Mr. Rustomji's name is printed in the report as having signed "subject to a minute of dissent." To the best of my recollection that is due to a printer's error. I cannot be certain, as, having been posted to the charge of the Gorakhpur district (the second largest in India, with a population of over three and a quarter millions) immediately after finishing the Report, I was unable myself to correct the proofs of the Report. In any case, Mr. Rustomji wrote no formal minute of dissent; his objections were embodied in the body of the Report. (See in particular para. 41 of Chapter VI.)

The lecturer has abused the proposed table of weights, and holds them up to great ridicule. Abuse and ridicule are easy and cheap. But would it not have been fairer to have given the majority of the Committee credit for at least some sense, and to have pointed out that the basis of the proposals was the fact, which I think any dispassionate study of the

evidence must be held to prove, that this set of weights was that which was by far the best known when the whole of India was considered? Would it not have been fairer to have pointed out that the 180-grain tola was (see the top of p. 148 of the Report) the one common unit of weight throughout a very large part of India, as well as being the weight of the rupee? The ability to check weights by means of rupees was of comparatively minor importance. The important point is that *the weight of the 180-grain tola is known and recognised throughout almost the whole of India.*

I have seen it implied in some comments on this paper, though not by the lecturer himself, that my preference for the system proposed was due to a classical training and ignorance of science. May I be allowed, therefore, to point out that I took my degree at Cambridge in Science and also hold the B.Sc. degree of the London University, and that in any extensive calculations I invariably convert weights or measures into decimals? Personally I prefer a decimal system; that I came to agree with Mr. Rustomji that the one proposed by the majority of the Committee was the most suitable one for India, if a uniform system is to be adopted within a reasonable period, was solely the result of the evidence we received, summaries of which are given in Chapters IV. and V. of the Report. And here possibly the experience of the various members as set forth on p. 6 of the Report might be considered, so that the opinions may be properly weighted. I do not wish to be thought to imply that District experience is better than Secretariat—it requires experience of all sorts to make a sound Committee—but I do think that men with extended District experience are more likely to know what is practically possible in rural tracts—which, be it noted, form 90 per cent. of India, instead of, as in England, less than 40 per cent.—than men with mainly Secretariat experience.

As regards the possibility of introducing the metric system, and its progress in other countries, the lecturer has given a long list of countries in which it has been introduced; some information will be found on p. 147 of the Report as to how far such introduction has at present been genuine. The majority of the Committee would have discussed the feasibility of introducing this system in India at greater length had they had the advantage of seeing Mr. Campbell's note, or learning his views before signing the Report. (See note on p. 169 of the Report, which shows that this minute was handed in "after the Report had been signed, and with no previous suggestion that any such dissent was contemplated.")

The reason why the majority of the Committee proposed the system they did was that they did not think anything better was practical politics within a reasonable period. As a result of forty years or more, the use of the system proposed—i.e., the "railway weights"—had become well known in the larger part of India, and at least understood in other parts. To introduce the metric system would mean "scrapping" all the progress effected by this means. There seemed no immediate likelihood of England adopting the metric system, and for India to adopt it when England did not seemed to the majority of us decidedly illogical, and

certainly, to myself, to be detrimental to British trade. In short, I considered that the system proposed was the line of least resistance, and the one likely to give most easily that for which there was clearly a widespread demand.

If it were decided to adopt the metric system, we should have to begin over again much where we were when the railways adopted the eighty-tola seer. Progress would doubtless be considerably more rapid if proper methods were made use of, but it must inevitably be much less rapid than if the system proposed were adopted.

Whether in the light of subsequent events, and of the possibility of England herself adopting the metric system before long, it will not be advisable for India to go on as she is at present for a few more years, and then, as soon as England has definitely decided on adopting the metric system, introduce measures to follow suit, is a question worthy of consideration. There was not much prospect of anything of the sort when the Report was written, and it would have been fairer of the lecturer to have pointed this out.

The lecturer has stated that there is no apparent reason why Burma should not have been included with India. I do not think that he can have read the digest of the Burma evidence, or he must surely have seen that this course followed necessarily on the adoption of the "railway weights" for India. These weights the lecturer will surely agree to be of such a character as not to be enforced where there is no good reason for adopting them!

The lecturer's examples of diverse weights in the three Presidencies strike me as unfortunate. The Committee published as part of their report as complete a set of the weights and measures of every district in India as they were able to collect. These tables cover 460 foolscap pages, but I nowhere remember a seven-pound seer. The most usual seer in Bombay is equal in weight, or very nearly so, to the pound avoirdupois, and when not so it is exactly half the Bengal seer. The "guz" is now almost universally exactly equivalent to the yard English. Weights and measures showing much more appalling variations and apparent impracticabilities occur in large numbers—surely accurate examples might have been selected.

Lastly, the lecturer lays great stress on the ease with which decimal money was introduced into Ceylon. He has omitted to point out the all-important fact that no change was made in the value or weight of the rupee. I have little doubt that the rupee could be as easily decimalized in India; this operation would leave unchanged that fundamental unit, the rupee weighing one tola of 180 grains, which was the chief fact on which the system of weights and measures proposed by the Committee was based. It is when it is desired to upset or alter this that difficulties begin.

C. A. SILBERRAD

*(Late President, Weights and Measures
Committee).*

GORAKHPUR,

U.P., INDIA.

April 6, 1917.

TO THE EDITOR, "ASIATIC REVIEW"

REFERRING to the comments of Sir Guilford Molesworth in his supplementary note on "Indian Railway Policy" on the facts I submitted on that subject, I trust that in conformity with its admirable motto, "A fair hearing and no favour," the ASIATIC REVIEW will give insertion to the following observations. Sir Guilford asserts that I am in error in basing comparisons on bare results and crude statistics. The facts I submitted showed that the duty per ton of coal consumed on the Company lines was 72 per cent. greater than on the State lines, and that for every rupee of maintenance expenditure the Company lines hauled 56 per cent. more gross ton miles than the State lines; but, says Sir Guilford, my crude statistics were brought forward without intimate knowledge of the numerous factors affecting the problem; he says that my comparison is untenable because on frontier lines gradients are excessively heavy and curves of sharp radius. He, however, omits to mention that they carry an inconsiderable part only of State line traffic, also that the great bulk of the State line traffic between Karachi and the Irrigation Colonies and via Delhi or Saharanpur to Mugal Serai is hauled over dead level country, aggregating some 2,500 miles, without a hillock so high as Primrose Hill, whereas it is impossible to find an equal extent of plane country on any of the Company lines or all of them put together. Almost the whole of the long-distance traffic of the East Indian Railway, which railway Sir Guilford says works under more favourable conditions than any other in the world, has to surmount the considerable inclines and curves of the grand Chord and Chord lines. "By their fruits shall ye know them." I venture to prefer my facts to "factors" based on vague generalities of questionable pertinence.

I further pointed out that the East Indian Railway is handicapped by 200,000,000 ton miles' preponderance of up over down traffic, proving that the character of the East Indian Railway is to this extent, not, as Sir Guilford asserts, "exceptionally favourable to full loads in both directions"; but he states that such preponderance of up traffic, which was a very conservative estimate of pre-war excess, is only one thirty-sixth part of the total ton mileage of all goods traffic of the East Indian Railway. In 1914-15 the total net ton mileage was 4,767 millions, of which 200 millions is one twenty-fourth part, or 50 per cent. greater than the fraction quoted by Sir Guilford, and of this the coal traffic is carried at the exceptionally low average rate of 0.17d. per ton per mile.

Putting the East Indian Railway out of court, Sir Guilford invites comparison between the Madras (Company) line and the Rajputana Malwa Railway State line, which he says is infinitely superior in respect of working expenses, and returns on capital. This may be so, but as the Rajputana Malwa Railway is and has for many years been worked by one of the guaranteed railways, its infinitely superior working must go to the credit of company management.

BRADFORD LESLIE.

INDIAN WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND MONEY

A REJOINDER TO MR. SILBERRAD'S NOTE, BY SIR GUILFORD MOLESWORTH

MR. SILBERRAD has taken exception to my statement that the conclusions of the Committee of which he was the President were "*neither unanimous nor practical*."

In order to understand the subject, it must be borne in mind that the Committee consisted of only three members, including the President, and consequently each member represented one-third of the Committee.

The Report was subject to a minute of dissent from two members, or two-thirds of the Committee. One of the members (Mr. A. Campbell, I.C.S.) not only dissented, but completely demolished the conclusions and recommendations of the President, stigmatizing his proposed measures as complicated, unintelligible, and unsuited to the classes that formed the bulk of the population. He further pointed out that they would be of no assistance in foreign trade, or in the industrial development of the country. He deprecated a separate system of weights for Burma, strongly advocated the adoption of the metric system, which the President had rejected, and refuted the arguments on which that rejection was based. Mr. Silberrad has made no allusion in his note to this serious want of unanimity, but has endeavoured to explain away the words "subject to a minute of dissent" by ascribing their insertion to a printer's error. But they are wholly out of character with an ordinary printer's error; moreover, they are in a prominent position not likely to be overlooked, following immediately after the signature of the President, and just before the signatures of the two members, which are bracketed together. Even admitting Mr. Silberrad's explanation, the strong condemnation of the proposed measures by Mr. Campbell (one-third of the Committee) fully justifies my statement that the conclusions of the Committee were neither unanimous nor practical.

With reference to Mr. Silberrad's complaint, that I have abused his table of weights and held it up to ridicule, I may say that my "abuse" was confined to the following paragraph:

"It is difficult to conceive anyone seriously recommending the adoption of this octo-tertio-quinto-sextodecimo-quadragesimal jumble while rejecting the simple decimal metric weights."

The objectionable epithet which seems to have aroused Mr. Silberrad's ire has been used in following the method employed by Professor de Morgan, who in describing a multi-numeral system stigmatized the monetary system of England as "a quarto-duodecimo-vicesimal currency."

My criticism was very mild when compared with that of Mr. Campbell (Mr. Silberrad's colleague), who spoke of the table of weights as being complicated, unintelligible, and unsuited to the classes that form the bulk of the population, etc.

The following table speaks for itself, in justification of my so-called "abuse":

8 khaakbas = 1 chawal.
8 chawals = 1 ratti.
8 rattis = 1 masba.

3 masbas = 1 tank.
4 tanks = 1 tola.
5 tolas = 1 chatak.

16 chataks = 1 seer.
40 seers = 1 maund.

Some of these are not represented by tola weight, but by grains of rice, or by poppy or other seeds

I venture to remark that this table, involving as it does a hash of the numerals 3, 4, 6, 8, 16, and 40, fully justifies my criticism, especially when compared with the simple 10 on which the rejected metric system is based. Some of the terms of this table scarcely extend beyond the limits of the United Provinces, from which they have been drawn, and are unknown in the Madras, Bombay, or Bengal Presidencies, in Orissa, Assam, or Burma. The "railway weights" (eighty tola seers) are, as Mr Silberrad says, well known in the larger part of India, but their use is chiefly confined to railway freights, and they have not been generally adopted in the retail trade of native bazaars. In fact, the Report of the Committee proves that the weights generally used differ widely from the eighty tola seer, for example, the Report, after enumerating some twenty districts in Bengal in which a sixty tola seer is used, adds

"Various other seers are also used in retail trade—52, 55, 58, 58½, 62, 64, 70, 72, 75, 78, 81, 82½, 85½, 90, 96" (Report of the Committee, p. 38)

The Report also states that in Orissa and Bihar the seer varies from 28 to 132 tolas, in Bombay from 28 to 80, in Assam from 76 to 120. "In Chittagong there are seers of 16, 52, 60, 64, 70, 75, 80, 82, 82½, 84, 85, 86, 90, 96, and 100 tolas, while in Chittagong hill tracts, trade in cotton is carried on in different parts by seers of 84, 85, and 120 tolas" (Report, p. 38)

Mr Silberrad appears to attach undue importance to the tola (or rupee) as a weight. It is only used for weighing silver ornaments, jewellery, and medicines, but not in ordinary bazaar retail transactions, and being subject to wear it is unfit for a standard, some rupees I have weighed having lost as much as eleven per cent of their original weight. Mr Silberrad, in reference to my opinion that "there is no apparent reason why uniformity of weights and measures should not prevail throughout the Indian Empire," suggests that I cannot have read the digest of the Burma evidence. He is wrong, I had read it, and have read it again, but I fail to see any reason for a separate system in Burma, and Mr Campbell takes a similar view.

In defence of his rejection of the metric system, Mr Silberrad, in the Committee's Report, put forward a few cases of countries in which that system had not been easily or universally adopted, but in all these cases the want of success has been due to the failure of the Government to enforce the law. The numerous official reports that have been received from foreign countries concur in the statement that the metric system has been found to work satisfactorily, to have been an improvement on other existing systems, and that there is no desire to return to them.

Mr Campbell in his minute of dissent urged that the metric system was easy to learn and to remember; that it was applicable to all commodities, including precious metals and medicines, that it simplified accounts and calculations; that it could be applied to Burma; that it

would be useful in foreign trade and facilitate the industrial development of the country; and he added:

"It appears to me to be eminently desirable that the Government should take steps now, without further delay, to constitute the metric system the uniform system of weights and measures in India. When its use has become established throughout India, the action of Government in introducing it will, I am convinced, be appreciated by all."

GUILFORD L. MOLESWORTH.

May 11, 1917.

WESTMINSTER, S.W., 1.

THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN INDIA

SIR,

I have read with great interest the paper on the education of girls in India in the May number of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, and it has occurred to me that the writer's historical survey would have been more perfect if she had had access to a book called "Ten Years' Missionary Labour in India," published by Dr. Mullens in 1862. He was in communication with all the non-Roman missionaries in India and Ceylon, and had access to official information at the same time. If Miss Ashworth will refer to pages 74 and 142 she will get a much truer account of the educational effort between 1852 and 1862 than she presented in her paper. Madras was not lagging behind, but was leading the way.

In 1852 there were in India 300 (see page 143) girls' day-schools conducted by missionaries and 102 boarding-schools. These had respectively 11,519 and 2,779 girl pupils. In 1862 the increase of these girls' schools was to 371 and 114 respectively, and of pupils to 15,899 and 4,098. This calculation includes Ceylon, but not Burmah.

In the Madras Presidency in 1862 there were 151 missionary day-schools for girls out of the whole number 371 in the country, and 63 missionary boarding-schools out of a total of 114. These statistics do justice to the Madras effort, which was a greater one than that of any other Presidency.

FRANK PENNY.

3, PARK HILL,

EALING, W. 5.

A FAMOUS CONTROVERSY

In the memoirs of Mme. Olga Novikoff, allusion is made to a pamphlet entitled "Christ or Moses," to which our esteemed contributor writes the preface, and three letters are included from the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. (This eminent statesman was a lifelong and profound theological student, and among his works were "The Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture" and an edition of Bishop Butler's "Analogy," while he had an acute controversy with Professor Huxley over the Gadarene swine story.) The authorship of

the pamphlet was a mystery, but now is made known to have been the late Count Keyserling, the distinguished Rector of Jurjew University, and a court dignitary.

The main point of discussion was—Is the doctrine of immortality taught in the Old Testament? The author seems to have come to the definite conclusion that it is *not*; that the ancient Jews had no conception of the hope universally shared by members of the different Christian bodies; that immortality for the Jew meant continuance of his name and family; that Divine rewards and blessings consisted in material prosperity, "every man under his vine and under his fig-tree." Sons were to grow up as young plants, and daughters as polished corners of the temple, and the possessor of a "quiverfull" would fearlessly face enemies in the gate. When our first parents, in the story of the Fall, ate of the tree of knowledge, they were expelled from Eden, lest man should "take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever." This, according to the author, did not mean "immortality," but prolongation of material existence. Enoch and Elijah were miraculously removed, but it is hard to see that they were not "immortal" in the usually accepted sense. Such a declaration as that of St. Paul, "If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable," was foreign to the orthodox Jew. Balaam aspired to die the death of the righteous, and that his last end might be like his. Had he a vision of some future beneficent fate? In the familiar parable of Dives and Lazarus, there is reference to a future state: "Abraham's bosom" for the man who had suffered evil things in this life, while Dives, from some place of torment, was still able to communicate with their great ancestor across the impassable gulf. (Undoubtedly the once rich man's concern for his erring brethren, lest they should hereafter share his sufferings, was inspired by a noble motive, which is often overlooked.)

The Appendix contains references, *inter alia*, to the late Dean Farrar's opinion that the Book of Daniel is a "novel with a purpose," written to encourage the Maccabees and their countrymen persecuted by Antiochus Epiphanes, and to the dogma of Papal infallibility. We are not in a position to handle critically the main point of the discussion, which is probably still open for consideration by specialists, but would offer some hints which may be of interest. What was the nature of the *tree of life* and its fruit, and why was it created? (In the Apocalypse, a "tree of life" stands in the heavenly city by the pure river of water of life, whose twelve manner of fruits ripen monthly, while the leaves are for the healing of the nations.) Our first parents, through their Fall, lost a paradise of rural beauty; but the hope of redemption from the inherited original sin is not back to such a paradise, but forward to a wonderful city, "new Jerusalem," and glorious, happy fellowship with angels and "spirits of just men made perfect." (*Passim*, we remember reading that the best ghost story in the world is said to

be the vision of Eliphaz the Temanite [Job. iv. 15], when the visitant said, "Shall mortal man be more just than God?"

In conclusion, Christian missionary effort—easily within living memory, and of which traces still exist—was inspired by a burning sense of personal responsibility and noble endeavour to "save souls" from a hideous fate resembling the Greek Tartarus, to which no limits were fixed and no amelioration possible. Marlowe's Faustus was lost here, and Goethe's Faust, in momentary danger, was saved by the intervention of redeemed Gretchen. Mr. Lecky ("History of Rationalism") discusses this aspiration of many noble natures, and the intensity of terror which the *letter* of the doctrine occasioned in the Middle Ages. A logical outcome was the conviction that *all*, of any race, age, or clime, who had never heard of, let alone accepted, a short and simple formula, were irrevocably doomed to this dire fate, and to save as many as possible was the self-sacrificing impulse which led to martyrdom. Surely all is well with those who gave their lives in this way, though their example is more generally admired than followed. Happily, Christian missionaries have become sympathetic students of other faiths, and are not ashamed to confess that they have learnt much (*e.g.*, a retired missionary from India admitted this to us) from those of ancient spiritual faiths. A kindlier spirit is abroad, and enlightened men would rather lay their heads together in counsel than knock them together in antagonism.

It will be remembered that in a recent number Lieut.-Colonel Waddell promises a work which is to modify and perhaps revolutionize current conceptions of "king" Adam, the overthrower of matriarchy, the Fall, the site of Eden, and old familiar stories. It is hoped that light may be thrown therein on the problems of the "Christ or Moses" controversy.

AJAX.

Besides the letters referred to in the Preface, there are two more letters written by Mr. Gladstone to Madame Novikoff, one of which is particularly interesting. He states therein that his sister, after having been thirty-five years a Roman Catholic, had joined the Old Catholic movement—a movement which was so ardently supported by M. Kiréeff and Madame Novikoff.—A. R.

THE INDIAN IMPORT DUTIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW."

SIR,

When the Indian import duties on cotton goods were reduced in 1878-9, this sacrifice of revenue elicited the following comment from that pre-eminent Free Trader, Mr. Gladstone:

"With regard to the remission of the import duties, there seems to be something distinctly repugnant in the way it has

been done in the time of India's distress and difficulty. . . . The Governor-General says he cannot see that financial difficulty can in any way be pleaded as a reason against what he calls fiscal reform. If that be a true principle of government, it has been discovered for the first time by the present Viceroy. There has not been a Free Trade Government in this or any country which has not fully admitted that the state of the revenue is an essential element in the consideration of the application even of the best principles of Free Trade."

Mutatis mutandis, Mr. Gladstone's views may again perhaps be commended to the attention of our Manchester friends.

Yours faithfully,

H. F. B.

WHAT TO DO WITH MRS. BESANT

SIR,

Poor Lord Pentland ! He has been trying to do what no man has ever yet succeeded in doing, and that is, "make a scolding woman hold her tongue"; and, in his effort to accomplish this he has done the very thing the scolding woman wanted him to do. It would seem she has always wanted to be made a Martyr in the hope that if she were lifted up she would draw all India unto her ! So, Lord Pentland has put her on a Mountain-top with her two Fellow-agitators, one on each side of her.

The best thing to do now for the peace of India would be to send her home with all honour, so that she may tell the Secretary of State and the British Public what things are done in Madras.

She ought really (as I ventured to suggest two years ago) to have been made Joint Minister of Education with Sir Santaran Nair, and perhaps it is not yet too late to induce the "Nizam," or "Mysore," or "Baroda," to appoint her to the position of Prime Minister or Devan. Her undoubted talents ought long ago to have been utilized to their fullest extent by the State for the good of the people.

I am,

Yours, etc.,

J. POLLEN.



WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME
BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

THE LATE DADABHAI NAOROJI

THE most remarkable feature of the Memorial Service to honour the life and work of Dadabhai Naoroji, affectionately called the Grand Old Man of India, was the representative and varied character of those who took part in the memorable gathering in London on July 31, or wrote to express their sympathy with its purpose and appreciation of the veteran Parsi, at the mention of whose name all India thrills. The Secretary of State for India wrote to say that pressure of public business prevented his attendance, but he expressed warm sympathy with the object of the meeting. Lord Reay, under whose Governorship of Bombay the help of educated Indians, among them Dadabhai Naoroji, was obtained on his Legislative Council, wrote to express "the greatest regard for his patriotism, for his single-minded devotion to the development of all the best elements in India." He was a loyal subject of the Emperor and an independent thinker, added Lord Reay. Letters were also received from the Solicitor-General (Sir Gordon Hewart, K.C., M.P.), Mr. Thomas Burt, M.P., Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., Judge Mackarness, Mr. H. M. Hyndman, Mrs. W. S. Caine, Mrs. N. Blair, Mrs. H. P. Cobb, and others. Among other representative men and women who joined the organizing committee were Lord Lamington, Lord Sydenham, Lord Reay, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, Mr. H. G. Wells, Sir John Jardine, M.P., Sir William Bull, M.P., Mr. Charles Roberts, M.P., Sir Herbert Roberts, M.P., and other Members of Parliament, also Dr. John Clifford, Mr. T. J. Bennett, Sir Ratan and Lady Tata, Sir Abbas and Lady Baig, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Mr. B. Dubé, Mr. A. J. Wilson, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, Mr S. K. Ratcliffe, and Mr. George Lansbury; Sir M. M. Bhownaggee was chairman of the committee, and the hon. secretaries included Mr. A. S. M. Anik, Mr. M. H. Isphani, Dr. Kapadia, and Mr. N. C. Sen.

"The Saint and Rishi of Modern India," was Sir William Wedderburn's description of his life-long friend who has so recently passed away in India

at the advanced age of ninety-two, an age rarely reached by Indians. It was evident that the passing of Dadabhai Naoroji had deeply touched Sir William, who travelled from his Gloucestershire home to London on purpose to preside at the meeting. Summing up the lessons of the long life and devoted and determined service of his friend, Sir William urged his hearers to follow in his footsteps in binding together the hearts of India and Britain, and to strive to take to themselves "his qualities of unselfishness, industry, high integrity, and courage, guided and informed by sweet reasonableness."

The resolution fittingly crystallised the life and service of Dadabhai Naoroji. It ran thus: "That this meeting desires to express its profound sorrow and its sense of the irreparable loss caused by the death of the late Dadabhai Naoroji, LL.D., who in the course of an eventful career, extending over the long period of nearly three-quarters of a century, had rendered in manifold ways supreme service in promoting the political, educational, and social amelioration of the people of India, who had been the first among her public men to claim for them the fulfilment of their rights and privileges as citizens of the British Empire, so as to bind them in firmer allegiance to the Crown; and who, by dint of such patriotic labours as well as the noble qualities of his head and heart, had won in an unexampled degree the love and admiration of his countrymen as well as of his numerous British friends." Sir Herbert Roberts, M.P., in moving the resolution, spoke as a Member of Parliament who had worked side by side with Dadabhai Naoroji, the first Indian to be elected, during his Membership of the House of Commons, 1892-1895, and declared that "no better or more patriotic representative of India could have been found." Although his defeat at the subsequent general election was a great disappointment to Dadabhai Naoroji, there was never any bitterness in his heart, nor did it deter him in his devoted work for the welfare of his country. His selfless service, undaunted determination, purity of character, and chivalrous methods of work, were emphasized by Sir Abbas Ali Baig, Dr. John Clifford, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Mr. S. H. Swinney, and Mr. J. M. Parikh, and the resolution was passed by the whole audience standing in silent token of sympathy. Mr. Charles Roberts, M.P., in moving that a copy of the resolution be forwarded to the family of the venerable and venerated son of India, said that although he had not come into personal touch with Dadabhai Naoroji, he had been much impressed by documents concerning his work which were to be found in the archives of the India Office. Other speakers who paid tribute to India's "Grand Old Man" were Mr. B. Dubé, Mr. N. C. Sen, Mr. Delgado, and Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, who, speaking as a co-religionist of Dadabhai Naoroji, referred to the fact that the Parsis had already held a meeting commemorating his life and work. The meeting ended with a tender tribute to Sir William Wedderburn, proposed by Sir Mancherjee, and Dr. Pollen declared that very much that had been said of the world-famous Parsi applied equally to his life-long English friend and fellow-worker. Sir William, in reply, expressing his confident belief in the future happiness of India, stated that there had never been a shadow of misunderstanding or difference during half a century of association between him and his saintly

friend, Dadabhai Naoroji. Truly a memorable meeting and a worthy tribute to a remarkable man, who has now passed from the sight but not from the hearts of his fellow-countrymen and his Western friends.

Mrs. N. C. Sen has followed up her illuminating lecture on her famous fellow-countrymen, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, fully reported in the last issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, by giving a course of lectures at the School of Oriental Studies on "Indian Family Life." She took her audience back to Ancient India and the Vedic period, when "men and women progressed together along the path of immortality, when they worked and thought together, and were companions in all spheres of life." Through Buddhist days and the period of the Moghul rulers she brought her hearers back to the life of modern India, and gave so much valuable information that Dr. Denison Ross, Principal of the School, said that he wished every British woman going out to India might first come into touch with Mrs. Sen to gain insight, understanding, and sympathy.

Sapper Stephen Kelley, of the Australian Imperial Forces, evoked widespread interest by the account he gave at a recent meeting of the National Indian Association of his experiences in Gallipoli as a water diviner. An engineer by profession, he found in his early youth in Australia that he possessed remarkable gifts for the discovery of water. He was in the Suvla Bay landing, and when the water problem caused serious anxiety he was able to render great service in discovering water and insuring a good supply for men, horses, and mules. His commanding officer, General Hughes, strongly recommended his services for recognition. He experienced considerable opposition from scientists who declared that the contour of the land showed that no water was available, but Sapper Kelley's best answer to the doubters was a supply, on one occasion, of two thousand gallons per hour. When seeking water he does not use the usual rod or twig, but walks forward with his hands stretched out, palms downwards; sometimes he kneels and places his hands on the ground to verify his sensations. The strength of the sensations enables him to determine the depth at which water will be found and the quantity available.

Dramatic representation of Indian plays continues, and arouses considerable enthusiasm. Last month, under the auspices of the Union of the East and West, the Indian Art and Dramatic Society gave two performances in the beautiful garden of Lord Leverhulme, at Hampstead, of "Malati and Madhava," written by Bhavabhuti, who lived about 700 A.D., some two centuries after Kalidasa. The play has been called the "Romeo and Juliet" of India; it possesses certain points in common, but by its happy ending and in other ways also recalls "As You Like It." In a quiet and unaffected manner Miss Joyce Carey took the part of Malati, and Mr. Arthur Steed did well as Madhava; Miss Barbara Everest and Mr. Mark Stanley, who has done valuable service with the "Old Vic" Repor-

tory Company, were excellent as the friends of the hero and heroine. Mr. Ben Greet was admirable as stage-manager in grounds which lend themselves well to such productions. Indian music by two of Professor Inayat Khan's musicians added considerably to the success and enjoyment of the performances.

Different in character, but impressive in effect, was the dramatic recital by the Brothers of the Rose Garden, given in the Theosophical Society's temporary hall, Tavistock Square, of "The Song Celestial" ("Bhagavad Gita"). From the beautiful version of Sir Edwin Arnold passages were selected which gave a clear and well-ordered statement of the principal teachings of the poem, presenting a philosophy and religion which may be regarded as the most lofty that Brahmanism has produced.

Up to the time of writing the Indian Gymkhana Club has achieved a record of three months' matches, with only one defeat. They had a sensational match with an Australian Eleven, ending in a draw: Gymkhana, 160; Australians, with an extra fifteen minutes, 150 for eight wickets. Bajana scored the first century for the Club, and Gunasekra did the "hat trick" on this occasion. At the close the young Australian captain led his men out to the field, and they cheered the Gymkhana with hearty good-will; the Indians returned the compliment with enthusiasm, and the men of India joined with the men of the Overseas Dominions in singing the National Anthem. The events of the afternoon lend a special interest to the return match, still to be played. The Gymkhana has its ground at Mill Hill Park, Acton, and Sir James Walker, who has been a generous supporter, has given a challenge cup, to be competed for annually in the lawn tennis section.

A. A. S.

At the War Exhibition at Plaistow several lectures were given on different Allied countries. Mrs. Carrington Wild told the story of the long mountain tramp of Serbian children to the Adriatic Sea, sent by trusting mothers to meet unknown friends. Fortunately they met with English and French benefactors. Mr. Rostorgueff spoke on Russia, saying that there was reason for hope in spite of their temporary set-back, and that he had confidence in the future. Mr. F. P. Marchant spoke on Bohemia and described her anxiety for the Allies' victory and her hopes for independence. Mr. Stephen Graham described his experiences in the Crimea and his visit to the English cemetery near Sebastopol. The opening ceremony was performed by Lord Burnham.

A very successful Russian Economic Exhibition is being held at Central Hall, Westminster. It will be open until August 18.

MILITARY NOTES: MESOPOTAMIA

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL

"THAT blessed word Mesopotamia " has of late evoked many curses. To judge by some of the periodicals or listen to the conversation of the man in the street, one might have been led to imagine that the expedition to Mesopotamia had resulted in a complete failure. The fact is that the operations in Mesopotamia have been crowned with more complete success than has attended our efforts in any other theatre of the war ; the whole country, including the considerable cities of Bagdad and Basra, has been conquered and occupied by our forces. But one unfortunate episode, the premature attempt to capture Bagdad with inadequate preparation and with an insufficient force, has been made the subject of a Commission of Inquiry, and the report of this Commission has revealed some shortcomings in the system of Indian Army administration, and in the working of the supply and transport services of that Army. The revelation of these failures evoked such a storm of reproaches from the Press and the public that the Cabinet was seriously perturbed, and the Secretary of State for India resigned his portfolio.

The Indian Army was not prepared or organized for a great war ; thus, when it had simultaneously to furnish expeditionary forces for France, Egypt, and East Africa, as well as for Mesopotamia, its resources both in men and material were soon exhausted. If Lord Hardinge is to be blamed for the unpreparedness of India for waging war, we can only say that that blame must be shared by many others.

It has been alleged that the advance on Bagdad was a

political manœuvre, arranged by the politicians for political ends. No doubt in military matters the man on the spot is the best and safest judge, and the more things are left in his hands the better ; but in this instance the General in command, Sir John Nixon, was in favour of the advance, so that the Government was justified on military grounds in approving of it. Risks must be taken in war, and a General who runs no risks will not achieve great results. General Nixon no doubt underestimated the strength of the forces opposed to him, and perhaps forgot to take into full account the fact that the operations of the Turkish masses were thoroughly organized.

The tactical operations were brilliantly carried out by General Townshend, who once more proved himself an able and skilful commander under most trying circumstances. His surrender with his gallant division, enforced by famine at Kut, was a great disaster, but it has been avenged by the subsequent conquest of Bagdad by General Sir Stanley Maude's victorious army.

The admitted shortcomings in the transport and in the medical arrangements seem to have been due to lack of funds rather than to lack of foresight. When there was a Madras Army its Commander-in-Chief had a seat in the Governor's Council. The civilian members of the Council regarded the Presidency Army as an inconvenient encumbrance which absorbed funds which were urgently needed for more useful objects, such as education, sanitation, irrigation, etc. Not only was the Army Budget reduced to a minimum, but when any of the civil branches of the Administration had exceeded its limit of expenditure, the excess was often transferred to the Army accounts and shown as an item of military expenditure. Successive Commanders-in-Chief tolerated this unfair procedure without protest, but when Sir Neville Chamberlain assumed command of the Madras Army, he at once put a stop to it. But for examples of parsimony in supplying the necessary needs of an army we need not go so far as India ; we may look nearer home. *It is manifestly unfair to lay the faults of a system upon the shoulders of individuals.*

It has been observed that the removal of the Headquarter Offices of the Bengal Army to Simla synchronized with the deterioration in the discipline of that army which culminated in the general Mutiny some twenty years later ; and in all probability the removal of the Headquarters Staff of the Army from any close contact with the troops was a serious evil, for from a perusal of the records of that period it would appear that the Indian Government and the chief military authorities were (with the single exception of Sir Charles Napier) not sufficiently conversant with the real state of affairs in the Army.

And now the chief defect in the system of Indian Army administration appears to be over-centralization. This probably arises from the natural desire of the officers of the Headquarters Staff at Simla to concentrate all the power and patronage of the army in their own hands. This tendency showed itself in the most flagrant manner in the old Bengal Army before the Mutiny had proved the rottenness of the system. In that army the Colonel of a regiment could not even promote a private to the rank of lance-noik (lance-corporal) without a reference to Simla. Maladministration, pure and simple, was the chief factor in bringing about the collapse of the old Bengal Army system in the great Mutiny of 1857. Up to that time and for fifty years afterwards there were three separate armies in India belonging to the three presidencies respectively of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, each with its own Commander-in-Chief and Headquarter Staffs, Army departments, arsenals, ordnance factories, magazines, etc. Each army had its own separate Code of Regulations, and details of dress, armament, equipment, even of pay and allowances, varied in all three presidencies. The Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal Army was the titular Commander-in-Chief in India ; but he was only *primus inter pares*, and never interfered in the internal affairs of the other two armies. But after the reorganization which followed on the suppression of the Mutiny of the old Bengal Army, railways and telegraphs brought the three presidencies into closer communication, and the Commander-in-Chief in

India began gradually to usurp the prerogatives of the Chiefs of the two other armies. Rules and regulations were made in Simla and enforced on the armies of the minor presidencies, to which they were sometimes quite unsuited, the men of those armies being of different race and language to those of the Bengal Army. Almost the first step was the establishment of one uniform Code of Articles of War for all the three armies. The ordnance establishments of the three separate armies were merged in one Ordnance Department for the whole of India. Other departments followed suit. Then the presidency armies were abolished, and the three armies formed into four army corps, the Bengal Army being divided into two. This was a good arrangement, as the Commander-in-Chief in India was relieved of the immediate command of any particular body of troops, and had only the four corps commanders to whom to transmit his orders: it is, in fact, the arrangement which prevails in the armies of all the European Powers. But the Simla Staff Officers could not rest till they had gathered up all the threads of Army administration into their own hands. The four army corps were finally amalgamated into one army with its headquarters at Simla. It is true that the Indian Army is nominally divided into a Northern and a Southern Command, but this arrangement is only a nominal one, and the Commands Headquarters are nothing but registering offices, their only practical effect being to delay the transaction of business between the Divisional Headquarters and the Army Headquarters at Simla. The consequence is that the great Headquarters Staff in India is involved in a multiplicity of details and overburdened with much work which ought to be performed by the Corps Staffs.

The luxuriant growth of red-tape which swaddled, and almost throttled, the old Bengal Army was swept away in the maelstrom of the great Munity, and was not regretted, for its pernicious effects had been amply demonstrated by the catastrophe. The new Bengal Army was administered by rule of thumb, and Generals and Colonels were left a free hand in their own commands. But the old influences, apparently

inseparable from the existence of a regular standing army, soon reasserted themselves ; red-tape wriggled in at the office doors, and routine crept forth from its temporary hiding-place. The powers and privileges of the officers commanding troops were one by one withdrawn from them and transferred to the General Staff. The most trivial happenings were incontinently made matters of diffuse regulation.

The following is an amusing instance of the deference of the official mind to a red-tape system. An order had been promulgated that all officers on leave in India were to furnish a life-certificate on the first of every month to the Presidency Paymaster. An officer on leave on the Nilgiri Hills had omitted this formality, and the Presidency Paymaster wrote to him reminding him of his omission. He accordingly furnished a certificate stating that he was alive on the 1st of the current month of June. But the Paymaster wrote back requesting him to forward certificates that he was alive on the 1st of April and the 1st of May. When the Paymaster was rallied by his friends on his meticulous observance of regulations he defended his action by the plea that his office files would have been incomplete without the missing certificates. To his official mind the completeness of his office files was the chief reason for the existence of his office.

OUR PROBLEM OF ENGLISH POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION*

BY DOUGLAS JERROLD

THE blessed word reconstruction has enjoyed such popularity of late that politicians of all kinds have felt it their duty to rush into the field with proposals for the destruction of the Constitution. Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Hodge, acting on the well-known principle, call everyone with whom they disagree politicians, while apparently disclaiming the title for themselves. Mr. Hodge goes further, and, profiting by Carlyle's example, is never more verbose than when decrying the value of words. To be fair to Lord George, in his *Reminiscences*, which are at once interesting and most amusing, he expressly includes himself, we need hardly say without reason, in the category of those whose gifts of speech carried them further than their abilities entitled them to go; but the value of his own public services are a sufficient rejoinder. He gives as his deliberate opinion that powers of speech carry men to high office which they do not deserve; and Mr. Hodge hastily endorses his statement, and they both alike point to the soldier as a refreshing contrast to what Mr. Hodge sneeringly calls the "wordster."

"The soldier's career is a truer test of character, reliability, and courage" than the political career. So Lord George Hamilton. This extraordinary prejudice against powers of speech is widespread, and more than anything else tends to shake the public confidence in Parliamentary government; yet one can safely say that behind the written and spoken word on the subject there is no solid or constructive criticism. One cannot speak of a ready tongue as one does of a long nose—a long nose is a physical peculiarity, a ready tongue an intellectual asset. Why, in the name of heaven, do we want to be governed by men with unready tongues? Why, in fact, is the tongue unready, except because the owner doesn't

* "In the Wake of the War. Parliament or Imperial Government?" By Harold Hodge. (John Lane, 1917.) "Parliamentary Reminiscences." Lord George Hamilton. (John Murray, 1917.)

know what to say? And the man who doesn't know what to say is the man who doesn't know what to think.

The real prejudice against the talker is, of course, not because he can talk (as we see, that would be mere midsummer madness), but because of an alleged distinction between the talker and the man of action. This is based on a belief that a General fights while a Cabinet Minister makes speeches. This, in fact, is not the case. While the politicians talk, the soldiers write minutes. Both are alike men of action, in that they are getting things done through their respective agents. The manual labourer and the private soldier alone act personally.

Must this widespread prejudice be dismissed, then, as entirely baseless? Not perhaps entirely. It originates, we believe, in the psychology of a large number of English public schoolmen, among whom the prejudice is most marked. Men feel strongly on certain points, have been brought up to accept certain political doctrines as axiomatic, and have not been educated to understand the why and wherefore of these doctrines. In other words, however dearly held, they are for them only opinions, not matters of reasoned belief. In Parliamentary debates and discussions in the Press such men find their dearest beliefs challenged and argued out of court by men with glib tongues. These men are not always right, but they know not only what they want but why they want it, and the "plain blunt man" is at a disadvantage. It goes without saying that the remedy for this is the political education of our governing class. What Mr. Hodge apparently wants is a Government consisting entirely of men unable to express themselves, in order that other men, suffering from a similar disability, may not be put out of temper. We do not ourselves regard this as a serious contribution to political science.

But then Mr. Hodge says there is no such thing as political science. We seem to have heard this sort of thing before.

Lord George Hamilton, a critic of a very different stamp, has some more pertinent criticisms. He complains of the superficial knowledge of Ministers and of the neglect of Imperial concerns in the welter of domestic party controversy, and he makes definite proposals: the reform of procedure, educational reform, universal military training, and the fixing of naval and military establishments by quinquennial Acts. For all these measures there is much to be said, but we doubt if they will affect the main issue. Nothing will ever make representative government popular with minorities, and Mr. Hodge and Lord George Hamilton are afraid of being in a minority. Few critics against our system can miss having a dig at party; it is so easy. Lord George Hamilton follows the older and honest course of tarring his old political opponents with every recognized brand of controversial tar, and of this the charge of setting party before country is ever the most popular variety. Mr. Gladstone is a party politician, Lord Beaconsfield a prescient statesman. Perhaps so. But both alike depended on the presence of a Parliamentary majority, and all one can say against the system is that at times it returned A when it should have returned B, and *vice versa*. Any system of government will do that. The great thing to be said for our system was that somebody was always

pleased. We have heard of Governments which subsisted for several centuries, to the intense displeasure of everyone. We fancy that Mr. Hodge's Imperial junta, self-appointed and incapable of dismissal, would be one of these. He suggests that this junta should hold office for ten years and be eligible for re-election, not by any constituencies, but by the Crown, acting on the advice of that inevitable non-party man about the Court who is always the hero in these little essays in Constitution-making. They are to govern by a referendum, but the Empire is to have no right of initiative. India would not be consulted, because "it would be really difficult to make educated Indians understand what a referendum was!" So, poor dears, they could be safely trusted not to notice that they were not being consulted. For this Imperial junta is to govern India, mark you, and control foreign and colonial policy, trade, tariffs, the army and the navy. Social reform would, however, be left to the English and colonial Parliaments—also municipal drainage, we have no doubt!

Mr. Hodge's is altogether a book to be read; it would be unwise to miss a line of it. But political controversy would be easier if writers of such books would be even ordinarily honest with their readers.

If they want to destroy popular government, and want an Executive responsible to no one, why not say so, instead of writing three hundred and fifty pages to prove that oligarchy is true democracy and tyranny the only tolerable form of liberty? It would then be simpler for the old-fashioned believers in a Government which is responsible to the people to set to work to remove the many defects of our present system, which fails, as we had thought all the world knew, not because it is democratic but because it is not.

Silence may be golden, but not in the House of Commons. Half a dozen independent speakers do more good in a month than a whole bench of strong silent men assuring the world that all is going well, and that it can trust the Government. Mr. Hodge's attempt to attack the House of Commons for its verbosity is to make use of the silly prejudice against education to create unpopularity for an institution which he disliked on other grounds.

What he dislikes is the policy of what were before the war a majority of its members. So did we, as a matter of fact. But the remedy for that is not to shut up the House, but to educate the electorate. The days of autocracy are over, we can assure Mr. Hodge, and nothing anyone can do or say will bring them back.

In dealing with Mr. Hodge's amazing theories we have hardly done justice to Lord George Hamilton. His account of his work at the India Office, the Education Office, and the Admiralty is in itself a sufficient answer to those who hold that Cabinet ministers do nothing but talk. His memories of Gladstone and Disraeli are refreshing and amusing, if nakedly partisan, and his criticism of the fatal mistakes of Gladstone's Government in 1880-1885 is interesting if painful reading.

NEW AND OLD GREECE

BY F. R. SCATCHERD

"M. Venizelos is the least pedantic of men. He is not bound down by any dogma elaborated by his predecessors; but the Alpha and Omega of his faith . . . are an unreserved acceptance of the principles of morality, and a deep love for his country—a great love—a love encompassing his country with ceaseless care, an affection vibrating with passion, not the affection of a child for its mother, but of a mother for her only child. These spiritual characteristics give, in most cases, the key to the understanding of the whole long series of his political actions. . . .

"Venizelos, once clearly convinced that there was no other hope, but that Greece was being carried headlong to certain disaster, had the courage, rising to his full political and moral stature against the official power of the State, to resist in his own person the fatal drift of events."—ALEX. N. DIOMEDES, *London, February 16, 1917.*

"The existence and honour of Greece have been saved by the swift action of M. Venizelos."—(*From private letter, dated Athens, June 17, 1917, signed P. E. DRAKOULES.*

IV

GREAT changes have been brought about in the internal affairs of Greece since the publication of the last article on that country in the ASIATIC REVIEW for May 15, 1917.

The state in which Greece found herself before the raising of the blockade was one of extreme misery and of almost complete anarchy. The public services were reduced to chaotic confusion, and when M. Venizelos was once more summoned to Athens, the task that confronted him was one that might have well filled even his stout heart with despair.

The returning Ex-Premier found his house in ruins, razed to

the ground by the fury of the anti-Venizelians, and pending its rebuilding had perforce to take up his abode in the Hotel Grande-Bretagne, formerly given over to the notorious Baron von Schenck.

Not only was his house in ruins, but so were all departments of national affairs, ecclesiastical and judicial as well as financial and political. But, as the Athens correspondent of 'H *Εσπερία** put it, the man who was equal to the task was there to take it in hand, and was moreover capable of inspiring his helpers with his own optimistic zeal and ardent enthusiasm in the tremendous task of reconstruction which must be carried through ere Greece can recover all that has been lost during the last two fatal years of disorder and corruption.

M. Jonnart, the High Commissioner of the Powers, had left Athens at the end of the first week in July, having successfully carried out the mission entrusted to him of persuading King Constantine to acquiesce in the Allies' demand for his abdication. His son Alexander reigns in his stead and M. Venizelos has returned to power.

The High Commissioner has formed a good opinion of the young King, thinks he reasons well and has "a clear idea of the rôle of a constitutional Sovereign."

When M. Jonnart, on the refusal of M. Zaimis to consider the question of convoking the Parliament of May 31 (1915), expressed his opinion that the obvious solution was the formation of a Ministry under Venizelos, the King said :

"I see that. I understand. I suppose it had better be formed as soon as possible."

On the Tuesday following M. Jonnart gave the King the list of Ministers submitted by M. Venizelos. Looking it through, he said :

"That's settled. To-morrow at eleven will do," and the new Ministry was sworn in at eleven that Wednesday morning.

M. Jonnart explains the King's first proclamation as a "good intention badly interpreted," due to the emotion

* Published in London.

occasioned by the ex-King's followers, who had assembled around the palace.

"Look at that," said Constantine. "I've consented to go, but see the attitude of the people."

It was thought that the best explanation of the situation would be afforded by a proclamation from the new King. This was hurriedly drawn up by M. Nigris, a Minister who happened to be in the palace, and he, in his agitation, thinking of the hero of the late Balkan wars rather than of the ex-King Constantine, made use of the latter's favourite phrase, "following in my father's footsteps." The young King in equal agitation signed and delivered the proclamation to the assembled crowd without having previously read it, a natural and human explanation of an untoward circumstance which should disarm all further criticism.

V

"Will Greece at last actively participate in the war?" is a question frequently put at the present moment.

A partial answer is that non-official Greece has for many months past been rendering its full quota of service to the Allied cause. The soldiers of the National Movement have been sharing the fortunes of war side by side with the Allied troops at Salonica, and Greek workmen in their thousands have been long engaged in trench-digging and road-making in the Near Eastern war-zone.

As to official Greece, it must not be expected that M. Venizelos will rush the country straightway into war. The Royalist régime has left Greece in ruins, and the work of national reconstruction must be his first care.

The public services must be purified and reorganized; especially must that be the case with the army. The elimination of those officers conspicuous for their devotion to the previous régime is an all-essential preliminary to the restoration of unity and discipline, and the munitions necessary for the equipment of an efficient army must be adequately replenished.

Patience must be exercised, both by the friends of Greece and by the Greeks themselves.

Former adherents, short-sighted partisans, and even some of his true friends, have blamed M. Venizelos for what they deemed to be his tardy action. They have doubted his wisdom and questioned his judgment and foresight. Nevertheless, sooner or later, he has always been able to give valid reasons for his action or abstention from action on any given occasion.

Having thrown in his lot with the Entente, M. Venizelos has scrupulously respected its wishes, even when those wishes cut straight through the interests of the movement which had constituted him its leader. That movement must not be "anti-dynastic," he was informed, so M. Venizelos restrained his followers from heading in the forbidden direction, with what difficulty those only who know the actual facts can fully realize. Harassed and hampered continually, he cheerfully pursued his way, doing everything that the thwarting restrictions permitted. Even when the Conference at Rome practically tied his hands by tending to limit the expansion of the national movement, he gracefully submitted and quietly prepared for the time when more freedom of action could be accorded.

Matthew Arnold used to say that when one was up against a closed door, to which one had no key, and which was beyond one's strength to force, it was the part of wisdom to wait until someone came by who could unlock it for you.

The Greek Premier never wastes his energies storming a position which he is powerless to carry, but like the poet, while directing his attention to more profitable ends, he awaits the hour when circumstances shall conspire with him to achieve the desired result, and hitherto he has rarely waited in vain.

One important effect of this wise waiting upon Fate or Providence is that when the *real psychological moment does arrive*, one finds oneself with unexhausted energies, full of the force and vigour requisite to cope with the situation effectually. *Le Journal des Hellènes*,* August 5, 1917, published an in-

* Published in Paris.

teresting conversation with two Greeks who had just arrived in Paris, and two of the questions bear upon the above observations :

“ ‘How long is it since you saw Mr. Venizelos?’ ”

“ ‘It is just a week ago that we were talking with him.’ ”

“ ‘Does he regard the present situation with optimism?’ ”

“ ‘We have never seen him more optimistic. He is absolutely convinced of the triumph of the great idea for which he is contending.’ ”

“ ‘Is he contemplating a general mobilization?’ ”

“ ‘When the preparations are complete the various classes will be called. There is not the least doubt but that Greece in a very short space of time will be able to put in the field an army of some hundred thousand combatants’ (*quelques centaines de mille de combattants*).’ ”

Many of the criticisms levelled against M. Venizelos by those who have nevertheless remained his sincere friends are due to the fact that these friends, lacking their leader’s patient foresight, frequently mistake some particular moment of time for the *true psychological one*, and thus become impatient, even indignant, with their leader’s presumed inactivity.

It goes without saying that a statesman cannot always take even his friends into his full confidence. But he is apt (as we all are) to endow others with his own attributes and knowledge. Thus he may forget that the public is deprived of the possession of facts that would enable it to gauge a given situation accurately; so he turns from its reiterated “Why? Why?” and like an irritated parent attributes to wilful perversity what is more often only a pathetic groping after light and understanding.

The intentions of M. Venizelos with regard to the participation of Greece in the war are most clearly stated by the writer of a letter received from Athens, dated July 7, 1917. The writer says :

"It is a great comfort to think that Greece is now at war with Germany, but I shall not be entirely satisfied until I see 200,000 Greek soldiers side by side with the Entente troops.

* * * * *

"Some recent statements of Venizelos greatly pleased me. I recognized in them the true note . . . the language of the real Venizelos which I had expected from him two years ago and after. He said :

"'I am not going to mobilize at once. Before I do so all military stores must be well replenished and also the country must desire mobilization. It may take three or four months before these *desiderata* are realized. I will then order mobilization, and if the country refuses to obey I will take up my hat and go.''" (*From private letter signed P. E. Drakoules.*)

VI

It would not be wise, even were it possible, for M. Venizelos to embark upon war with opposition in the Chamber and lack of enthusiasm in the country. He is certain to meet with some opposition, as there must be a division of opinion between the old and the new politicians. If events in Europe uphold the position of those deputies who oppose the entry of Greece into the war, the opposition will be proportionately strengthened. But the Greeks are *par excellence* practical idealists. They accept *un fait accompli* with almost fatalistic acquiescence, and with Thucydides, "judge everything by the outcome."

The new King took the oath with all due formality and ceremony on the 4th of this month, and signed "the kingly covenant with a pen presented by M. Venizelos."

The speech from the throne contained, among other, the following notable utterances :

"The conditions upon which the transmission of the royal power was effected have clearly shown the path to be followed in the future. They rendered necessary the appeal to the national sovereignty so as to revise and

consolidate at the same time as the throne a form of government established on a basis demanded by the popular will.

“My Government, faithful to national tradition, has already given its foreign policy the orientation approved by the people at the elections of May 31, 1915, and ratified by the Chamber.

* * * * *

“The heroism and self-sacrifice of the troops at the front are a most happy augury for the ultimate fate of united Greece, for they are evidences of the fine pride and gallantry of the Hellenic Army.”

The King was loudly cheered and the proceedings terminated without incident, save that a protest was laid before the assembly by two Republican deputies.

As to the future of Greece, one may quote the words of M. Jonnart, who said : “That may well be left in the hands of M. Venizelos. For,” added he, “in all my long career as a parliamentarian, I have met no statesman of more vivid foresight, or with a surer grip of the essentials of a country’s progress ;” and Europe can be glad with M. Jonnart that the general councils of the Allies will benefit by his presence at their conferences.

(To be continued.)

OBITUARY NOTES

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

IN Sir George Birdwood the world has lost the greatest authority of modern times on India. As pointed out by Dr. Pollen in his review of Sir George's book "*Sva*": "The Birdwoods have always been faithful servants of the State and true friends of India. Sir George's father—the late General Christopher Birdwood—held high command in India, and it will be long before the people of the Western Presidency can ever forget the gracious memory of Herbert Birdwood (Sir George's younger brother), the well-known and well-beloved Judge of the High Court of Bombay, and father of General Sir William Riddell Birdwood (Kitchener's right-hand man)."

Sir George himself was born at Belgaum in the Southern Mahratta country, on December 8, 1832. Belgaum means "Bamboo Town," so Sir George always regarded the Bamboo as his own "Tree of Life"; and the Ghat-praba (a tributary of the Kistna, near Belgaum) as his own "River of Life," although one may venture to surmise that the ready wit that welled up in him had almost certainly had an Hibernian-Batavian source, so delightfully Irish and Dutch were the alternate lights and shades. It might further be suggested that Sir George's "Tree of Life" had some affinity with the sugar-cane, which "has never yet been beet." Be that as it may, Sir George knew his Maharashtra well—its trees and streams and mountains and vales—and "the very heart of heart" of its people—the Scotch of India. In "*The Mahratta Plough*" he paid glowing tributes to the beauty of the land and the leading characteristics of its inhabitants.

But not only did Sir George know his Mahratta well, he knew also the Rajput, and faithfully has he told the tale of the Rajput's daring and virility, and shown how closely the redemption of Rajputana, as "a brand plucked from the burning," was associated with the ever-revered name of Colonel James Tod. He pointed out that, like the innumerable English youths "steeped in honour and discipline," who yearly yield up their lives in our Army and Navy as a last sacrifice to patriotism, the Rajputs, too, seek no reward for their daring. Their one desire is to experience "that

stern joy which warriors feel in foemen worthy of their steel," in fighting for their hearths and homes.

An interesting light is thrown on Sir George's political views by the following quotation from the "Sva":

"Were I responsible for the Government of India," says Sir George, "I would at once place the Educational Department wholly in the hands of duly qualified Hindus, Muslims, and Parsees; the Judicial Department, three-fourths in their hands; and I would freely admit the Rajputs and members of other ruling classes and warrior castes into the higher commissions of the Imperial British Army up to one-third of officers required; and above all else, I would insist on developing, without let or stint, the illimitable reproductive resources of the country *pari passu* with the European education of the people."

From the same book we glean his views on the Great War, where Sir George hits the Hottentot-Hun heavily, and shows how false the Germans have proved to Aryan traditions "under the infection of psychical frenzy," and how they must now pay the penalty of their perfidy in the case of this fateful war, "stamped with the authentic and imperishable brand of 'Made in Germany'":

"By God and man dishonoured,
By Death and Life made vain,
Know ye the old Barbarian,
The Barbarian come again."

But, as Mr. Lloyd George strikingly insists, never must the Barbarian come again. *Never again!* And we can have no "Made-in-Germany" Peace. It must be a real and lasting Peace—made once and for all.

Sir George Birdwood had attained the age of Peaceful Hindu Sainthood before he passed away in full possession of his faculties! And as has been well said: "In him an attractive and original personality has passed away. Among Anglo-Indians Sir George Birdwood had long occupied a unique place, even apart from his position as an authority on all matters pertaining to Indian art, mythology, literature, and history, on account of his intense sympathy with the people of India and a personal influence over them. Both at Bombay and at the India Office he originated many developments in the economic resources of India, which, though identified with other names, but for him would never have attained success. He was one of the makers of New Bombay, and he left an imperishable impress on the city, where his birthday was annually observed with rejoicing and his bust in the University Senate Hall regarded as a shrine."

J. P.

DEATH OF MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI

(Resolution passed at a Council Meeting of the East India Association.)

"This Council has heard with deep regret of the death of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji—the venerable Founder of the East India Association (and its oldest Member), and desires to convey to his family its sincere sympathy and condolences.

"From first to last Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was distinguished by un-

swerving loyalty to the Throne, by earnest devotion to the public interests and the welfare of India, by honesty of purpose, and by blameless integrity of life and character.

"More than half a century ago he opened the Proceedings of this Association with a loyal and temperate address on 'England's Duties to India'; and in what may be regarded as his last public utterance, delivered immediately on the outbreak of the present war, he strongly urged his fellow-countrymen to support to the best of their ability and power 'the British People in their glorious struggle for Justice, Liberty, Honour, and True Human Greatness and Happiness'; and he declared that 'until the victorious end of this great struggle, no other thought than that of supporting whole-heartedly the British Nation should enter into the mind of India.'

"The services which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has from time to time rendered this Association have been recorded in its Proceedings, and will be always gratefully remembered."—*True Extract.*

J. POLLEN,
Honorary Secretary.

OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

THE King has been pleased to approve the appointments of Mr. James Herbert Bakewell, Barrister-at-Law, and Mr. William Watkin Phillips, Indian Civil Service, to be Puisne Judges of the Madras High Court. The appointments have been made to fill vacancies created by an increase in the permanent strength of the Court from eight to ten Judges.

Telegram from Viceroy, Revenue and Agriculture Department, dated July 17, 1917.—Rainfall has been scanty in Sind, Rajputana, Gujarat, Central India (west), Bombay Deccan, Mysore and Malabar; fair in Bay Islands, Lower Burma, Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, United Provinces (west), Punjab (east and north), Baluchistan, Central India (east), Berar, Central Provinces, Konkan, and Madras (south-east); in excess in United Provinces (east), Punjab (south-west), Central Provinces (east), Hyderabad (north), and Madras Coast (north); normal elsewhere. Prospects are nearly normal.

Telegram from Viceroy, Revenue Department, dated July 24, 1917.—Rainfall has been scanty in Chota Nagpur, Punjab (south-west), North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Sind, Rajputana (west), Gujarat, and Bombay Deccan; fair in Upper Burma, Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, Central Provinces (east), Madras (south-east), and Madras Deccan; normal in Lower Burma, United Provinces, Punjab (east and north), Berar, Mysore and Madras coast (north); in excess elsewhere. Prospects are normal.

Telegram from Viceroy, Revenue Department, dated July 31, 1917 (received at India Office 11 p.m.).—Rainfall has been scanty in Punjab (south-west), North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Sind, Gujarat, and Madras Deccan; fair in Bay Islands, Kashmir, Rajputana (west), Central India West, Berar, Central Provinces, Konkan, Bombay Deccan, and Mysore; normal in Upper Burma, Assam, Rajputana (east), Hyderabad, Malabar, and Madras (south-east); in excess elsewhere. Prospects are nearly normal.

The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. H. Le Mesurier, C.S.I., C.I.E., to be a Member of the Executive Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa, in succession to Sir E. V. Levinge, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., who will vacate office on November 1 next.

NIRVANA

From the Russian of Dimitrie Sergeevich Merezhkovsky.
(Word for word Translation.)

ONCE more, as on Creation's day,
Calm is the blue of Heaven . . .
As if on earth no Pain held sway,
No soul with sin were riven.
I need no love—no glory crave—
Mid hush of fields at dawn
I breathe but as these grasses wave.
Of days gone by—of days unborn—
I take no heed—I reck not aught—
I only feel, as erst of yore,
What joy it is—to have no thought !
What bliss—to yearn no more !

J. POLLEN.

KITCHENER'S COUNTRY

THE hero sleeps beneath the northern wave,
What message thunders from his sea-girt grave ?
O mighty Mother, the great sons ye bore
Have shown you what they deem worth dying for—
England ! By all their stubborn battles fought
May God forbid that they should die for naught.
Britannia, be thyself with all thy powers
The great memorial to these men of ours.
So when the Allies' triumph shall betide
Thou with thy sons and daughters shall abide
To see New Heaven unfurling overhead,
To hear New Earth uprising from the dead,
To feel New Fellowship attune the twain,
And intermingle Earth and Heaven again.

K. F. STUART.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

THE NEAR EAST

TURKEY AND THE WAR. By Vladimir Jabotinsky. (*Fisher Unwin, Ltd.*)
Price 5s. net.

In the opinion of the present reviewer there are even now many well-informed members of the British Public who still fail to realize the fundamental reasons for which Germany provoked this war and the true reasons for which she is fighting. Since the accession of the present Emperor to the throne, that monarch has left no stone unturned to prepare the way for the great Germanic drive towards the East. For years prior to the outbreak of hostilities the secret hand of Berlin, acting through the mouth-piece of Vienna and screening his objects behind a nominally Balkan Policy, has really been working for the establishment of world power extending from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf—power to be realized not by domination in the Balkan Peninsula, but by converting the Balkan States into a corridor towards the goal, the Asiatic dominions of the Sultan.

It is this lack of understanding, and this impossibility of realizing that the enemy is prepared to make sacrifices in the West provided he can protect his after-the-war trade, and provided he can maintain a predominant position in the East, which make any volume dealing with Turkey in and after the war of the utmost utility. To us the value of the book at present under review is still more enhanced by the fact that it is written not by an Englishman, who must of necessity look at things through British spectacles, but by an author who really knows the Turks, and who has eyes to see and ears to hear things in a manner which is seldom attained by any foreigner who visits the Ottoman Empire.

M. Jabotinsky has divided his volume into four parts—"The Aim of this War," "The Inner State of Turkey," "Controversial Points of the Partition Scheme," and "The Main Front." In the first the author provides his readers with an able and far-seeing summary of the cause of the present conflagration—a conflagration which, he says, "owes its

birth directly and beyond doubt to the problem of the Near and Middle East." This being his idea, M. Jabotinsky develops it, and shows that "Austria sent the ultimatum to Serbia because she wanted to get nearer to the Turkish heritage in Asia Minor; and that Germany backed up Austria not because she was her only reliable Ally, but because of the 'battle-cry: Berlin—Baghdad.' In other words, the real cause of the Russo-German conflict was the problem of the future domination of Asia Minor."

Under the title, "The Inner State of Turkey," the author lays before us a masterly summary of the manner in and the reasons for which the Young Turkish Revolution was brought about, and a number of reasons for which the new state of things in the Ottoman Empire was as bad as, if not worse than, that which existed during the reign of Abdul Hamid. To one who knows the men who have been the makers of recent Turkish history, and to one who has actually been among them during the development of all-important events, this section of the volume is of especial interest, not so much because it provides any new information as because it balances up and weighs the value of facts in a manner which proves a true understanding of the mentality of the Oriental. Thus to take only one case, instead of accepting the common theory that various Turks, whose names have wrongly become bywords as those of men who controlled the destiny of the Empire, M. Jabotinsky takes, as an example of the spirit which permeated the average young Turk, Dr. Nazim—"the soul and the gist of the Committee of 'Union and Progress.'" In the opinion of the present writer, who knows this former student of medicine in Paris, and who has had several most charming conversations with him, the author is right in saying that, "by his strong will, by his cold fanaticism, and by his unbending one-sidedness," this man "influenced all the policy of the young Turkish Headquarters between 1909 and 1912."

It is impossible here to follow our Russian journalist in detail into what he says upon "Controversial Points of the Partition Scheme." Some of these points, such as the future of Constantinople and of the Straits, which are interdependent, have been considerably modified by the Russian Revolution, which obviously took place after the volume had gone to press. Others concerning the futures of Syria and of Palestine and the Arab aspirations are so delicate and so complicated that the reader must form his opinion of them by turning to the book itself. In a chapter entitled "The German Claim," too, the student of Near Eastern affairs will find himself provided with a very able treatise upon what may be the position of that Power in Turkey after the war, as also upon the future conditions which may prevail in what is now the Ottoman Empire.

Under the heading "The Main Front," the reader is furnished with a number of observations upon the meaning of sound strategy, and with some of the reasons which make Turkey, in the opinion of the author, "the main theatre of this war." Indeed, as the whole book is worthy of the most careful perusal and reperusal, it seems a pity that its contents are spread over 264 largely printed pages, instead of having been compressed into a volume less bulky, which, with advantage, might have been published at a more moderate price than 5s.

H. C. W.

RUSSIAN LITERATURE

GLIMPSES OF INNER RUSSIA. By Gustav Genrychovitch, Baron Taube. (*Simpkin, Marshall*). Price 1s.

We have derived especial pleasure from the perusal of these eight tales of Russian life. They are more modern than most collections of the kind that we have seen, and introduce figures which could only have come into existence within the last ten years. The reader will certainly derive a shrewd idea of the forces which have been at work in mighty Russia, and will understand the ferment which was inevitably bound to occur with such ingredients. The first, "Trifon the Postboy," is an uncanny narrative of a *naretshny* (river sprite) seen by the gallant postboy, though not by anyone else, and provides food for medical and psychological speculation. The captain in the second story shows that it is impossible for Russians to retaliate on their enemies by means of burning acids, slaying of wounded, and fire torture.

"A people with whom the worst of the criminals becomes *the unfortunate one* as soon as shackled and manacled, and then is an object of commiseration—such people cannot become guilty of cruelties and jeer at the sick and helpless; and the Germans and Austrians can be reassured: there will be no atrocities awaiting them on the part of the Russian soldiers."

A good account of a battle in the present conflict is given—"The Nocturne of Ivangorod." The most interesting, and the longest, is "The Social Reformer," in which the speculations young students have indulged in for some years are well indicated. The courage of the late Mr. Stolypin in facing a mob is mentioned. "You can kill me if you choose, but hear me you must." The jugglery over passports and "frontier regulations is amusingly illustrated in "A Student's Love Affair." The hero of the last story, Anton Pozorkin, the worthy Minsk agriculturist, deserves all respect, and is wanted in every country. "May his tribe increase!" as with Abou ben Adhem. It is curious that a love *contretemps* should have set this good man on the search, practically and theoretically, for improved methods of cultivation, sowing and pruning by day and reading up treatises at night. He is delightfully happy in this work, besides benefiting his pocket and instructing his neighbours. Even the Count and Countess, little more than social butterflies, are converted by Anton's example, and, as she says, "we have to live with the times, and we are expected to be highly democratic nowadays." These words conclude the book.

Baron Taube helps the reader with transliteration and explanation of Russian names, but we would demur to some renderings. The hero of Gontsharov's novel may not be recognized at once in the phrase *à la Ablamoff*. This neglected and important study has not long been translated by Mr. C. J. Hogarth, who writes the closer form "Oblomov." Some critics see in this figure nearly all prominent Russians, as well as heroes of fiction like Pushkin's "Onegin," Lermontov's "Petchorin," and Turgenev's "Bazarov," whom these critics call "superfluous men."

We wish this little book every success.

F. P. M.

THE EMIGRANT. By L. F. Dostoieffskaya, with an introduction by Stephen Graham. Translated by Vera Margolies. (*Constable and Co.*) London. Price, 5s. net.

I confess that I have always been partial to all that our great Dostoievski has written, and it is only natural that his daughter, as is shown in the present volume, has inherited some of his great attraction.

The story is a study of the mental struggles of a Russian woman who, in a fit of depression, leaves her native country, after the Japanese War, to live abroad. In Rome she is on the point of relinquishing her Orthodoxy and being drawn into Roman Catholicism, when she is rescued by a Russian nobleman who falls in love with her and proposes marriage. But man is faithless sometimes, and she, perhaps, "to give repentance to her lover and wring his bosom," committed suicide.

But if the end takes a somewhat unexpected turn, the whole is nevertheless an entrancing study of the propaganda spirit so characteristic among the Roman Catholics and so painfully lacking amongst the Greek Orthodox.

The excellent translation of this book reminds me involuntarily of the distinguished interpreter of Turgeniev, Mr. W. Rolleston, whose works should be read even now, as he has introduced to English readers that famous work, "Fathers and Sons," where Nihilism is so well personified in Basaroff. Had Nihilism been suppressed in Russia (whether such a step was feasible or not is a different question) the present political chaos could not have taken place. The Nihilist movement only indicated the hatred for religious principles and religious teaching which manifest themselves so often now in Russia. Miss Dostoievski's novel, "The Emigrant," only represents a young woman who does not realize the gravity of giving up her own Church, which she seems to have studied very little, and accepting the Roman Catholic faith, which she also knows very superficially, and which captivates her more by its exterior grandeur than by anything else. Of course, nobody can have a true idea of Russian literature unless he studies our great Russian classics, poets like Pushkin, Lermontoff, Tutchew, Homniakoff, and others, for the beautiful translation of which we must be grateful to Dr. Pollen. People must not forget that the study of Russian literature in our days is of very great importance, and we must duly appreciate all those who have contributed to that study. Miss Margolies' excellent book forms a part of Stephen Graham's interesting collection for those who want to study not only the classics, but also the modern writers.

OLGA NOVIKOFF.

INDIA

INDIAN MORAL INSTRUCTION AND CASTE PROBLEMS: SOLUTION. By A. H. Benton, I.C.S. (retired). (*Longmans, Green and Co.*, 39, Paternoster Row, London.) 1917.

The argument raised in this book is one which, even in the midst of this greatest of wars, ought to arrest the immediate attention of the

Viceroy of India, Lord Chelmsford, and his Educational Minister, Sir C. Sankaran Nair. It calls for an important reform in our educational system in India, for a reasonable change in our attitude towards the religions of the land, and it presses home the great truth that the Indian is not only an intellectual and a social, but also a religious being.

The Indian realizes more clearly than his brother of the West that he has been created to worship the Author of his being, his Creator. He thus needs not only an intellectual and a social, but also, in a very marked degree, a religious training. In his case at any rate ethical instruction without the aid of religion is impossible, and, seeing that there exist so many religions in India, it follows that some system must be devised whereby ethical instruction in consonance with the various religions of the pupils may be imparted.

Mr. Benton suggests such a system! He realizes that the home is the primal Church, that education really begins there, and that all outside instruction is merely supplementary. Thus, ethical training, to be effective, must accord with the religion of the home; for "moral teaching without religious sanctions has in India been found inefficacious."

Pupils must therefore be separated in order that ethical instruction, in accordance with the religions of each, may be imparted by agencies entirely independent of but working in close concert with the secular system. In order that this may be accomplished the State must boldly abandon its ill-defined policy of neutrality (which in practice has often proved non-neutral, and which has been constantly violated in the Department of Education) and adopt the broader and nobler system of "mutual religious toleration," the most glorious boon the English race has succeeded in bestowing on humanity.

Such a system would appeal much more forcibly to the peoples of India than the indifference implied in the neutrality policy, for Indians are by no means lacking in amenability to mental culture. On the contrary, they are, as Mr. Benton points out, "kindly, docile, alert, keen-spirited, and, high and low, one of the best-mannered people in the world," and they offer a very promising field for right spiritual treatment. Under British rule no such treatment has ever been accorded, and no attempt to afford facilities for such treatment has ever been made by the British Government! In the Court of Directors Despatch of 1854 (the Magna Charta of Indian Education) not only is religious instruction in Government Schools and Colleges prohibited, but no provision is made for ethical training of any kind anywhere. It seems to have been assumed that to insure moral progress, improvement of the intellect alone was quite sufficient.

Macaulay declared that "complete neutrality in matters of religion ought to be sacredly preserved," but at the same time he thought it proper for the Government, under the badge of neutrality, to initiate operations which he firmly believed would uproot the Hindu religion among the respectable classes in thirty years. Writing to his father from Calcutta on October 12, 1836, he says: "It is my firm belief that if our plans of education are followed up there will not be a single

idolator among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence; and this will be effected without any effort to proselytize, merely by the natural operation of knowledge and reflection. I heartily rejoice in the prospect."

The Rev. Alexander Duff (who was sent out to Calcutta as a Missionary by the Church of Scotland in 1830), on the other hand, held the view that if in India the people were given *knowledge* without religion, "all who received the Government education would become infidels and anarchists."

Both prophets happily turned out to be wrong; and Mr. Benton holds that the reason why they were wrong is that they could form no idea of the resistance to change offered by the caste system; a system which had "a primeval foundation quite independent of religion," but which the Hindu Priesthood approved and embraced as if it had been a creation of their own, which it certainly was not. Mr. Benton shows that the caste system is as old as agriculture, and was designed for the adjustment of sexual relations. Under the caste system the Hindu community (more than two-thirds of the whole population) is divided into sections which are precluded by rules prescribed by themselves from all social intercourse with each other or with outsiders. The members of these sections may not eat, drink, smoke, or intermarry with any person outside the section to which they themselves belong. This is the caste system, and Mr. Benton proposes to use this system to the largest possible extent for ethical purposes by engaging the services of the caste authorities. The system is regarded very generally and by all Hindus as a purely religious institution, but Mr. Benton proposes to utilise caste associations in ethical education, for "caste rules generally pay fair regard to good morals, and are specially designed to promote morality." For this and for many other reasons it would appear advisable not to sanction any measures for moral instruction without careful consideration of their bearing on caste or without consultation with the caste authorities. Mutual toleration in religious matters has always been the practice in India, so far as Hindus are concerned. The author therefore trusts that the scheme he proposes may be found practicable, and he believes that it might be greatly improved by deeper spiritual insight and the opportunity of nearer and closer co-operation with the leaders of the Indian caste communities whose young people are to be provided with an outfit for the journey of life. As has been well said, "in the training of the young in India under Hindu control no rigid line has ever existed between secular culture and religion; they are one and indivisible. From birth to death religion permeates every moment of existence in Hindu life."

What Mr. Benton proposes to do is to utilize caste administration for secular training, just as it has been utilized in the past by the Priesthood for religious purposes; textbooks for use in all schools, primary and secondary, and for colleges, being compiled by committees of the various religious communities appointed for the purpose.

J. POLLEN.

BIOGRAPHIES

A SOLDIER'S MEMOIRS IN PEACE AND WAR. By Major-General Young-husband. (*Herbert Jenkins, Ltd.*, Arundel Place, Haymarket, London. 1917.)

The volume before us might perhaps be described as "a rally" or résumé of disjointed memories, as brilliant but as confused as an irregular cavalry charge! But, though touch is sometimes lost, excellent headway is made. It is full of good stories and interesting experiences, and the Author has some amusing things to tell of the famous men and women he has met. But the central point brought out is that these famous men and women have all met *him*. It is true that the constant use of "I" has been skilfully skirted, but "me," or its equivalent, constantly crops up and, although the work does not pretend to be an autobiography, still, most of the tale is told about the First Person accusative.

Thus, King Edward, sitting beside *him* at Sandringham, notices the absence of one of his many medals; the Prince of Wales recognizes *him* amongst a crowd assembled at a railway station (although he was "not seven feet high nor seven feet round the waist"), and the Prince draws the attention of the Princess to his presence; Lord Roberts, "wearing a top hat," although he had not seen *him* for seven years, detects *him* looking into a London shop-window, and Lord Kitchener cleaves his way through a Ducal crush at Welbeck, and, while everyone looks on, grasps his hand and "buries the hatchet."

It appears Kitchener never liked *him* "probably because he did not see eye to eye with him in India, and Kitchener could not tolerate anyone disagreeing with him."

Comparing Roberts with Kitchener, the Author says: "Both were born British, but one developed into the highest type of English gentleman, the other acquired more Teutonic characteristics. It would therefore be somewhat difficult for an 'honest' admirer of Lord Roberts to be an equally honest admirer of Lord Kitchener."

In Manila and the Philippines Admiral Dewey, and in America the Roosevelts, could not make too much of *him*, but he really can't remember whether at Clifton he kicked Sir Douglas Haig as his fag or not.

But, apropos of this forgetfulness, he recalls "rather a shocking affair" that occurred at Umballa a year or so before the Boer War, and he devotes three pages to the tale.

Now, the story of the silly Sandhurst duel with which the book opens, and the somewhat tedious details of other "light adventures," may be excused; but it is hardly possible to imagine anything more utterly futile than the account of this so-called "shocking affair" at Umballa! The tale is all about an outgoing General's silly wife, who refused to vacate the General's house or part with the General's flagstaff in response to the entreaties and ejecting manoeuvres of a still more silly incoming General and his wife; and the only shocking thing about the whole affair is that such a story should be perpetuated in print. The impression produced by this and other similar stories in this book is one of wonder at the small

amount of wit with which the World—especially the Military World—is ruled.

Still, when it comes to tell of fighting in the Khyber Pass, and good work done in Burmah, adventures in the Boer War, and how Frontier officers carry their lives in their hands, the book makes stirring reading; and the particulars it gives of "mess customs" and of "some few Victoria Crosses" are certainly interesting.

But when, again, the Cavalry Officer deals with the India problem, paternal government, and law and lawyers, he gives full rein to his contempt for the Indian Intellectuals and Babudom in particular.

He speaks of the unsuccessful Indian lawyers as "poisonous polluters of the political atmosphere," and he ridicules a poor Babu as one of those "people who for some years appear to have seriously shaken the nerves of the Government of India."

At the same time, he admits that "some Indians have many great and lovable qualities"; he pays a glowing tribute to Sir Pertab Singh, and gives instances of the devotion of native officers and others to the Younghusband family.

Thus though from his own personal experience he comes to the very definite but quite unsupported conclusion that "the Indian cannot govern himself even in small local affairs," yet he has no doubt that "when India is ripe for self-government, then, in accordance with her precedents and history England will gladly lay down the burden of government and launch another enlightened nation to sail the seas alone"

J. P.

A GENERAL'S LETTERS TO HIS SON. By "X. Y. Z.," with a Preface by General Sir H. L. Smith-Dorrien. (*Cassell and Company, Ltd.*) Price, 1s. net.

In referring to these excellent letters, General Smith-Dorrien says with much truth that they "give all necessary information, and if young officers will only study them carefully and shape their conduct accordingly, they need have no fear of proving unworthy of His Majesty's commission." The author is a General with matured and disciplined experience, who has considerable spiritual insight and grasp of understanding. In his third letter he tells his son to be sensible and content to take together the rough and smooth, the bitter and sweet. He knows that these things make the man and the athlete. Beaumarchais beautifully says in his "Memoirs": "The variety of pains and pleasures, of fears and hopes, is the freshening breeze that fills the sails of the vessel and sends it gaily on its track." I heard a man say once that he had had great trials, and with the blessing of heaven he hoped to have some more of them. It was a bold expression, perhaps overbold, but still he saw into the kernel of this mystery and problem of reverse and misfortune. The whole story of success in war consists in the capacity of men being knocked down and picking themselves up afterwards.

I like the moral of these letters, for they remind me of that famous seventh book of Thucydides, which Dr. Arnold loved so much, which

showed how the invaded became the invaders and the Athenians were overcome on their own element. This is the way in which the Romans obtained the supremacy of the world. Englishmen have never known when they have been beaten. The great merit of Stanley was that he never knew himself conquered; as often as he was knocked down he picked himself up again. Those fights, day and night, with some thirty tribes of savages, and worse fights with some thirty raging whirlpools of waters, are fine examples of indomitable pluck. But in the whole history of human activity, in every department in life, wherever there is true vitality the knock down is rather disciplinary and restorative than any absolute defeat

OLIVER BAINBRIDGE.

DUBLIN PAST AND PRESENT

REMINISCENCES OF SIR CHARLES A. CAMERON, C.H. Illustrated.

Dublin: *Hodges, Figgis and Co., Ltd.* (publishers to the University);

London: *Simpkin, Marshall and Co., Ltd.*

As the record of a period fast vanishing, these *Reminiscences*, first published in 1913, are of decided historical value. Simple and direct, they throw a vivid light upon the life and society of Dublin during the past century.

Charles Alexander Cameron was born in Dublin in the year 1830, and is the only surviving son of Ewen Cameron, who "served with distinction in the Peninsular War and in the expedition to the United States in 1812, and was severely wounded eight times."

Sir Charles was intended for the army, but, after the death of his father, studied chemistry to such good purpose that he was elected Professor of the Dublin Chemical Society when only twenty-two years of age. Five years later he published his "Chemistry of Agriculture," and had before and since then continuously lectured and written, editorially and otherwise, so that he is responsible for hundreds of addresses and a prodigious number of pamphlets and papers on agricultural chemistry, vegetable physiology, hygiene, and allied subjects, which have attracted world-wide attention on account of their originality as well as their general utility. These writings, as well as the *Reminiscences*, are full of evidences of their author's sense of humour, and explain why the Duchess of Connaught is reported to have said that Sir Charles was the most amusing man she had met in Ireland. He certainly possesses an inexhaustible store of anecdotes, and enjoys fun at his own expense as much as, if not more than, when directed against his fellows.

In 1882, in addition to his numerous other appointments, the Corporation of Dublin placed the whole of its sanitary department under his control, and through his efforts thousands of wretched habitations have been swept away or rendered fit for human occupation. When the freedom of the City of Dublin was conferred upon him in 1911, one of the speakers at the ceremony said "it was not because of Sir Charles's charity, not because he was a Unionist or a Protestant, but because he believed Sir

Charles had done more than a man's part in trying to combat disease in Dublin, that they wished to honour him." Had Sir Charles been efficiently backed up, said the same speaker, he would have achieved more even than he had already done "to lift from the city its notoriety of having the highest death-rate in Europe."

The honour of knighthood was bestowed upon him in 1885 as a recognition of "his scientific researches and his services in the cause of public health."

Ex-President of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland, he has been Vice-President of the Institute of Chemistry of Great Britain and Ireland since 1884. His greatest work, a "History of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland, and of the Irish Schools of Medicine," was published in 1886, and a new edition is forthcoming by request. His writings have been widely translated, appearing even in the Japanese, Finnish, and Danish languages.

Sir Charles possesses a remarkable memory. One of his earliest recollections was that of being taken, when only four years old, to see an old woman who, as a little girl, had seen the Macdonalds withdrawing from the Battle of Culloden—a link with the past which affords him peculiar pleasure, since his ancestors were adherents of the Royal Family of the Stuarts.

He remembers the severe Lenten fasts, when the abstinence from flesh food caused so much distress, among those employed in the meat trade, that they formed processions through the town to collect money on their own behalf. An ass, whose back was covered by a cloth on which was painted a white cross, was one of the processionists, many of whom wore fantastic garments. Week-end journeys were unheard of, periodical holidays were limited to a few of the business and professional classes; while the working classes had no holidays but those which they took at their own expense, nor had they any half-days off!

Yet Donnybrook Fair had its thousands of visitors, among whom the writer rarely failed to put in an appearance, and small wonder, seeing that it was a boy's paradise—a rendezvous of all that was most renowned in the way of "acrobats, actors, giants, dwarfs, and travelling shows of all kinds."

"The Irishman all in his glory was there,
With his sprig of shillelagh and shamrock so green,"

and woe to the luckless wight whose head happened to indent, from the inside, the canvas covering of one of the crowded refreshment tents. As likely as not he would receive a blow, none too gentle, on his unlucky cranium from the shillelagh of some passer-by!

Of special interest are the momentary and the short sections dealing with "How the Dublin Poor Live," "The Earnings of the Poor," and "The Diet of the Poor." They throw light on certain aspects of the Irish Question, and make one desire some speedy solution.

Sir Charles Cameron has never concerned himself much with political affairs; but when asked what were his views on the subject of Home Rule, he replied: "I take no prominent part in politics, but I may say

this much : I would not like to be thrust outside of our glorious Empire "—a sentiment shared by many of his less distinguished but equally patriotic fellow-countrymen.

F. R. S.

ORIENTALIA

OBSERVATIONS ON THE MUSSULMAUNS OF INDIA. By Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali. Second edition, edited with notes and an introduction by W. Crooke. (*Oxford University Press*. 1917.) Price 6s.

The nineteenth century has witnessed in several countries of the world a revolution in social manners and customs and in the general outlook upon life, which makes the breach between successive generations appear to be one not of decades, but of centuries. Fortunately there have been contemporary writers who have bequeathed to us living pictures of this vanished epoch, of whom two only need be mentioned here. In his "Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians," Edward W. Lane put on record such a vivid representation of Egyptian life just before European influence swept the survivals of medievalism almost entirely away, that his work has become a classic. For Papal Rome, W. W. Story in his "Roba di Roma" performed a like service, and described minutely a society that ceased to exist when the King of Italy transferred his capital from Florence to the banks of the Tiber. Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali's book is not to be compared to either of these in vividness of characterization or minuteness of detail; she had none of the genius of either Lane or Story; but no other writer has left for us so intimate and sympathetic account of Musalman society in the early part of the nineteenth century. Her book has long been out of print, and copies have not been easily procurable. Mr. W. Crooke has done a service for which students of Muhammadan India will be grateful to him, in placing within their reach this carefully edited reprint of a work so frequently quoted.

If Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali's book has one fault, it is its diffuseness; it ranges over religion, history, literature, architecture, folklore, social customs, natural history, and many other subjects; the different parts of it are consequently of unequal value, but it thereby makes an appeal to a wider circle of readers, and the obvious interest of the author in her subject-matter communicates itself to the reader of her pages. The serious student will be able to find much of the subject-matter of her book presented in fuller detail and with larger knowledge in the works of later and more erudite writers—e.g., for the popular religion and folklore of Northern India the writings of Mr. W. Crooke are indispensable. But no English author has left us such an attractive picture of the old-fashioned Muhammadan gentleman of the period, devout, well-read, courtly in manners. It is to be regretted that Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali did not fulfil her intention of writing "a more circumstantial account" of her father-in-law, Mir Hâji Shah; but she has given a brief sketch of his life, which forms one of the most interesting chapters of the book. In it she writes of him: "I can only regret my inability to do justice to the bright character of

my revered father-in-law, whose conduct as a devout and obedient servant to his Maker ruled his actions in every situation of life, and to whom my debt of gratitude is boundless, not only for the affectionate solicitude invariably manifested for my temporal comforts, but for an example of holy living. This much-valued friend of mine was the mouth of wisdom to all with whom he conversed, . . . whilst he riveted attention by his gentle manners and well-selected form of words. . . . His form was finely moulded, his height above six feet, his person erect, even in age, his fine cast of countenance beamed with benevolence and piety, and his dark eye either filled with tears of sympathy or, brightening with joy, expressed both superior intelligence and intensity of feeling. His venerable flowing beard gave a commanding majesty to the figure before me, whilst his manners were graceful as the most polished even of European society. . . . I never saw him idle; every moment was occupied in prayer or in good works. . . . He possessed an intelligent mind, highly cultivated by travel, and a heart beaming with tenderness and universal charity." Of her husband Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali does not tell us so much as of her father-in-law, but Mr. Crooke's patient investigations have collected a good deal of information about him, from the time when he became (in 1810) assistant to John Shakespear, Professor of Hindustani at the East India Company's Military College, Addiscombe, until his death in 1863. Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali appears to have left her husband about 1828 and returned to England; but the circumstances of the case are obscure, and little is known of her life after her arrival in England. She appears, however, to have carried away with her the happiest recollections of her life in India, as is shown by her enthusiastic account of the country and its people.

T. W. ARNOLD.

ARTICLES TO NOTE

- "Albania and the Albanians," by Ismail Kemal Bey (*Quarterly*, July).
 "Some Elements of the Russian Revolution," by Paul Vinogradoff.
 "India: Simla and the Commission's Report," by Asiaticus (*National*, August).
 "Thoughts on the Russian Revolution," by Stephen Graham (*London Quarterly*, July).
 Mesopotamia: (i.) "The Recent Military Policy of the Government of India," by Major-General F. C. Beatson, C.B.; (ii.) "The Tragedy of an Impossible System," by Everard Cotes (*Nineteenth Century*, August).
 "The Trials of Russia," by C. Hagberg Wright, LL.D.; "Albania Austria Italy Essad," by O. de L. (*Contemporary*, August).
 "The Philosophic Basis of the Russian Revolution," by Dr. A. S. Rappoport (*Edinburgh*, July).
 "Egypt in War-Time," by Sir Malcolm McIlwraith; "Baghdad Railway in the War," by H. Charles Woods; "A Yugoslav Federation," by Col. Sir Thomas Holdich; "The Mesopotamian Breakdown," by G. M. Chesney (*Fortnightly Review*, August).

- "Science and the War," by Sir Bertram Windle (*Dublin Review*, July).
 "A Conscience Clause in Indian Schools," by the Rev. W. S. S. Holland (*The East and the West*, July).
 "La Serbie," by G. Labouchère (*La Nouvelle Revue*, August).
 "Tolerance from a Russian Point of View," by Baron Heyking (*Hibbert Journal*, July).
 "The Solution of the Russian Problem" (III.), by F. R. Scatcherd (*Review of Reviews*, August).

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

ORIENTALIA.

Annual Report of the Archæological Dept., 1915-1916. Government Press; 1s. 9d. "Etudes Orientales et Religieuses," by Edouard Montet. Preface by Professor Fulliquet. George and Co., Geneva; Fischbacher, Paris.

INDIA.

"Early Revenue History of Bengal and the 5th Report," by F. D. Ascoli, M.A. Oxford University Press; 4s. net. "Indian Moral, Industrial, and Caste Problems," by A. Burton. Longmans; 4s. 6d. "Memoirs of Sir W. Mack," by his wife. Oxford University Press; 6s. 6d. "Forty Years in Burma," by Rev. Mr. Marks. Hutchinson and Co.; 10s. 6d. net.

GENERAL.

"The Year-Book of Wireless Telegraphy and Telephony," 1917. The Wireless Press, Ltd.; 3s. 6d. net. "The Making of the Future," by Patrick Geddes and V. Branford. Williams and Norgate; 5s. net.

LANGUAGES.

"A Malay Reader," by V. Winstedt. Oxford University Press; 7s. 6d. net. "The Spoken Arabic of Mesopotamia," by Rev. J. Van Ess. Oxford University Press; 4s. 6d. net.

THEOLOGY.

"Comparative Religion," by A. S. Geden, D.D. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; 2s. net. "What Every Man and Woman should Know about the Bible," by S. C. Tapp. Kansas City; \$2.

NEAR EAST.

"Palestine," by A. M. Hyamson. Sidgwick and Jackson; 10s. 6d. net.

FAR EAST.

"The Beginnings of Porcelain in China," by Berthold Lanfer. Vol. xv. No. 2. Field Museum of National History. "China: her History, Diplomacy, and Commerce," by E. H. Parker (Revised and Enlarged Edition); 10s. 6d. net.

MIDDLE EAST.

"A Message from Mesopotamia," by the Hon. Arthur Lawley. Hodder and Stoughton; 2s. 6d. net.

RUSSIA.

"Russian Poets and Poems," vol. i. (Classics), by N. Jarintzov. Blackwell, Oxford; 2s. 6d. net.

THE BOOK WORLD

The Anglo-Hellenic League of London has shown great activity lately in publishing instructive booklets on the situation in Greece, including the Address of Alexander Diomedes delivered in the Great Hall of King's College, a Summary of Questions in Parliament on the Greek Problem, and a Roll of Honour of the Hellenic Community in London.

The late Professor James Hope Moulton, it will be remembered, died from exposure after the vessel which was bringing him home from India had been torpedoed. He was one of three English scholars—the others were Dr. T. R. Glover and Professor G. L. Leonard—who were invited by the Indian National Council of the Y.M.C.A., in the autumn of 1911, to spend a year of study in India. Dr. Moulton, whose Iranian studies had already given him all the scientific preparation necessary, had agreed to write a volume for the Religious Quest of India series, edited by Dr. J. N. Farquhar and Dr. H. D. Griswold, on the Parsee religion; and while still in India he wrote "The Treasure of Magi: a Study of Modern Zoroastrianism," and, happily, had three typewritten copies prepared. One of these copies was posted to his brother and reached England; the original lies at the bottom of the Mediterranean. Mr. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, hopes to publish the volume early in the autumn.

SHORTER NOTICES

POLAND PAST AND PRESENT. By J. H. Harley, M.A. (*George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.*)

If "intellectual honesty" has ever been applied in a book on Poland by a British writer, Mr. Harley has certainly done a man's share. For it cannot be easily overlooked that his book, which breathes so much genuine and passionate ardour in favour of the Polish independence, had been written *before* the exigencies of war had compelled the Allies to a similar attitude. . . .

But not only in this respect has the author gained for himself the right to be suspected of the (somewhat scarce nowadays) prophetic mind of a poet. For if on the one hand his proved disinterestedness of thought has led him to the conclusion that for a satisfactory solution of the Polish affairs there is only one remedy available, and that is a complete restitution of Poland as an independent State, free from Germany and Austria *as well as* from Russia, so on the other hand the ways and means

the author has employed in order to present the Polish situation to the British public, and to convince his readers of the non-existence of any other solution, are full of poetic qualities.

The book reads like poetry indeed. But in fairness to Mr. Harley and to Poland I must add that from the first page to the last this poetry speaks of facts, facts, and facts, as unpleasant (sometimes) as they are hard. The chapter on Britain and Poland is full of most arresting parallels and striking ideas.

Polish history and Polish art and literature have been mastered with an amazing aptitude and ease. But what is altogether astounding is the unprecedented (for a non-Pole and, moreover, non-Slav!) understanding of the inner workings and undercurrents of Polish national life, of the Polish Psyche.

This fact is as astounding as it is gratifying: not merely (as it should be) to the English-reading world, but also to the Polish-feeling world, which renders it distinctly rare.

For those whom poetry leaves cold there is in Mr. Harley's book a chapter on the economical possibilities of an independent Poland which makes even the boldest opponents stagger.

The book is not one line too long, and can be easily dealt with in one afternoon, even by the slowest reader, like—myself.

G. M. SWIETOCZOWSKI.

IN GERMAN GAOLS. By E. F. Spanton, U.M.C.A., Principal of St. Andrew's College, Zanzibar. Preface by Sir H. H. Johnston (S.P.C.K.)

The gaols were in German East Africa, and the prisoners were peaceful missionaries in the field, formerly in friendly relations with the German officials. Sir H. H. Johnston writes in his Preface of the help he received from the linguistic works of Bishop Steere, and the great assistance afforded by missionaries when treaties were negotiated. The natives were greatly impressed by the courtly bearing of the Bishops and clergy. Sir Harry is just towards the merits of more than one German Governor, mentioned by name, but is of opinion that natives should be consulted about their future after the war, and thinks it extremely unlikely that they will wish to pass under German control again.

Mr. Spanton is free from rancour and prejudice, in spite of the bitter and clumsy persecution endured by members of the Universities' Mission until the Belgian troops entered Tabora. Overcrowding, food shortage, useless paper money, insanitary conditions, long marches—all these were stoutly endured. German Christianity was not apparent to the African mind, and the reason is thus explained:

"The State is everything, the individual is nothing (but a nuisance to be suppressed), is a German axiom, and explains to some extent the failure of German colonial government and its unfitness to rule weak and helpless peoples. The difficulty which my boys experienced in believing that Germans could be Christians needs perhaps little comment."

Sense of humour in a German is "almost as ill-developed as his sense of justice," and accused persons were regarded as guilty until they could prove themselves innocent, for which facilities were not afforded. The "fall of Calais" was repeatedly celebrated, and fictitious German victories were trying to the nerves of Mr. Spanton and his comrades. He speaks in high terms of the Christian kindness shown by the Roman Mission of the White Fathers under the Bishop of Tabora. In the last chapter the opinion is forcibly expressed that the country must not fall under German sway again. General Smuts is apprehensive of the fate of the unfortunate natives if their former lords should return. For the sake of British prestige, the Mission cause, and native welfare, this must not be. This little volume is provided with illustrations of the Zanzibar students, Tabora fort, and incidents of the missionaries' captivity and release.

THE MEMOIRS OF A BALKAN DIPLOMATIST. By Count C. Mijatovich. (Cassell.) Price, 16s. net.

Count Mijatovich, a well-known diplomatic figure, who has served his country as Minister in London and Constantinople and as Finance Minister in Belgrade, here gives us a volume of his varied experiences. Many will recall his excellent work entitled the "History of Serbia," which for the first time placed before English readers a connected account of the contribution that Serbia has made to European civilization by her resistance to the Turkish invasion. We may mention in this connection that the Marquis of Salisbury in a conversation with the author innocently asked what contribution Serbia had made to history. Though Count Mijatovich could point to the many achievements of Serbia in the past, her noble part in the present war is, we trust, not in danger of a similar oblivion in the minds of our statesmen.

These memoirs do not pretend to be a connected account of the history of Serbia, but they certainly are a contribution to the Near Eastern question. If they aimed at covering the whole ground of recent Balkan occurrences we might be disposed to feel disappointment at his absence of reference to such great personalities as Hartwig and Count Ignatieff. He describes how he handled his country's cause at the peace of Bucarest after the Serbo-Bulgarian war, wherein he showed extraordinary diplomatic skill. Another interesting chapter is devoted to the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913. But he is at his best when he repudiates the Austrian assertions that Serbia began the European War, and he points out that when he went to the United States last year he found that the Austrian Consulates had disseminated anti-Serbian accusations so diligently that there was in fact a serious volume of opinion there attributing the assassination of the Archduke to a plot hatched in Belgrade.

His description of Abdul Hamid will, we think, surprise many readers, and he tells an excellent story of Turkish procrastination. Diplomacy, he reminds us, consists in compromise; and every page of the book breathes moderation. The book will be appreciated by a wide circle of readers.

MAHOMET, FOUNDER OF ISLAM. By G. M. Draycott. (London : Martin Secker, 1916.)

There are some books in regard to which one wonders why authors take the trouble to write them, or publishers go to the expense of printing them. The work under review comes under this category. The author has apparently consulted no original sources, and his ignorance of Arabic may be judged from such spellings as *Hadas*, *Muhajerim*, and *Amir-al-Momirim*. He has nothing to add in the way of facts, and the point of view adopted is that of Christian orthodoxy, and the biography of the Prophet has been so often written from this standpoint, notably by Sir William Muir (on whose "Life of Mahomet" the author seems chiefly to rely) and Professor Margoliouth, that there seems to be no justification for a compilation that lacks any features of originality. The author is quite ignorant of the great mass of scholarly work, in the way of sifting materials and estimating the value of conflicting sources, which has been done in recent years. His general ignorance of the religion of the Prophet may be judged from such remarks as these : " His position in religion and philosophy is substantially the position of all his followers ; none have progressed beyond the primary thesis he gave to the Arabian world at the close of his career " ; Islam he describes as " a faith, at root incomprehensible by reason of its aloofness from the advancing streams of modern thought—a faith spiritually impotent, since it flees from mysticism."

T. W. A.

To a recent issue of the *Poetry Review* Mrs. N. C. Sen (Ranee Mrinalini) contributes a noteworthy Appreciation of Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore, from which we take the following extracts :

" He was almost a second Shrikrishna amongst us in Bengal. Shrikrishna in our mythology was an incarnation of God's loving aspect, who in his young days played on a wonderful flute and held everyone spellbound ; the women of Brindaban forgot all their daily cares and sorrow, and went out to adore the charmer in all weathers and in all time, whenever they heard him play ! Rabindra Nath Tagore also plays on a wonderful flute ; he has been playing on it for over forty years, but never has he played the same tune twice over. He never repeats himself either in words or thoughts, nor in rhyme or rhythm. New thoughts with him always seem to come out clothed in new garbs."

" If his love poems and patriotic songs and other writings have stirred the hearts of the young and given them inspiration, his sacred songs and sermons have done even more. They have healed many a wound ; they have brought peace and comfort to the stricken ones, young and old. They are sung and read in all our churches ; they take us nearer to God ; they give us moral strength to face the trials of life, and help us to rise above them all."

" He has a great admiration and reverence for Christ and His teachings, and also for Mahomet and Buddha, although a believer of the high doctrines of our Upanishad and Vedas, and belongs to an Indian

Theistic Church called Brahmo Samaj. The truth is he believes in one universal religion, which has for its keystone the absolute goodness of God."

INDIA AND COTTON

(A CANADIAN VIEW)

Let us repeat that India is not, of course, a self-governing Colony, as Canada was in 1859; but she is a partner of ours in this world-conflict. It is largely by the aid of her splendid troops that we are able at this moment to rejoice over the conquest of Bagdad. Because of her comradeship with us on the battlefields of Europe and Asia she has been given a new status within the British Empire, and her formal representation at the Imperial Conference is a witness of that fact. In the face of all this how can England go on treating India as a mere adjunct of Lancashire? How can India be denied that most elementary right, to say what type of fiscal policy best fits her conditions and aims? Let action be deferred till the Imperial Conference has declared itself, say some of the Lancashire spokesmen. We cannot conceive it possible that the Dominions' representatives at the Conference would fail in sympathy with India's attitude. Rather would they be inclined to say that the true Imperialism is to bring India into the arena of Imperial Preference, so that as members of one Empire we may make our unity a far more effective support for the ideals we cherish.—*Canadian Gazette*.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

OCTOBER 1, 1917

INDIA AND THE NATIONAL IDEA

BY "CIVILIS"

FOR her national traditions India goes back to the remote and even to the mythical past. Her heroes are Rama and Arjuna and Bhishma ; her great lawgiver was Manu. Though in the domain of literature she can point to a few shining names, yet in the true sense of the word there is really no national literature at all, for the sufficient reason that no single language is the medium of expression for all the inhabitants of the country we call India. Since authentic history began she shows no record of continuous development, for her constitution has changed from time to time as it has pleased the successful invader. She can point to no Waterloo or Trafalgar ; to no settled system of government, of which the present is merely the latest stage in evolution ; to no art or literature common to the whole country. Can the India of to-day ever become a united nation ? Will she always remain, as heretofore, a congeries of different races ? What are the forces favourable to, and what are the obstacles which stand in the way of her realization of, the national idea ?

We are frequently reminded that India is only a geographical expression, a subcontinent embracing many distinct nations which for the sake of convenience the English administer as a whole and have chosen to call India. But this is only a

half-truth. If there are many points of diversity between the various races which inhabit the country, there are also many which distinguish them collectively from neighbouring peoples. The geographical features of India mark her out as a separate country, for the mountains of the north close the triangle of which the other two sides are the sea. Indian nationality therefore means the fusing together by community of interests of all the peoples contained within those boundaries into one homogeneous whole.

There are two conceptions of nationality—that which is based on unity and that which is based on liberty—and for the realization of either of them ideal conditions are necessary, for unity implies submission to authority, and uncontrolled authority is apt to degenerate into tyranny, while uncontrolled liberty is in danger of becoming licence. In fact, the ideal condition of a State is that in which either theory is reacted upon by the other in a nicely balanced equipoise; liberty should be kept in check by authority, which teaches each individual and each community that their freedom of action is bounded by their obligations to the State and to one another; authority should be limited by the pressure put upon it by the individual or the community in the exercise of their rights. We in England have lately seen a combination of the two theories in the Military Service Act, when the paramount necessities of the State demanded a certain interference with individual freedom of action, while traditional liberty required that the principle should be introduced in the least objectionable form possible. Germany, on the other hand, is an example of the theory of unity pure and simple, for the German is taught that he belongs to the State—mind, soul, and body—and that as an individual he is of no account whatever; protests are suppressed by force, and nothing short of a revolution is likely to disturb a Government which is guided almost entirely by its own ideas of right and wrong.

Political nationality, it has been said, cuts right across the line of race and sometimes even across the line of language. Austria-Hungary is the familiar example of this truth, and

Switzerland contains both French and German elements. War, however, is a test of many things, and it has proved to us that instinct inclines to the racial side and not the political. Transylvania welcomed the Roumanians, Alsace-Lorraine the French, and the sympathies of Switzerland follow the language. Canada is united because France and England are allied, but the position of the French Canadians or of the South African Dutch would have been more difficult if we had been at war with France or Holland. From which we may infer that the binding force of political nationality tends to become weaker with the multiplication of races and of language, always, however, noting this important difference, that the races of India are self-contained and do not look for affinities outside the country.

In a certain limited sense India has already obtained political nationality, but this result has been entirely the work of England and the English system. By establishing a central authority over the whole of British India, with suzerain powers over the independent States, she has created at any rate the semblance of unity, and has hereby kindled the spark of the national idea in the minds of the more educated. The Provincial Governments, grouping several races together and in some cases even ignoring racial boundaries altogether, have established the same kind of political unity within the areas they control. But this is but a factitious unity, and its chief value or result is to have awakened the conception of nationality which English railways and the English language have done more than anything else to foster. Political unity such as this is founded upon administrative convenience, not in the least upon any desire or will of the people. There was no pretence of consulting them or of ascertaining their wishes, or even their acquiescence. When, therefore, the Partition of Bengal was planned, the same line was followed, and the principal apologia of the Government was that the existing Province was unwieldy and must be split up for administrative convenience. The revocation of this Act marks an epoch from the point of view we are considering. Probably for the first

time in history, an Indian race succeeded in making its voice heard, not merely in respect of this or that reform, but in defence of a fundamental principle, the principle, as it seemed to them, of nationality. And there was another significance in this. For the Partition brought protests, not only from Bengal, but also from other parts of India, which thereby claimed a sort of kinship with the Bengalis, and indicated an interest, up to that time very unusual, of one part of India in the affairs of another.

These protests, however, came entirely from the educated classes, and no movement towards national unity is likely to succeed or even to advance far beyond the stage of aspiration unless it is backed by the desire of the people. Of this there is at present no sign. There is, in fact, a general apathy among the masses. The Telugu does not care two straws what happens to the Punjabi, the native of the Deccan is quite indifferent to the fortunes of Assam; and unless and until the people themselves show some signs of welcoming the national idea, the exhortations of the platform and the Press are merely the voice of one crying in the wilderness. Political unity without the co-operation of the masses is a Galatea without life. Certain efforts have been made to show that the people are discontented with English rule, that their condition is little better than slavery, and that English government is naked tyranny. If this is really the attitude of the peasantry, it is certainly not apparent on the surface. Far from showing any desire for a united India or even for a national government, according to abundant testimony they much prefer the English rule to that of their own countrymen. The peculiar model and exemplar, especially of the extreme school, is Mazzini; but it seems to be generally forgotten, or perhaps, after the Indian manner, disregarded as a detail, that Mazzini at first could not get the people to understand what was meant by unity, and that later he was backed by a people who were one already in religion and in language, and who were ready to accept the House of Savoy.

Of these three cardinal factors India possesses only one,

and that one is subject to limitations. The great majority of the Indian population is Hindu, with a passionate devotion to the ancient creed both in its esoteric and in its exoteric form. In respect of religion India is perhaps unique among the peoples of the world, because, owing to the institution of caste, Hinduism is confined to India and is not shared by other nations. The greatest expansion to which Hinduism has attained is the absorption of certain aboriginal tribes and the accession of a few converts who call themselves Theosophists. On the other hand, there are scattered over the country in varying degrees of preponderance seventy millions of Mohammedans, who are no less passionately devoted to Islam. To the Eastern mind religion is the first of all considerations, and even under the impartial rule of England there are many collisions between the two creeds. Hinduism is tolerant and exclusive. It has no desire to make converts, and looks down with a certain mild contempt on those who are not so fortunate as to be within the pale. Islam, on the other hand, is aggressive. Idolatry is abhorrent to it, and all who do not accept the Prophet are unbelievers. Sharp differences of religion have in past history been an obstacle in the way of political unity, and are likely to be so again if the antagonism persists. Perhaps the English attitude of neutrality has engendered a spirit of toleration, but only an optimist could be confident of the future, if the English influence were suddenly withdrawn.

Apart from religion as such, there are other reasons which would make the fusion of Hindu and Mohammedan into one political organic whole a difficult matter. The Mohammedan is jealous of the Hindu intellectual superiority, and he sees in it a danger to his own political position. He has his own laws, his own traditions, his own customs. More than all, he remembers that his ancestors once ruled the country, and the thought of political inferiority where once he was paramount is naturally distasteful to him. In a large part of India he represents action as opposed to subtlety of thought, the military rather than the civic aspect of life. Political unity under English rule he is quite willing to accept, but he objects

to political unity under a Hindu hegemony. He claims separate interests in the country, and has so far withstood the Hindu invitation to join the National Congress, regarding it as a Greek gift to be distrusted. It is, however, significant that the Moslem League is said to be aiming at a working agreement with the Congress in political matters.

These obstacles, then, though formidable, are not insuperable. A force—perhaps as great as any other—which is working towards the same end is the sharp distinction between the East and the West. Though they remain as a separate caste, in religion, thought, customs, and even dress, Mohammedans have much in common with Hindus; they have become merged in the general population and conform to the type of the part of the country which they inhabit and where their paramount interests lie. It needs no argument to show that this is not and never will be the case with the English in India; neither have the native races ever adopted English manners and customs, except to a very limited and superficial extent.

The diversity of languages presents an obstacle, the importance of which depends upon the view of nationality adopted. Lord Acton chose as an example of the ideal State the Austro-Hungarian Empire, because the multiplicity of races, with their varying interests, would tend to check any abuse of power by the central authority; but it has already been shown that men are apt to combine and to form nationalities on the basis of race, and that the disintegrating force of a diversity of races more than counterbalances any supposed check on tyranny. About the time of the famous Partition the Bengalis claimed to be treated as a nation, and the claim has found an echo—more or less distinct—in other parts of India. The realization of such claims might conceivably lead to federation, but not to fusion into a single organic whole. Perhaps it is the only way to realize the dream of national unity for a country situated as India is, though history teaches us by numerous examples—the division of Holland and Belgium, of Sweden and Norway, the case of the Chris-

tians in Turkey, of Finland, of Poland, and of Alsace-Lorraine—that federation of this kind is not without its disadvantages. Even in Germany, which would seem to approximate more nearly to a federated India, the ready-made States of Saxony, Bavaria, and Württemberg, chafe under the dictation of Prussia, though the time is one of national crisis and the people all speak German. The United Kingdom is perhaps the best example of successful federation, but even then we have to reckon with Ireland.

Granted that such federation is possible, there would still remain the thorny question of the hegemony. In all Federated States there is one predominant partner; where there is not, there is generally a tendency to disruption. Thus, in Germany Prussia has achieved the leading position by her military power, England in the United Kingdom, where union rather than federation has been accomplished, by her population and her wealth. In India the intellect undoubtedly lies in Bengal, though Madras and Bombay might dispute this award. But the force which is behind every Government is in the Punjab and the United Provinces, which would probably not accept the leadership of lawyer politicians. On the other hand the overwhelming predominance of a single partner often leads to discontent and even to revolution—all the more in the case of an excitable and sensitive Oriental people. The point, however, is not of immediate importance, for anything like complete autonomy is too remote to justify the settlement of details.

Of far greater importance is the position of the Native States under any such scheme of federation. These States enjoy a practical autonomy under the suzerainty and guidance of England, but in any scheme for Indian federation they would necessarily be left out, thus constituting gaps in the united fabric. At present England is so obviously the leading power that in the political union which she has established the question of the relative position of the Provinces or of that of the Native States towards them has never arisen. But if that power were withdrawn, those States would not, and

could not consistently with the dignity to which every Oriental gives an almost exaggerated importance, accept the advice and guidance of any Native Government which might be set up. Thus they would remain isolated, dependent entirely upon themselves, without that support which the presence of the Imperial Government naturally gives them, and to some extent deprived of those external honours and dignified amenities which they obtain under the present system, and which do in fact mean more than they sound. They would, it is true, remain under the somewhat shadowy suzerainty of an authority in a distant country, but the contact with it would be more remote and the extent of its guidance proportionately less. Finally, and most important of all, they would feel themselves in a position of inferiority in relation to the Federal Government, and the tendency, so far as they were concerned, would be to fall away from any scheme of a united India, to political secession rather than to closer political unity.

The National Congress is said to contain the germs of nationality, and this is true in so far as it has enabled thoughtful men of all parts of India to meet together and discuss matters of public interest, and to press their views on the Government of India. But the National Congress cannot claim to be truly representative of the popular voice; an atmosphere more or less academic surrounds its proceedings, and its very unanimity discounts the idea that it is the expression of all shades of opinion. The three landmarks of the growth of the national idea are the Partition of Bengal, the case of immigration into South Africa, and the European War. The Partition of Bengal marked a great advance upon the time when popular interest was entirely provincial, not to say parochial. The grievance of Bengal aroused much sympathy in other Provinces, though it was felt that the matter was one primarily for Bengal, and did not seriously affect India as a whole. The South African controversy was based on a broader and therefore more national principle. India was being degraded; a stigma was put upon her because of her race and colour. Far from realizing her aspirations of

equality with a white colony, she was sharply reminded of her inferiority, and the humiliation roused indignant protest throughout the country—from Madras and Bombay, as well as from Bengal and the Punjab. But there remained still a wider aspect. The South African controversy was a quarrel within the Empire, to be adjusted by the Mother Country. The feeling was indeed national, but the expression of it was restricted in its scope. It remained for the war to prove that India was taking her place in the Empire as a national unit. The significance lay, not in the mere fact that Indian soldiers were fighting side by side with England and the Colonies, but in the consciousness that England had called upon her to bear her share of the Imperial effort, and that she had responded joyfully and proudly to that call. The honour of the army became the national honour, the soldiers were the soldiers of India, no matter from what Province they came, and their cause was the national cause.

And what, it may be asked, does all this tend to? If India has already obtained political unity under the English flag, what does it matter whether you call her a nation or not? The goal of the leaders of Indian thought is "self-government on Colonial lines," and the first step towards this ideal must be an organic unity. It is true that many Indians have a very hazy idea of what such self-government really means, but most of them would include in their definition the broad principle that the Colonies are free to administer their own internal affairs, while the burden of national defence must be vested chiefly in the Mother Country, and with it the right to control foreign affairs. To what extent India is fit for such self-government is another question. Slowly and cautiously—by the admission of an Indian here and there to the higher posts, by the creation of Municipalities and Local Boards, by the resuscitation of Village Councils—she is being educated into the art, and having regard to her history and to her general lack of organizing power, it is only the unwise who wish to hurry things overmuch. The day is far distant when India will be able to take over her own government, but when

that day comes she must be in a condition of national unity, if her government is to be stable and living. That is the practical goal, but there is another more spiritual, more Oriental side to her aspirations. She is awakening to the existence of an outside world, a civilized world in which the nation is the only unit, and she feels that if she is to take her place in that world, if she is to attain to her proper dignity, to be true to her ancient glory, and to command the respect of others, the first step is to achieve her national unity.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY RELIGION : DOES IT EMBRACE ART, SCIENCE, AND PHILOSOPHY ? *

BY LADY KATHARINE F. STUART

FROM the assaults of Science, the dissensions of the Churches, the failure of priest and pastor to grip the public mind, and the general note of uncertainty about the trumpet-call of these heralds of good tidings, multitudes of men and women have taken refuge in a nebulous optimism or, in some cases, a nebulous pessimism. The latter, being for the most part avowed materialists, point to the fact that religion has been the cause of family feuds, of civil wars, of arrested mental and material development and consequent prosperity ; they assert that while man has hated man for the love of gold, territory, and even for the love of woman, still, some of the deadliest quintessence of mutual dislike has been evinced when men have hated each other for the love of God. Therefore, say they, " Let us make a clean sweep of the whole thing. One world at a time. Have done with idealism and give us a sound system of economics ; away with religion, and establish instead humanitarianism and a code of ethics." Thus the materialist.

The spiritually-minded, however, in their turn retort that even granted the possibility of complete material satisfaction,

* "Hinduism," by Harendranath Maitra (Cecil Palmer and Hayward, London). "Speeches and Writings," by S. Srinivasa Rao (The Vani Press, Belwada).

this would only result in a tragic anticlimax ; for man would laboriously arrive at bliss—only to realize it was boredom. This, they contend, would be the inevitable result of any programme based upon the self-sufficiency of man ; for by assuming man to be both the subject and object of existence, materialists deprive him of his *raison d'être*. Now, man instinctively feels that he is only the subject of existence, and therefore he is for ever seeking the object. In the absence of any ideal or Deity as this objective, he will worship money and establish a plutocracy or, bowing down to brute force, will tremble before a military autocracy ; and any code of ethics would be less than a scrap of paper beside the terror of these potentates. Individual and national history plainly shows that only one attraction can really outweigh mammon in the estimation of man, and that is Divinity itself ; nothing can slake the insatiable thirst of man for God but deep and ever deeper draughts of infinity. The condition of consciousness when man supposes himself to be a thing apart, living by himself and for himself, is the only hell, while the realization that he is part, and that a needful part, of the whole human family is heaven. As to the theory of "one world at a time," the spiritually-minded have always protested against the absurdity of postponing Paradise till after death, maintaining that it is a condition of consciousness to be arrived at here and now ; and, finally, they claim that for the bulk of humanity religion is not a luxury, but a necessity, of which we see the proof in the fiasco of a material civilization which has begun in self-sufficiency and ended in Armageddon.

Conflicting opinion has resulted in what can only be described as a state of spiritual anarchy, entailing the disastrous result that the young are apt to be brought up with little or no recognition of their relationship to the Supreme or to His ministers above them in the hierarchy of heaven or below them in the order of earth. Unable to decide in what language they shall address the Cosmic Father, we have left them dumb and allowed their spiritual faculties to atrophy. In this state, then, of indecision and consequent lack of

definition we find Western thought at the present day ; and it is with a sense of real relief that we find a grasp of the situation and the suggestion of a remedy for it in the pages of "Hinduism : the World Ideal," by Mr. Harendranath Maitra. Mr. Chesterton, in a characteristic and consequently delightful preface to this little volume, has said of Mr. Maitra :

"I very warmly welcome this able statement of the Indian standpoint. . . . His enthusiasm is for the human side of Hinduism, which touches the heart and makes the lofty ideals of the Vedas a practical religion and poetry for the common people."

Mr. Maitra dwells on the lamentable fact that here in the West religion has scorned science, which in turn has ridiculed religion. Art has set up on its own account, and philosophy has betaken herself to solitary meditation upon the perversity of people. But in the beginning this was not so—nor is it so in the East ; for there art, science, and philosophy are all rooted in religion, and it is the sum-total of them all that we know as "Hinduism," the far-famed spiritual culture of India. Western people when they speak of religion usually mean some sort of belief, but in the East religion means, not to "believe," but to "become" something. The Hindu sees the universe as a university of spiritual culture in which all are learners ; he argues that the wealth of nations does not lie in minerals, but in humanity ; hence he will aim at the development of the whole man, the perfecting of the individual. The objective of education, therefore, is not the show pupil with prize medals and diplomas, foreign languages and unassimilated facts, but the wise man and the sensible woman. Wisdom being regarded as belonging to the spiritual rather than the intellectual faculties, it can be readily understood that Hindu parents contemplate with horror the idea of a purely secular education, synonymous in their way of thinking with all the folly and futility of cleverness without wisdom.

To the Oriental mind the enmity between religion and science in the West is very difficult to grasp. He will argue

somewhat in this fashion : The God of Revelation—that is, the subjective infinite—must be identical with the God of Nature—the “objective infinite” (since, of course, there cannot be two infinities). Hence God cannot contradict Himself, and therefore religion and science must be in harmony in reality, however they may appear to us to be at variance. Truth, being as invincible and invulnerable as she is eternal, has nothing to fear from any science.

Many of our methods of teaching, also, are based upon the idea that the mind of each child is a blank form to be filled up by the teacher as rapidly as possible with formulas, names, dates, etc. Above all, it is desirable in the eyes of the teacher of the West that it should be exactly stock size and not exhibit any individual peculiarities of shape or colour. From the Indian standpoint the soul of a disciple is entrusted to the hands of a teacher for a brief space on its pilgrimage from everlasting to everlasting. It is a tender plant to shelter, to treat with sun or shade, to water and to cherish with paternal solicitude. A child is a thing to be grown by a nursery gardener, not to be brought up by a beadle, and to subject every child indiscriminately to the same discipline would be as absurd as if a gardener treated every kind of seed alike. Education is not a process of stuffing with statistics—it is to preside over the unfoldment of faculty. Thus, as Mr. Maitra explains :

“If you go into any of our tols or schools where the learned Pandit is explaining to his disciples the various principles of life, you will find that he gives his training according to the individuality of each disciple and the degree of their evolution. He wants to build character. This training of the individual man has been the chief characteristic of Hindu culture.”

The conclusion to which Mr. Maitra's lucid exposition would lead us, then, is the diagnosis that the West is suffering from the error of supposing that religion is a belief—and by itself alone, perhaps, this definition is one well maintained but when religion, art, science, and philosophy, all unite to

interpret, correlate, and corroborate one another, as they do in Hinduism, we then perceive that religion is a *realisation*. How much realization of God is there in Christendom at the present time? Yet these countries send missionaries to "heathen" India! The idols of wealth, fame, popularity, and so forth, are too often the real gods of the West, but in India "There is only one idol, the idol of God," says the champion of Hinduism.

We must, however, in fairness admit, while admiring much, that we cannot see eye to eye with Mr. Maitra in everything. Has Hinduism never offered up a little child upon the altar of convention? Is not tradition rather than truth sometimes the object of worship? We suspect that there are "more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of" even in his philosophy, and we commend to his attention a recent publication, "The Speeches and Writings of Mr. R. Srinivasa Rao," whose comments upon some modern developments of Hinduism are caustic, and, we think, in some measure justified. He writes :

"Indian civilization, with its strong and weak points, became stereotyped long ago . . . men were labelled into classes and their functions fixed *for ever*. . . . Life was made easy for posterity. But the best way of making a dunce of a man is to make things too easy for him. . . . I blame none. It is only the course of events I am tracing. Thought was replaced by ritual . . . reason was dethroned, custom was enthroned. The sad picture of a High Court judge keeping his womenkind in gosha, of a thundering orator on politics not moving a finger for social reform, or of a learned professor marrying his little daughter in her seventh year under domestic pressure, are all perfectly intelligible in the light of the helpless condition of the people under the tyrant Custom."

To sum up : the very excellence of Hinduism as a preservative makes it opposed to any innovation and thus to progress. Such is the verdict of what may be called a protestant Hindu, of which type Ram Mohun Roy was the great forerunner and exemplar. Thus even in India the river of the water of life

is concealed beneath a glacier and choked with the moraine of centuries, and sturdy spadework on the part of the reformer is needed there as everywhere. It is, however, no new thing that is required ; it is rather a return to the one, only, real, and original religion which humanity has multiplied, added to, and subtracted from until it has failed at last to " find the One amid the manifold."

If religion be, as the Maha Rishis tell us, not a belief, but realization, then surely our brother has every right to realize God as he pleases, whether in Gothic cathedrals with majestic ritual, sweet cadences, and clouds of incense, or whether he finds the earth an altar laden with the sacrifice of fruit and the incense of blossom, and every bird a chorister in the choir of the universe. Only one thing would appear to be unpardonable, that a man or a nation should ignore the " Lover of all beings," the " All-pervading." In the resistance of rock to water, water at length prevails, and slowly but surely the hardheartedness of humanity will ultimately yield to the low-breathed whisper, the tender reminder of Deity, " Son, thou art ever with *Me*."

When tolerance has set the crown upon the brow of Truth, all creeds and classes can unite to serve the next generation. The earth is entailed property, and, as a great General has recently observed, " The child is the heir of all that we are fighting to preserve." The child is, after all, the smallest and consequently the closest link between the East and West ; let both bestow their benison upon him—the East with a world-wide sympathy and an unsullied spirituality ; the West with a robust common-sense. Thus he will become a benediction. It is not many years since an Indian girl burnt herself to death to avoid being a burden on her poverty-stricken parents ; nor since an Irish boy threw himself into the city docks in the notion that the starving family could live happily ever afterwards upon the proceeds of the life-insurance policies he had placed in his pockets. Let us forget our social, political, racial, and religious differences in a common endeavour to commemorate these children, to create a civilization in which

these tragedies shall not occur ; and so soon as the War is over let the trumpet-call to Christendom and to Hindustan be upon the lips of every lover of Christ or of Krishna in the summons to "Feed My lambs." The hungry bodies and the thirsty minds of these little ones will no longer reproach us, and the ancient prophecy may be fulfilled that when *men*—"men have beaten their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks," and inherited the *earth*, then "the lion will lie down with the lamb, and the wolf and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them"—to the discovery of Heaven.

AKBAR, THE GREAT MOGUL*

It has been said that a biographer has the right to be an enthusiast ; and we may assert without hesitation that the Author of this book has certainly proved himself to be a great admirer of his hero, whom he compares even with Alexander the Great ; and what is more, he convinces his readers that he is right and not in the least exaggerated in his great appreciation. On laying the book aside, the reader has formed the opinion that Akbar is to be regarded as the greatest Asiatic monarch of modern times. He was a descendant of Tamerlane, and from his mother's side, the fair Hamida Begam, related to Chingiz-Khan—two of the most successful and the most ruthless conquerors that the world has known. Humayun, his father, had been deprived of the throne of Delhi by usurpers. Whilst on his way to Persia with his young consort, to take refuge from their enemies, a child, who was to be founder of the great Mogul Empire, was born to him. This incident occurred, as the author tells us, on a Thursday, the night of the full moon, which was regarded as a happy coincidence by all believers in Islam ; and the proud father conferred on his son and heir the title of Badrudin, meaning the " Full Moon of Religion," coupled with Muhammad, the name of the prophet, and Akbar, signifying "*very great*." This last name was used as an epithet of the Deity, and its application was probably suggested by the fact that his mother's father bore the name of Ali-Akbar. The Author tells us in

* "Akbar, the Great Mogul, 1542-1631," by Vincent A. Smith. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

his preface that he was able to bring many such interesting details in his book owing to the long delay in coming to close quarters with the subject he contemplated exploring. Indeed, it seems to have proved an advantage that he took his time, as he could thus avail himself of the *Akbarnama** written by Abul Fazl, who was the minister and life-long friend of Akbar the Great. Meanwhile Jahangir's authentic Memoirs, as well as Gulbadan Begam's, were also rendered accessible in a convenient form. But even more important than these records was the discovery of a long-lost manuscript—the "*Mongoliae Legationis Commentarius*," by the Jesuit Father Monserrate, who was for many years at Akbar's court as instructor of the princes, his sons, to which the Author was able to gain access. It proved to be of invaluable help for the completion of this excellent biography. Like all Asiatic and not a few European monarchs, Akbar thought it his duty to extend his dominions, a duty which he fulfilled in such a marvellous manner that "before his brilliant sun the modest star of Lord Dalhousie pales." Indeed, Akbar's maxim was that a monarch should be ever intent on conquest and annexations, otherwise his neighbours would rise against him. He was not an Asoka, and felt not the least scruples about initiating war.

The fate of the famous Rani Durgavati, a gallant lady of ancient lineage, will always remain a black spot on Akbar's name. His attack on her was absolutely without justification. Mounted on a mighty elephant, she led her troops to defend her country with the utmost bravery against the conquerors, until she became disabled by two wounds from arrows. Seeing that she could no longer resist, and that she was defeated, she stabbed herself to the heart, choosing death rather than dishonour. Another example of Akbar's ruthlessness was his attack on the Rana Partap Singh, chief of the famous Rajputs, whose memory is even now idolized by every Sisodia. With reference to him

* Translated from Persian by Henry Beveridge, i.c.s.(2.).

and his people the author says : "The historians of Akbar, dazzled by the commanding talents and unlimited means which enabled him to gratify his soaring ambition, seldom have a word of sympathy to spare for the gallant foes whose misery made his triumph possible. Yet they, too, men and women, are worthy of remembrance. The vanquished, it may be, were perhaps greater than the victor." And here we must assert that in spite of the generous nature which, according to his ever admiring biographer, Akbar is said to possess, he often showed the ferocity he had inherited from his Tartar and Mongol ancestors, and which made itself conspicuous also in his descendants. Yet we must not leave unmentioned incidents which the author records from authentic sources, and which show that the Mogul Emperor was prompted sometimes by generous feelings. For instance, he heard early one morning the news that Jaimall, a cousin of Raja Bhagnean Dar, had suddenly died, and that his widow, a daughter of Uday Singh, refused to commit "suttee," as demanded by the custom of the family. Her own son and other relatives cruelly insisted that she must be burnt. Now, Akbar throughout his reign had acted on the principle that no widow should be forced to burn against her will. Therefore, no sooner had he heard this news than he jumped on a swift horse and rode at one stretch, unattended, to Jaimall's abode, arriving just in time to stop the sinister proceedings.

A characteristic feature of Akbar, at least during peacetime, was the intense interest he took in religious questions. He certainly had theological and philosophical leanings. Credit must be given to Akbar for having been absolutely free from that fanaticism which characterized Islam's rulers before and after him. The Hinduism, Zoroasterism, and the Christian faith—they all were freely practised under his reign without the least interference on his part. Akbar, in his eagerness to know and study every religion, even went so far as to send an envoy to Goa, with a request to the Portuguese Viceroy to send two learned men who

should bring the Gospels, because he wanted to know something of their perfection. Mr. Vincent Smith tells us that the impression that this mission created at Goa was immense. The prospect of winning so great a king to the glory of the Church dispersed all fear. Aquaviva and Monserrate, two famous father Jesuits, proceeded forthwith to Fathpur-Sikri, the favourite residence of Akbar, where they were received joyfully. On the first night he conversed with them about the Christian religion until two o'clock in the morning. That no protest was raised against these proceedings by his Muhammadan subjects shows Akbar's immense power over those whose creed he was supposed to share. But for all their enthusiasm the father Jesuits did not succeed in making a Christian of Akbar, nor of Prince Salim, his heir and successor. Indeed, Akbar proceeded subsequently to attempt the impossible task of providing all sects of the Empire with one universal eclectic religion; he even proceeded to found a new religion of his own with himself as the vicegerent, which, needless to say, proved a failure, and vanished entirely with his death.

Towards the end of his reign the Great Mogul Emperor had the intense grief to see his favourite son and heir, Salim, rise in rebellion against him. It is even suggested by some historians that, impatient to become Emperor himself, Salim actually had his father poisoned—an assumption, however, the truth of which Mr. Vincent Smith doubts. This much is certain, however, that Salim, who subsequently reigned as Emperor Jahangir, caused the death of his father's most intimate friend and minister, Abul Fazl.

Not the least attractive chapters of this book are those which treat on Literature and Art as they were developed under Akbar. Above all other poets of his reign Mr. Vincent Smith rightly extols Tulsi-Das, who passed in quiet his long life at Benares. He was therefore hardly known to Akbar and his courtiers. We know that his fame rests on the epic poem called the "*Ramayau*," recording the deeds of the hero Rama, who is regarded as God mani-

fested in the flesh and entitled to deepest reverence among the Indians. Tulsi-Das is generally regarded as the most important figure in the whole of Indian literature, and even greater than Kalidasa. Mr. Vincent Smith is of the opinion that although the achievements of this great writer may not have been brought to the personal knowledge of Akbar, the poet must have felt safe to carry on his prolonged labours in his reign without fear of persecution. It is not too much to say that almost all Hindu poetry of merit came into life because of the unrestricted practice of the Hindu religion, which was absolutely assured by the government of Akbar, and even after his death, as long as his son Salim Jahangir continued his father's government. Akbar exercised the same tolerant policy with regard to architectural buildings, permitting the votaries of all creeds to worship God each in his own fashion. Architects were allowed to adopt any style that they fancied : Muhammadism, Hindu, or Hindu-Muhammadism. Fathpur-Sikri, the town that Akbar had founded and adorned with sumptuous buildings, of which some have come down to us, shows, as Fergusson said, "a reflex of the mind of the great man." In this connection we should like to draw attention to an interesting exhibition at the Indian Section of the South Kensington Museum of Illuminated Tempera Paintings of the sixteenth century by Hindu artists of the court of Akbar the Great. They represent illustrations from the pages of an incomplete manuscript of the Akbarnamah, and are said to be contemporary copies of the original work by Abul Fazl (1551-1602). Among them Akbar inspecting the building of the royal city of Fathpur Sikri, near Agra, where we see also women employed, is one of the most interesting of these paintings, which emanate chiefly from Lady Wantage's well-known collection, and give us an idea of the great Mogul art of the sixteenth century. In his learned book Mr. Vincent Smith sets out the problem whether, in order to bring about a revival of Indian architecture in our present time, it would not be advisable to work on the

style of Akbar, and blend it with the European Gothic. Since retrogression is fatal, this would perhaps bring about a satisfactory solution.

In conclusion, we must give a word of praise to the excellent illustrations, and especially those which reproduce the architecture. In the coloured frontispiece we see Akbar represented as a boy of about fourteen, after an early Indo-Persian painting now in the Johnson Collection at the India Office.

If we have any criticism to make, it is that the author's device, *πλέον ἡμῶν παντός*, is a far too modest description of his work, which may well claim to be a standard book on the subject with which his master-hand has so brilliantly dealt.

L. M. R.



WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME,
BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

AUTUMN ARRANGEMENTS OF UNIVERSITY, SOCIETIES, ETC. :

*University College—London School of Economics—School of Oriental Studies—
Royal Asiatic Society—China Society—United Russian Societies Association—Anglo-Russian Literary Society—Lyceum Club—National Union of
Women Workers: Indian Women's Study Association—British Dominion
Woman Suffrage Union—Women Doctors and war service—Indian Gym-
khana—Roumanian Society—Serbian Relief Fund.*

THE coming of October brings in its train programmes of the autumn and winter work of the University of London, of the learned societies, and of others which exist to promote a better understanding between Great Britain and countries of the Near, Middle, or Far East. The forecast promises lectures of special interest to the British Empire and its relations with other countries.

At University College, Gower Street (London University), the following lectures and courses of lectures will be given :

"Shinar and Asshur: Pictures of an Early Civilization" Dr. T. G. Pinches: Thursdays, October 4, 11, 18, and 25, at 5 p.m.
"Types of Climate in the Empire" Professor L. W. Lyde: Monday, October 8, at 5.30 p.m.
"The True Freedom of the Sea: A Chapter in International Law" Professor Sir John Macdonell: Wednesday, October 17, at 5.30 p.m.
"Phonetics, and its Value from the Imperial Standpoint" Mr. Daniel Jones: Monday, October 22, at 5 p.m.
"Athens and its Buildings" Mrs. Mary Gardner: Tuesday, October 23, at 5 p.m.
"Hindu Religion and Philosophy" Mr. S. G. Kanjere: Fridays, October 26 to November 30, at 5.30 p.m.
"Scientific Methods of Language Study, and their Importance to the Empire" Mr. Harold E. Palmer: Wednesday, October 31, at 5.30 p.m.

At the London School of Economics and Political Science (University of London), Clare Market, Portugal Street, Kingsway, a course of public lectures will be given on "The Empire, its Commerce and Commercial Requirements," in furtherance of the aims of the Imperial Studies Committee of the University. The lectures will begin on Friday, October 12, and continue on successive Fridays at 5 p.m. They will deal with coal, mineral oil, iron and manganese ores, the rarer key minerals, etc., and further lectures will be announced later dealing with artificial manures, fodder, timber, tea, leather, wood-pulp and paper-making material, fibres, etc. Admission will be by ticket, which may be obtained on application to the secretary. The introductory lecture, on "The Commercial Geography of the Empire," will be given by Professor A. W. Kirkaldy, Professor of Finance in the University of Birmingham.

Other lectures announced are: "The Authority of the House of Commons," by the Right Hon. Herbert Samuel, M.P., on Thursday, October 4, at 5 p.m.; Chair: the Right Hon. J. H. Whitley, M.P. "The Science of Transportation," by Sir George S. Gibb, Wednesday, October 10, at 6.30 p.m.; Chair: Sir Hugh Bell.

In the Ethnology section of the work of the School Professor C. G. Seligman will give a course of lectures on "The Peoples of Europe," on Wednesdays, at 2 p.m., beginning on October 10, dealing with the peoples of Russia, the Hungarians, the North and South Slavs, the Greeks, the Jews, and others.

Under the Ratan Tata Department of Social Science and Administration the inaugural lecture will be given by Professor E. J. Urwick, on Friday, October 5, entitled, "The Future of Social Training." This lecture is open to the public without fee.

"The Resources of the Empire" is the title of a course of ten lectures which Professor A. J. Sargent will give on Thursdays, at 6 p.m., beginning on October 4.

The School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C. 2, has issued a comprehensive prospectus of the work to be carried on in its second session, beginning on October 1. There is an imposing list of the languages taught at the School, with interesting particulars as to the extent to which they are spoken, their history and literature. Lectures are also to be given on Phonetics, on the history of India, and on Indian law. The Secretary of State for India has sanctioned the addition of the School to the list of Universities and Colleges approved by him in connection with the probation of selected candidates for the Indian Civil Service.

The following public lectures will be delivered at the School on Wednesdays, at 5 p.m., beginning on October 24 and ending on December 5:

October 24.—Miss Czaplicka: "The Turks of Central Asia in History and at the present day."

October 31.—The Rev. S. Drake: "The Superior Man as Confucianism."

November 7.—Dr. John Pollen: "Indian Orthography, or, the Battle of the Characters."

November 14.—Mr. Herbert Baynes: "Oriental Characteristics in the Divine Comedy."

November 21.—J. B. Anderson: "The Novel in Bengal."

The James R. Forlong lectures will be given this term by Professor E. H. Parker, M.A., on Mondays, October 1, 8, 15, and 22, at 5 p.m. His subject will be, "The Mystery Man, the Precursor of Laocius and Confucius."

The first meeting of the session of the Royal Asiatic Society, 22, Albemarle Street, London, W., will be on Tuesday, October 9, when Mr. Longworth Dames will speak on "The Portuguese and Turks in the Sixteenth Century," at 4 p.m.

The China Society (13, Whitehall Gardens, Acton Hill, London, W.—Secretary, Dr. Lionel Giles) is arranging to give a luncheon to H.E. the Chinese Minister in honour of China's entry into the war. It is expected to take place in October. In November Mr. William McLeish will read a paper on "Life in an Outpost: Reminiscences of Tientsin"; and in January, 1918, a paper on "Genghiz Khan" will be read by Mr. M. F. A. Fraser.

The United Russia Societies Association is now the name by which the Russia Society and two other similar organizations are known. The aim of the Association is to spread a knowledge of things Russian in this country, especially in view of the effect of present conditions in Russia. Meetings will take place once a month at King's College, Strand, the first being fixed for October 16. Papers will be read on questions of interest, and discussion will follow.

The forthcoming meetings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society (President and Hon. Secretary, Ed. A. Cazalet, Imperial Institute, London, S.W. 7) are: Tuesday, October 2, at the Imperial Institute, at 1 p.m., lecture by Z. N. Preev on "The War and Present-Day Russian Literature"; November 6, Dr. John Pollen on "Progress in Russia"; December 4, W. Barnes Steveni on "Personal Recollections of Count Tolstoy and his Family, 1891-2."

At the Lyceum Club, 128, Piccadilly, on Friday, October 26, Mrs. Rhys Davids will speak on "Buddhism" at an "at home" given by the Oriental and Philosophical Circles, 4 to 6 p.m.

During the conference in London of the National Union of Women Workers of Great Britain and Ireland, the Women's Indian Study Association has arranged a meeting for the discussion of "The Women's Movement in India," to be held at 21, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, S.W. 7, on Friday, October 5, at 3 p.m.; tickets, 1s. each, to be

obtained from the Secretary, N.U.W.W., Parliament Mansions, Westminster, S.W. 1. Lord Sydenham will preside.

In order to promote a better understanding between the women of the Overseas Dominions and the women of India, the British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union is arranging a series of meetings during the winter, particulars of which will be announced later. All who are interested are invited to communicate with the Hon. Secretary of the Union, Miss Harriet Newcombe, 13, Temple Fortune Court, Hampstead Garden Suburb, London, N.W. 4.

At a recent dinner at the Lyceum Club in honour of the splendid work done by the Women's Medical Service during the war, Dr. Florence Stoney, who presided, gave a moving description of the work done by British medical women in Belgium, France, Malta, Corsica, Serbia, Greece, and Russia, as well as in this country, after the official opposition to women doctors had given way through the widemindedness of Sir Alfred Keogh, some time after the beginning of the war. Since May, 1915, the military hospital, Endell Street, London, with 550 beds, has been entirely staffed by women, who were responsible for transforming the old St. Giles's Workhouse into the hospital. Dr. Stoney was in Antwerp at the time of the bombardment, and took part in the heroic work so nobly carried out by British women in getting the wounded men out of the hospital into safety. Afterwards she was working for the French Red Cross at Cherbourg. When she offered her services to the British Red Cross she was politely received by Sir Frederick Treves but informed that "X-rays were quite useless in time of war; one merely threw them into the nearest ditch." "I was duly pigeonholed," she added, as was the case with Dr. Frances Ivens, whose two and a half years' devoted service at the head of the Scottish Women's Hospital at Royaumont for French wounded has received the fullest recognition by the French Government, which has conferred the highest distinction on the doctor. France and Serbia have decorated many of the women whose services have been invaluable; and, at last, in their own country Dr. Louisa Garrett Anderson and Dr. Flora Murray, who are in charge of the Endell Street Hospital, have received the C.B.E. (Commander of the British Empire). Through Sir Alfred Keogh, Dr. Florence Stoney was appointed to do X-ray work at the military hospital at Fulham in March, 1915. When she asked for an assistant she was informed that it was an unheard-of request. She enlisted some V.A.D.'s, "who have been my trusty assistants ever since. We have now examined over six battalions of men, so X-rays are of some military use after all!" she added. The Overseas Dominions have sent women doctors, as well as most efficient, fully trained nurses, for war service in Egypt, Salonika, and on the Western Front.

The recent fire in Salonika has been disastrous for the Serbian Relief Fund, which had large stores, comprising hundreds of bales of clothing and large quantities of foodstuffs, stored there owing to transport diffi-

culties. They were completely destroyed. As they were destined for hospitals, wayside dispensaries, canteens, orphanages, and distributing centres for food and clothing, the relief operations among the civil population are held up, and serious suffering is the result. Lord Henry Bentinck, the Earl of Plymouth, Mrs. Carrington Wilde, and other officials of the Fund, make an earnest appeal for help in money, clothing, or foodstuffs, which will be gratefully acknowledged by the Earl of Plymouth, Hon. Treasurer Serbian Relief Fund, 5, Cromwell Road, London, S.W. 7. Three hundred and fifty Serbian boys are being educated in this country by private enterprise through the instrumentality of the Fund. Twenty-three are at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and are doing extremely well, as also at colleges and schools throughout the country. One Serbian student has gained an exhibition at Oxford for English literature, tenable for two years and renewable for two more. The value of this work which the Fund carries on is not to be measured. It is a strong link between Great Britain and Serbia. "I shall, of course, send my children to be educated in England," said one of the boys, who realizes the importance of the facilities made possible for himself. It is on these boys, the younger generation, that the future of their country depends.

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the entrance of Roumania into the war, an Anglo-Roumanian Society was formed in London on August 27, the objects of which are :

1. To promote closer relations between the British Empire and Roumania by mutual study of the life, literature, and economic conditions of both countries.
2. To support and to make known Roumania's just aspirations.
3. To spread a knowledge of Roumania, its political and geographical position in the Near East, and its importance for the welfare of the British Empire and for the maintenance of peace in Europe.

Lord Bessborough, Chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee, and Mr. A. W. A. Leeper, the hon. secretary, writing from 17, Cavendish Square, London, W. 1, to the Press, observe :

"Relations between Roumania and the British Empire have hitherto been scanty and spasmodic, largely owing to mutual ignorance and indifference. We believe that this hour of crisis offers a fruitful opportunity to give the official Anglo-Roumanian Alliance a broader basis of permanent, cordial relations between the two peoples, who are inspired by a common purpose."

Lord Hugh Cecil has accepted the office of President of the Society, and the Roumanian Minister that of Président d'Honneur.

The following have accepted the office of vice-president : Lord Crewe, Lord Bryce, Lord Gladstone, the Bishop of London, Lord Burnham, Lord Carnock, Lord Dunedin, Lord Tennyson, the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Starr Jameson, Sir George Reid, Sir Alfred Pearce Gould, Vice-Chancellor of the University of London, and Sir Alfred Ewing, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Edinburgh. Mr.

E. W. H. Barry and Mr. H. Locke are the joint hon. treasurers of the society. Communications should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, Anglo-Rumanian Society, 26, Buckingham Gate, S.W. 1.

Considerable interest was aroused when the Indian Gymkhana Club met a very strong Australian Eleven at Lords towards the end of the cricket season, the match being played for a charity, namely, the fund for the benefit of the widows and orphans of the firemen and stokers of the Navy and Merchant Service. Large crowds gathered to see the match, and although the Indians suffered one of their rare defeats, they had the experience of playing powerful opponents, four of whom had played in test matches. Among the many well-known people present who followed the game with keen interest were Lord Denman, recently Governor-General of Australia; Sir John Taverner, of Victoria; the Hon. G. C. Wade, Agent-General for New South Wales; Earl Howe, Lord Francis Scott, Sir John Hewett, Sir Henry MacMahon, Sir Murray Ham-mick, the Bishop of Buckinghamshire, Field-Marshal Sir Charles Egerton, Sir Frederick Robertson, Princess Sophia Duleep Singh, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen, Dr. John Pollen, Lieut. Kunwar Daji Raj, of the Indian cavalry, and four other nephews of H.H. the Jam Sahib, two of whom played for the Gymkhana. The football and hockey season begins this month, and all interested are invited to communicate with one of the hon. secretaries, Kwaja Ismail or T. B. W. Ramsay, 10, King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C. 4.

A. A. S.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

FORTY YEARS' SANITARY PROGRESS IN BOMBAY

BY C. CARKEET JAMES, M.INST.C.E., F.R.SAN.I.,
M.INST.M. AND C.V.E.

THE history of the drainage of Bombay is as interesting as it is exceptional.

An old plan of Bombay dated 1672 shows seven islands, which have now all disappeared ; the population in the latter part of the seventeenth century is recorded as 60,000.

During the period from 1672 to 1845, in which year the municipal interests of the city were entrusted to a Board of Conservancy, much was done towards reclaiming the spaces between the islands. There was, however, left for drainage purposes an open ditch, known as the old main drain, which ran from where the Crawford Market now stands to the Flats, where it emptied itself into a tidal estuary. No attempts were made to arch over any portion of this drain until 1824, and it was not until 1845 that it was covered even as far as Paidhoni, though the progress after that was comparatively rapid, and by 1856 the arching had been completed up to Bellasis Road.

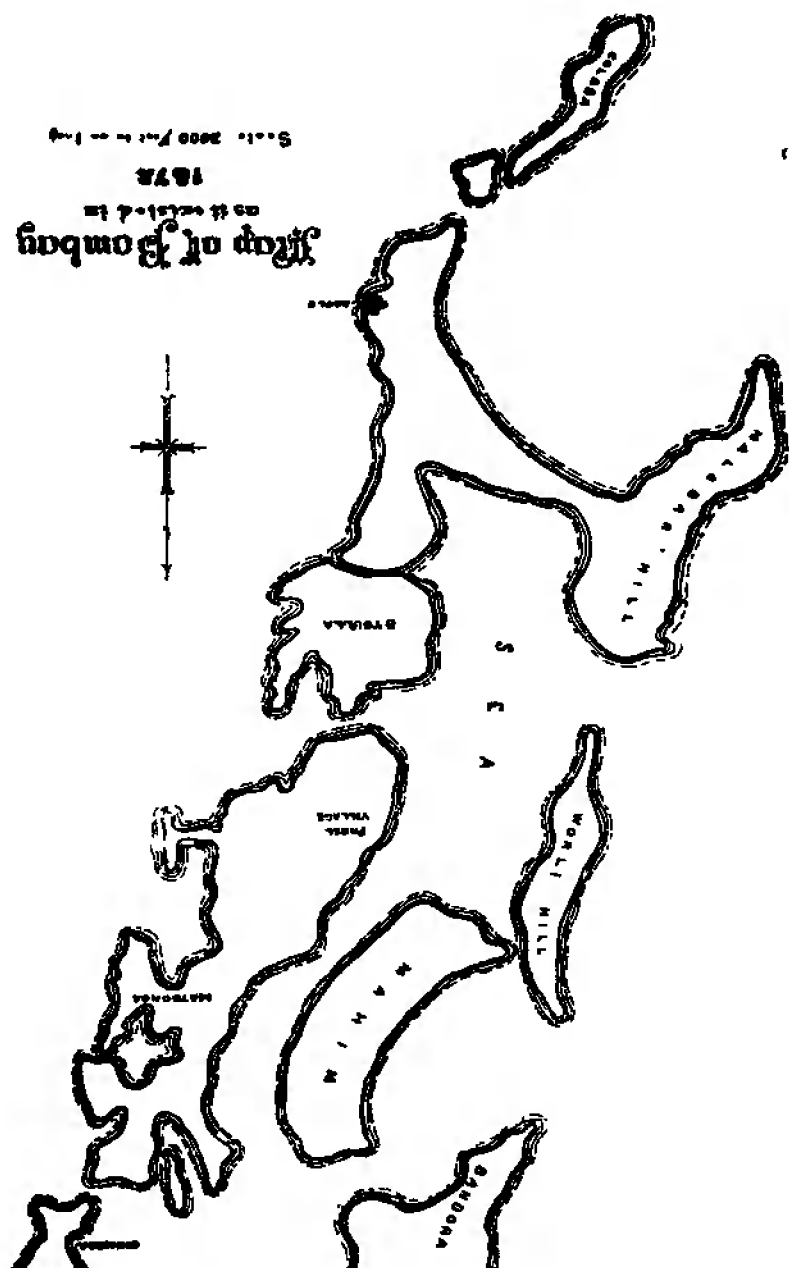
Matters had become very serious by 1853, when Mr. Conybeare, a "Superintendent of Repairs," submitted a plan to the Board of Conservancy for alleviating the nuisance resulting from the old main drain. His plan provided for no alteration to the condition of things during the monsoon, but during the dry weather it was proposed to run the sewage into a pit near Bellasis Road and to lift it,

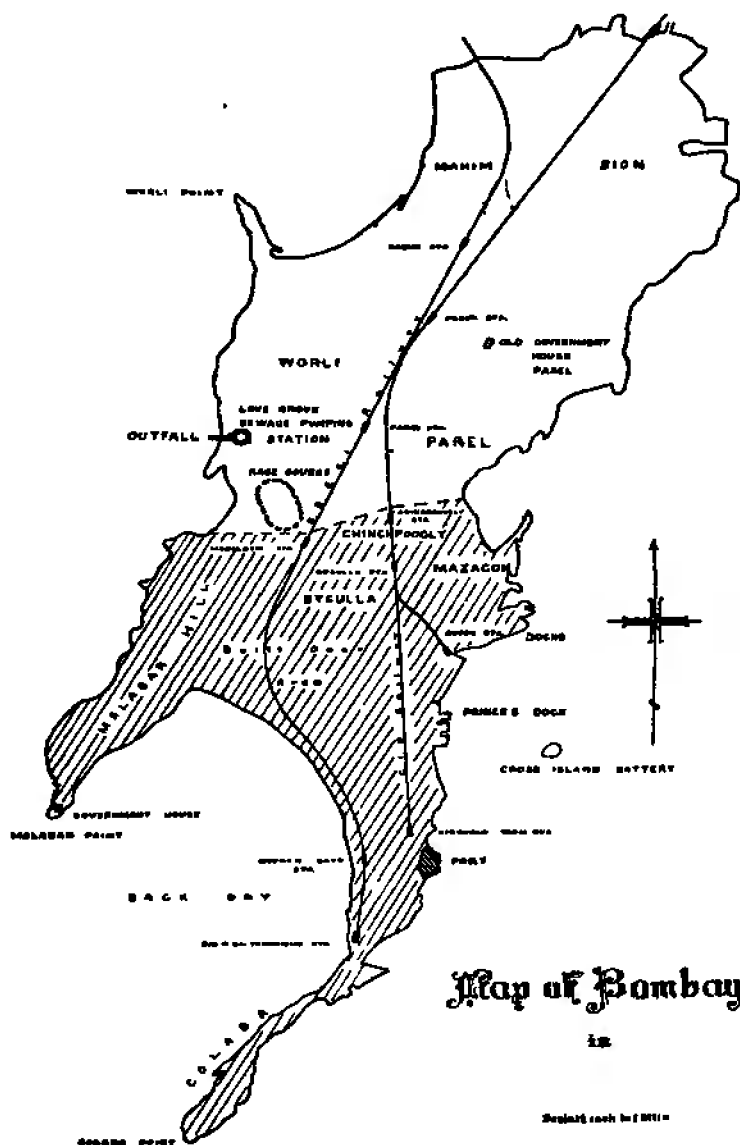
after deodorization, for irrigation on the Flats. It is on record that this did not improve, but rather intensified, the nuisance. Things continued much in the same way until 1860, when a scheme for the drainage of the city was submitted by Mr. Tracey, the then Municipal Engineer, who seems to be the first engineer who seriously attempted to deal comprehensively with the whole matter. He objected to the application of sewage to land, and proposed its discharge by two outfalls into the harbour. He also objected to an outfall on the west, as being the windward side, and because he saw the risk of sewage deposit on the fore-shore.

Mr. Tracey's scheme was sent to England to the Secretary of State, and Mr. Robert Rawlinson (afterwards Sir Robert Rawlinson, K.C.B.), was asked to report on it. Mr. Rawlinson having reported favourably, it was sanctioned by Government in September, 1863, and Mr. Tracey was appointed to carry it out, with Captain Trevor, R.E., as Consulting Engineer. But before much work could be done, Mr. Tracey unfortunately died, and Mr. Wilcox, his assistant, who succeeded him, also died shortly afterwards.

In the meantime, an agitation was got up against the propriety of placing sewage outfalls so near the populated parts of the city, and Government appointed a Commission, of which Mr. T. Ormiston, the first Port Trust Engineer, was a member. Mr. Ormiston was of opinion that Colaba was the best point for the discharge of the sewage (a view that is now very generally accepted as correct), and that storm-water and sewage ought to be separated, and Government, concurring, condemned Mr. Tracey's proposed outfalls.

For a year or two no further steps were taken, and the next important epoch in the history of the drainage was a scheme prepared in 1866 by Mr. Russel Aitkin, then Engineer to the Municipality, who proposed that the sewage should be discharged into a reservoir at Colaba,





and pumped into the sea on the ebb-tide. Mr. Aitkin objected to a "separate system" as impracticable, and provided for the sewage and the storm-water in the same drains.

The estimated cost of Mr. Aitkin's scheme was 110 lakhs of rupees.

In 1867 this scheme was also forwarded to Mr. Robert Rawlinson, who was of opinion that sewage discharged at Colaba would return to the harbour. The natural fall of the Island, being towards the Flats and Warli, indicated to him the true direction for the conveyance of the sewage. He further added that the float experiments proved that a Colaba outfall would contaminate the harbour.

Mr. Russel Aitkin's scheme, therefore, remained in abeyance.

In 1868 Major Tulloch, R.E., came to Bombay, and the Municipality referred the question to him. In November of that year he submitted his report and advocated the segregation of sewage from storm-water, and was of opinion that whether the sewage was applied to land or discharged into the sea, it should be taken towards the west of the city, and not towards the harbour or Colaba. His reasons were that the natural slope of the Island was towards the west, and any discharge towards the east might foul the harbour.

He proposed to pump the sewage at Love Grove and to utilize it on land; or, as an alternative, to carry it back from Love Grove and discharge it at Colaba (if an outfall at that point was approved), though he was personally opposed to this. He was equally opposed to an outfall on the west; but ultimately his own reasoning in meeting the arguments of the opponents to his scheme led him inevitably to that point.

In 1869 Government appointed a Commission to report on the drainage and water-supply of Bombay, including a report on Major Tulloch's scheme.

The Commission concurred with Major Tulloch as regards the necessity for a "separate system," but they

differed from him on several points, principally the carrying of the night-soil through the sewers and the utilization of sewage on land.

The report of the Commission, and the financial difficulties in which the Corporation found itself at the time, postponed any serious advance being made with the drainage until 1877, though during the interval some work was done, as particular nuisances required to be dealt with.

The extension of building operations, however, aggravated the nuisance, and in 1877 it became so intolerable that the Corporation asked Government to appoint a Commission to advise as to what scheme was the best to adopt for the drainage of the city, and Government responded by appointing four gentlemen, with a Surgeon-General as President.

The Commission issued its report in January, 1878, recommending the adoption of Major Tulloch's scheme as slightly modified by Mr. Rienzi Walton, the then Executive Engineer to the Municipality, who advocated the pumping of the sewage into the sea at the Love Grove outfall.

The Corporation took the matter up seriously, and in March, 1878, sanctioned the scheme, and the Government of India were asked to give a loan of Rs.60 lakhs. The loan was refused, and in September, 1878, the Municipality itself raised a loan of 27 lakhs in Bombay, and in December of the same year the work was commenced under the supervision of Mr. Rienzi Walton.

In May, 1881, the main sewer, as it now exists from Carnac Bunder to Love Grove, was completed. The cost of this work amounted to five lakhs of rupees.

Meanwhile, branch pipe-sewers had also been laid, connecting with the main sewers at a cost of 2½ lakhs.

In 1885 the Queen's Road sewer was completed at a cost of 1½ lakhs of rupees, the Ripon Road sewer in 1886 at a cost of Rs.60,000, and the Mint Road sewer at a cost of Rs.90,000; and in 1890 the pipe-sewers in Agripada were laid at a cost of one lakh.

House connections were also pushed forward in various districts, the Corporation spending fifteen lakhs of public money on these connections.

In 1889 complaints were received of nuisance existing in Marine Lines—a part of the city principally occupied by the military—and the Government appointed a Committee to inquire into the matter. The Sanitary Commissioner to Government, who was one of the Committee, having made an adverse report on the sewerage of the city generally, the Corporation sought the advice of Mr. Baldwin Latham, M.I.C.E.

Mr. Latham came to Bombay in 1890, and his visit was very successful, and resulted in the Corporation obtaining a useful report known as the "Sanitation of Bombay." He reported that the different sections of the main sewers were properly designed in regard to the population they were intended to serve, but that he found considerable silt in them, mostly due to the inefficiency of the pumping engines at Love Grove, which he condemned as worn out. He found that the pipe-sewers had been well laid, and pronounced the jointing equal to any he had seen elsewhere. He condemned the outfall at Love Grove, and showed the fallacy of the float experiments, and proved that an outfall at the Colaba point was the best. As, however, the main sewers had already been laid with a fall towards Love Grove, he recommended that all the sewage should first flow to Love Grove and be there pumped into a high-level, gravitating sewer and discharged at Colaba on the ebb-tide, and beyond the Prongs Lighthouse.

The Corporation sent the report to Government to ascertain if they would allow an outfall at Colaba, as recommended by Mr. Latham. The Government appointed a Commission, who examined, among other witnesses, Mr. Latham, who admitted that if, for financial or other reasons, the outfall could not be placed at Colaba, the existing outfall was the next best. The Commission reported that the cost of Mr. Latham's proposals was prohibitive, and that,

as Love Grove was the second best site for an outfall, the Government declined to sanction the new proposal.

In 1892 the author was appointed Drainage Engineer to the Corporation.

In 1893, although a large amount of the island had been drained, there still remained several populous parts of the city where no drainage of a satisfactory kind existed. These districts were Colaba, Mazagon, Malabar Hill, Chinchpokli, Parel, and the northern part of the Island.

Colaba was the first of these districts to engage attention. The discharge of sewage at different points into the harbour created an intolerable nuisance. It could not, however, owing to its configuration, be drained by gravitation, and some sectional system had therefore to be resorted to. It was at first proposed to lift the sewage at some point by direct pumping, but the Municipality failed to obtain any suitable sight for a pumping-station. After great discussion it was ultimately decided, in 1893, to drain the district on the Pneumatic System, and the works were designed and carried out at a cost of 8 lakhs of rupees.

The drainage was completed in 1895, and house connections were immediately taken in hand, not, on this occasion, at the cost of the Corporation, but of the owners themselves, and completed in the following year.

The Pneumatic System at Colaba gave such satisfaction that it was decided in 1897 to extend it to other districts—viz., Mazagon, Parel, Chinchpokli, the Old Race Course, and Malabar Hill.

It was considered more economical to provide at one station the air-compressing machinery required for all these districts than to construct separate installations. The Corporation therefore sanctioned, in 1897, the erection of the air-compressing machinery and the laying of air mains capable of dealing with the sewage of all the above districts at a cost of 8 lakhs.

In the autumn of 1899 Mr. W. Santo Crimp, M.I.C.E., visited Bombay to advise on various drainage questions,

particularly that of the disposal of the surface-water and the discharge of sewage at the Love Grove outfall. For a long time loud complaints had been made regarding the sewage discharged at this place, the smell being perceptible, particularly at the time of the ebb-tide, all along the western foreshore of the Malabar Hill.

Mr. Santo Crimp caused a series of float observations to be taken at the outfall, and the results showed that the sewage discharged on an ebb-tide was carried well down towards the coast in the direction of the Malabar Point. On the other hand, the flowing tide took the floats well out into the sea and up the coast.

The following remedies were proposed by Mr. Santo Crimp :

1. The extension of the present outfall into deeper water.
2. Treating the sewage discharged during the first four hours of the ebb-tide with electrolyzed sea-water.
3. Treating the sewage discharged during the first four hours of the ebb-tide with permanganate of potash.
4. An extension of the outfall sewer to Worli Point, discharging at that point all the sewage during ebb-tide, and at the Love Grove outfall during the flowing tide.

In 1900-1901 a further extension of the Pneumatic System was sanctioned for the districts of Chinchpokli and Parel.

The cost of sewerage for these two districts was 9 lakhs, the works being completed by the middle of 1903.

There now remained the drainage of Malabar Hill, the Elphinstone and the Agripada Estates, and the north of the Island.

These estates have been drained on the Pneumatic System, the compressed air being supplied from Love Grove. Each district has two ejector stations, with duplicate ejectors in each.

At Malabar Hill, the proposals were to deal with half the sewage on a biological system, to drain about a third of the district to the north on the Pneumatic System, and the remainder by low-level sewers and a small pumping plant.

This work was all completed before the monsoon of 1906, and the total cost has amounted to 6½ lakhs of rupees.

In 1906, the author having been appointed by the Egyptian Government to design a scheme for the drainage of the city of Cairo, his chief assistant, Mr. N. Maughan, M.I.C.E., became the Drainage Engineer to the Corporation.

In 1910 the work of constructing the storm-water drains for the high lands of the city was undertaken with a view to prevent the storm-waters from these parts from flowing to the low lands and flooding them. The work extended over nearly four years, and the cost was 17½ lakhs of rupees.

In 1913 the work of sewerage the Elphinstone Reclamation District was taken in hand on the Pneumatic System, with an ejector station opposite the Prince's Dock, containing three ejectors of 750 gallons each, and was completed in 1914, the total expenditure being Rs. 2,17,000.

During recent years it has been necessary to make large additions to the Love Grove pumping-station, as, with the increased quantity of sewage, it was found that the existing engines were not satisfactorily coping with it.

The matter was carefully considered, and ultimately, under the advice of Mr. G. Midgley Taylor, M.I.C.E., it was decided to instal four beam engines with vertical plunger-pumps, each capable of pumping fifteen million gallons a day.

It was also necessary to instal a dredging and screening plant to remove the detritus and silt from the sewage. The dredgers are in duplicate and of the bucket type, working on endless chains driven by electric motors, the sewage subsequently passing through coarse vertical screens and thence through sloping finer screens. On the latter are fixed electrically-driven rakes for lifting the materials caught on the screens, which are thence removed by an

endless belt to outside the house. The work was commenced in the beginning of 1909 and was completed early in 1913, and has cost 17 lakhs of rupees.

In connection with the new pumping plant, it has been decided to construct a low level outfall sewer, which is estimated to cost 25 lakhs of rupees.

Recently, it having been decided to bring more water into the city, it has been necessary to duplicate the main sewer at a cost of 12 lakhs of rupees.

In order to deal with the increased flow of sewage and the increasing flow from the monsoon rains, further extensions of pumping machinery are in contemplation, and a design has been submitted by Mr. G. Midgley Taylor which involves the erection of four electrically-driven, centrifugal pumps, each of which is designed to pump fifteen million gallons per diem.

Regarding the sewerage of the north of the Island, it has been decided to erect a pumping-station to which all the sewage from the northern portion of the Island, east of the railways, will gravitate. The sewage, after being lifted at this pumping-station, will be discharged into the low level outfall sewer through a rising main.

The drainage of the island of Bombay, with its population of one million, can now, both for sewage and surface-water, be considered to be practically complete. Commencing in 1879, it has taken nearly forty years to reach this point.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Tuesday, June 19, 1917, at 4.15 p.m., at Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, S.W., when a paper written by C. Carkeet James, Esq., entitled "Forty Years' Sanitary Progress in Bombay," was read, illustrated by lantern slides, by the Rev. T. Davis. The Rt. Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., occupied the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present: Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagree, Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Herbert Holmwood, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. T. H. S. Biddulph, C.I.E., General Evatt, General Chamber, Mrs. Tucker, Mr. Edmund Russell, Mr. Emanuel, Mr. Patvardhan, Mr. Phillipowsky, Mr. V. F. Vicajee, Mr. J. McIver, Mrs. Phillips, Mr. S. Amunuddin, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. Crow, Mrs. Collis, Mr. E. D. Carolis, Mr. B. M. Lal, Mrs. Bollandard, Miss Davis, Mr. Bakhle, Miss Andrews, Rev. W. Broadbent, Mrs. Kinneir-Tarte, Mr. B. R. Ambedkar, Syed Ali Manzar, Syed Erfan Ali, Mrs. A. A. Jackson, Mr. K. C. Bhandari, Mr. H. M. Whitley, Mr. S. Haji, Mr. Bernard Moore, Mrs. Bulleid, Mr. F. H. Brown, Dr. Durham, Mr. Dhunjibhoy, Mr. and Mrs. H. G. West. Mr. and Mrs. James MacDonald, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Mr. Phipson, Miss Scatcherd, Mr. Sant Nihal Singh, Mrs. Fisher, Mrs. Stafford, Mrs. Roberts, Mr. Hassan Ally, Mr. N. C. Sen, Mr. Owen Dunn, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. K. Ismail, Mr. R. G. Udani, Mr. A. Razzaq, Mr. Simpson, Mr. T. Cole, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, without any further delay, I will just say that Mr. Carkeet James, the writer of the paper, is unable to be present with us to-day owing to his being occupied in Government work elsewhere, and the Rev. Mr. Davis, who has had a long acquaintance with Bombay, and who is a great friend of Mr. Carkeet James, has kindly undertaken to read the paper in connection with the Sanitary Progress of that great city.

Rev. Mr. DAVIS: My lord, ladies and gentlemen, I am sorry Mr. Carkeet James is not here to-day, because I know it would have been a great pleasure to him to have read his own paper. Anyhow, it is quite a pleasure for me to read it for him.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, Dr. Pollen has been good enough to ask me to say a few words about this paper. First of all, we have dealt with the sanitation of that great city of Bombay. I do not know how it ranks in number of population amongst the great cities of the Empire, but I am told second. I was at a function lately in Glasgow, when that city claimed that distinction. At all events, it has a gigantic population, and it is situated, as you will see from the old map, upon what was partly the sea, and you will understand from that how very difficult it was to have any great sewerage system capable of dealing with its vast number of people. As you will have heard from this paper, the matter was very serious in 1853, so that it has been half a century before perfection has been reached as regards this great problem of sanitation. I gathered, however, as far as one could make out from the paper, that the present system is all wrong ! It says on page 2 : " Mr. Ormiston was of opinion that Colaba was the best point for the discharge of the sewage (a view that is now very generally accepted as correct)," whereas I understand the discharge now is entirely from the Love Grove Pumping Station, so that, however excellent the system is now, it is obviously on the wrong tack, according to Mr. Carkeet James' opinion. However, the end is very satisfactory, when he tells us that now the drainage of Bombay can be considered to be practically complete ; and when we reflect how a few years ago the city of Bombay was terribly devastated by plague, one realizes how very satisfactory it is to have a system of sanitation which will in a great degree help to combat ravages of that description, and we are thankful to the engineers for that, and it is hoped that the system will be satisfactory, and that it will not require any remodelling for some time to come. On the last page of the paper I find a statement that Mr. Midgley Taylor has designed pumping machinery for four electrically driven pumps, each of which is designed to pump 15,000,000 gallons per day. That sounds a very large amount of liquid matter to have to deal with, but what is interesting is that the pumps are electrically driven, and I can only assume that that is possible owing to the great electric power system which has been installed for Bombay City, and which is, I believe, second to none in the world. Therefore it is satisfactory to think that Bombay City can now be considered to rank certainly first amongst the cities of our Empire, and to justify its proud title of "*Urbs Prima in Indis*."

In conclusion, I would like to say that Mr. Owen Dunn, who is very conversant with the problems connected with Bombay, had unfortunately to leave early this afternoon on important Government work, but he has left us some notes with regard to the paper, which our Secretary will read to you now.

The HON. SECRETARY : My lord, ladies and gentlemen, I have first of all a letter from Mr. Carkeet James himself, in which he says :

" MY DEAR POLLEN,—My uncle tells me you called yesterday and asked for some photos of the Tansa Dam, with which I had a considerable hand in building. I am sorry that I have only faded photos, which would not be of much use.

"I regret very much that I shall not be with you this afternoon, but I have urgent national work. However, you and the Rev. Mr. Davis will, I am sure, do better in every way than I could have done, and the beautiful slides of Bombay which will be exhibited must be most interesting to the Association. My uncle, Mr. Michell Whitley, will be present and will help in any engineering question that may be raised.—Kind regards, yours sincerely, C. CARKEET JAMES."

Then I have another letter, from Mr. Owen Dunn, in which he sends me these remarks, which he would have himself made had he been present to hear the paper read, and asking me to read them to the meeting, which I now do with his lordship's permission. Mr. Owen Dunn's remarks are as follows :

Remarks from Mr. G. Owen Dunn on Mr. Carkeet James's Paper.

I should like, in the first place, to suggest a slight modification of Mr. James's statement concerning the completion of the house connections at Colaba. As many present will know, the British Requirements, the Artillery, the Embarkation Depôt, the Military Hospital, and other services, are stationed at Colaba, and I believe I am correct in saying that for a long time after the completion of the "pneumatic" system there, the Military Department refused to find the money for connecting these establishments with the drainage system, but continued the terrible nuisance of the hand-removal system with its attendant fleet of "iron-clads" (as we used to call them) which poisoned the still, heavy air along the whole route of the procession to the Matthew Road Depôt, and to encounter which on returning from dining on Malabar Hill was a standing, I should say a moving, terror. No doubt matters are very different now, but there are some things which, when once experienced, are never forgotten, and as far as I am concerned this is one of them.

As regards the paper itself, though it provides a basis for discussion, which is one of the objects of the papers read before this Association, I frankly confess that I am disappointed with it. It is no doubt of interest as a brief historical résumé of the progress in Bombay from a crude open main drain, which dwellers in that city much less than forty years ago were not allowed to forget, to a practically complete system of underground disposal, although, until house connections on the water-carriage system are universal, the nuisance of the hand-removal and "depôt" system in many areas will remain a blot on the sanitary administration of "Urbs Prima in Indis"—the second largest city in the British Empire (though Calcutta may think otherwise).

The Author has, in my opinion, missed a great opportunity. In the fourteen years during which he had these extensive and important works in hand there must have been many incidents of interest worthy of record, of difficulties overcome, of discoveries, archaeological, geological, ethnological, of revelations in the psychology of the people, of accidents tragic and humorous, for an engineer—even a Sanitary Engineer—can laugh on occasion; and it would have been interesting to hear something of the

peculiarities of Oriental Drainage—which is the title of a valuable professional work by the author—such as the effect of the high temperature, the humid atmosphere, and of excessive seasonal rainfall, and the measures necessary in consequence to effect specially rapid disposal. Then these are the arguments which were used—and are still used, be it noted—by certain worthy members of the Corporation against these new-fangled Western ideas and in favour of open drains, where you could know where you were—as you undoubtedly would ! Again, to a lay audience, it would not be without interest, I am sure, to hear why storm waters should be kept separate from sewerage and sullage, and what the “pneumatic” system is, and how it works when the contours do not allow of a gravitation system.

I must apologize for these criticisms, but knowing the author as I do, I know his great abilities and his wide experience as well, by the way, as his passion for old china and his appreciation of a good story ; and I am sorry he has not taken advantage of this opportunity to cover the dry bones of his historical record with the flesh and blood of anecdote and incident.

My own connection with the drainage system of Bombay has been of an indirect nature. The new streets and the freshly developed areas of the Improvement Trust had, of course, to be sewered to the satisfaction of the Drainage Engineer to fit in with the general system, but the Trust Engineers rather than the Chairman of the Board was the Department in close touch with all this. I remember mostly the heart-breaking tearing up of a beautiful new road to make junctions and house connections, and then, when the wounds were just healing, the Gas Company would come along and pull up another part of it, and no sooner had they filled in their bit, leaving an ugly mound along the whole length, than the Electric Light people had a go at it, and pulled up a fresh strip ! I remember also how the footpaths would be blocked by drainage materials of all kinds, and I have a very distinct recollection of a peremptory order from the Municipality to fix gutters and down-water pipes to connect with the storm-water drain, to a block of insanitary houses just acquired by the Trust for demolition, and which for forty years or so had been allowed without protest to pour waterspouts from their eaves on to the roadway. We felt rather injured about that ; we felt we had a grievance, and—we took no notice of it !

The drainage system of Bombay as it now exists is no doubt now fixed, for the next generation at least, but it is greatly to be deplored that the western face of the island to the north of the Homby Vellard, which would otherwise be an ideal residential area, rivalling the most part of Malabar Hill, has been entirely spoiled for the purpose by the position of the pumping station and outfall. I should like to have seen the sewage pumped away out of the island to a large sewage farm near Coorla, whence the purified effluent could have been led to the head of the harbour. But engineers, like doctors, differ, and finance has a nasty habit of interfering, so I suppose Bombay must be content to improve its existing arrangements as far as can be done, and there is no doubt that the

progress made, especially in the last twenty-five years, has tended very greatly to the improvement in the health and comfort of the city, and Mr. James may justly feel great satisfaction in having had so large a share in it.

Surgeon-General EVATT said he fully agreed with the remarks contained in the letter which had just been read, but it struck him as a great pity the health effects on the population could not have been shown in some way—its relation to the cholera and the bad fevers and plague, which would have made the paper, he thought, more interesting. He remembered, as a young soldier serving with his regiment in India, a story which was well worth telling. Some troops had come out from England and were dumped on the pier at Bombay; the General Officer Commanding at Bombay formed up the regiment and welcomed them to India, and spoke of its attractions, and warned them about certain health dangers. The whirligig of time went round, however, and ten years passed by, and again, as Commander-in-Chief, the same officer addressed the regiment, telling them he had seen them ten years ago as boys, as it were, and saw them then again as splendid men. The question to be asked was: How many of the men heard the two speeches? Only three men! That was before the days of engineers and doctors undertaking sanitary reforms. It would have been interesting to have heard what the effects of drainage were on the old sicknesses which prevailed in Bombay. The lecture had been very interesting and instructive.

Mr. JAMES McDONALD said that he did not think anyone present had less right with regard to engineering matters to put in a word, but he could claim to appear as a witness, having enjoyed the sanitation of Bombay from the year 1867 to 1913 (Hear, hear), and having nothing to complain of, except the want of government sometimes (a want that was keenly felt) of money to carry out the schemes which at the time were thought to be advisable. He well knew the difficulties that were felt, and he fully sympathized with the engineers, who had got some splendid plans but could not get them carried out owing to lack of funds. That, of course, was always a difficulty. The Government was always glad to help when it could, as far as it could, but it should have been the right of the citizens to have given much more freely than they did for the purpose of carrying out those great and useful improvements. He did not think there was a town or city anywhere which had had greater difficulties to contend with than Bombay, nor did he know of any other town which was cleaner and more carefully looked after in the way of sanitation than Bombay at the present day. (Hear, hear.) He spoke only of what he knew, and *that* he did know.

It was not his province to interfere with engineering matters, except that, like others, when he first landed in Bombay, he attempted to make a sum in his own mind, when travelling from one part of the town to another, of how many different smells he noticed. He found it too heavy a task for him, and he had to drop the calculation before he was more than half-way through.

With regard to mosquitoes, he had learned that much could be done to cure them. Those people in Bombay who really took an interest in such matters worked very hard, but there was always the difficulty of finding the means for the purpose of clearing out the mosquitos during the particular season of the year when they were most common. In the district of which he had charge excellent means were put into force of trying to get rid of them, and he was sure that now if anyone were to go to Bombay he did not think they could find a cleaner or a healthier town anywhere—not even London! (Hear, hear.)

The Rev Mr DAVIS: It is now my intention to throw on the screen with some rapidity a number of pictures which are reminders that Bombay is really a beautiful city, with a beautiful harbour—and I may say that even man is not vile there.

(A number of lantern slides were then exhibited, and very interestingly described in some detail by the Rev Mr Davis.)

The CHAIRMAN: We shall be glad to hear any engineers on the subject of the paper if they care to give us their views. Perhaps Mr Russell, of the United States, may wish to say a few words.

Mr RUSSELL: I am afraid engineering is not one of my subjects, but I should like to say I have greatly enjoyed myself here this afternoon.

Mr LUFTON said that when he left Bombay about two years ago he formed a most favourable impression of the town as far as one could get to know it.

With regard to the pneumatic system of drainage in use, it was probably the system invented by Isaac Shone, the well known engineer, which acted by means of compressed air pipes going along the side of the drain, with a self acting pump to lift the sewage to a higher level, it would be lifted up 6 feet, perhaps, and then you would have another 6 foot lift some distance along, and you go another mile, or whatever the distance may be, and so on with a series of self acting lifts raising the sewage. When they got to the seashore, by means of air pressure the sewage was forced out right into the sea with a heavy rush. One great advantage of that scheme was that they were enabled to use sewage pipes of a narrower diameter than they could if they had to trust to a very low gradient of the sewer. That also enabled them to sweep the pipes cleaner than if they had large pipes with a very slow velocity.

When in India he had had the good fortune to converse with some of the medical men whose special business it was to try and reduce the malaria resulting from mosquitoes. One difficulty they had in Bombay in reducing the mosquitoes was that they could not find out where they came from, but ultimately they found by investigation that there was a new kind of mosquito which found a place to live in in the wells belonging to many landowners, coming out at night to worry the people, and to convey malaria from one to the other. When this was discovered they had then great difficulty with the owners of the wells, but they at last succeeded in getting those owners to agree to their wells being covered up, since they were no longer required, there being a good supply of water. That source of trouble had now been removed, and great improvement in the air.

had since taken place in the health of Bombay, especially with regard to malaria. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Mr. MICHELL WHITLEY remarked that he would say a few words with regard to the pneumatic system largely adopted in Bombay.

One of the great advantages of this system was its automatic working, cases having been known where ejectors have run for months without requiring attention, a matter of importance where skilled labour is difficult to obtain.

The system has been adopted very largely, there being now about 500 installations in various parts of the world.

When it was in its infancy the efficiency was rather low; he thought he was correct in stating that the efficiency of the first installation at Bombay was about 20 to 25 per cent., whereas in some ejectors he had put in a few years ago it had risen to 33 per cent., and in those which the author of the paper had recently adopted at Cairo the official trials gave 38·7 per cent.—a very satisfactory progress.

Sir MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGREE, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Lord Lamington for having presided at their meeting, said their Chairman had specially come all the way from Scotland from his military duties, and been with them presiding over their annual meeting, and afterwards over the lecture. They could easily understand from that how deep an interest he took in the affairs and activities of the East India Association. His presiding over the lecture that afternoon had a special significance in the fact that during the five years' eventful rule of his lordship in Bombay he took great interest in, and was identified with many of, those works they had just been hearing about in the paper to which they had listened. He agreed with Mr. Owen Dunn in his feeling of disappointment that in the paper there were not more of those local anecdotes and descriptive stories of the growth of Bombay which might have made it more attractive; but it was likely the Lecturer was a very modest man, and so perhaps he thought it best not to dilate on incidents in which he played a prominent part, but go straight on with his job and steer clear of anything beyond the bare history of his subject. He had done it very well, and the account he had given them of the growth of Bombay in the last forty years was a fine tale of the achievements of both the engineering and medical sciences, and generally speaking of those methods of progress which British rule had made possible in India. Knowing Bombay well, he had always felt that a large part of that beautiful island had been spoiled by the sewage coming out at Love Grove; and having been over that tract of land for many years in his younger days, he had had a fair experience of the smells emitted by that arrangement. He could never understand why the sewage had been brought out just at that side of Bombay where the sunset was always most glorious, where the breezes from the western ocean were most exhilarating and refreshing after a hot day, thus making the most beautiful part of the island absolutely useless. Not being an expert, he had never ventured to offer any criticism on the point, but Mr. Owen Dunn in his remarks had expressed somewhat similar views, and therefore he thought he might

now justifiably give vent to the annoyance which he had been feeling all his life on that point. Their Chairman had added to the interest of the paper by the instructive remarks he had made on it, and he had put them under a deep obligation by presiding over the meeting. He called on them to express their agreement with the vote of thanks by acclamation.

(The vote of thanks was put to the meeting and carried by acclamation.)

The CHAIRMAN, in reply, said he had to thank Sir Mancherjee for his very kind remarks. It was quite true he took a great interest in the affairs of the Association, and as this was the Jubilee Annual Meeting, he was glad to be present on such a notable occasion, and also to have the pleasure of hearing a paper on Bombay, for which he still had a great feeling of affection, and an intense admiration for its beauties. The paper dealt with matters of extreme importance to the life, health, and charm of Bombay, so that he had been very desirous of being present.

In conclusion, it only remained for him to thank them all very much for the kind way in which they had received him, and he assured them it was a great pleasure to him to be present; therefore he did not deserve any gratitude, as he had only done what was the promptings of his own heart. (Hear, hear.)

The HON. SECRETARY said that he wished to express on behalf of the Association their sense of obligation to the Rev. Mr. Davis for the admirable views he had shown them, and for the splendid way in which he had assisted in the reading of the lecture. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

(The proceedings then terminated.)

THE ATTEMPT TO POISON BABUR PADSHAH

By H. BEVERIDGE

THE attempt was made on Friday, December 21, 1526, which was almost exactly nine months after Babur had won the decisive battle of Panipat. The chief culprit was a widowed lady, the mother of Ibrahim Lodi, the Afghan King of Agra and Delhi. She was commonly known by the name of Bavā or Buā, which means in Hindustani paternal aunt and also sister, and it is by this term that Babur writes of her. In the paraphrase of the "Memoirs" which was composed by Babur's Secretary, Shaikh Zain Khāfi, she is spoken of as an old woman (*Zāi*). Babur seems to have treated her with consideration, for he assigned her an estate (*pargana*) yielding a revenue of seven lakhs. Probably these lakhs were of a copper coin, and were worth about £200 a year. He had also provided for her household; and though she had been turned out of her house in the Agra Fort, she was given a residence two miles farther down the river, and was allowed to take her goods and chattels there. But she had been too deeply grieved and injured to be softened by acts of kindness. In the rhetorical language of Shaikh Zain, "the fire in the chafing-dish of her heart was too hot to be quenched by the cooling waters of the Padshah's kindness." Babur had defeated and slain her son, and had ruined the Afghan dynasty. She also had to protect the interests of her grandchild, the son of

Ibrahim. She heard that Babur had taken a fancy to try Hindustani dishes, and this suggested to her a means of revenge. On this point, Babur tells us that as he had never tasted Indian cookery, he, two or three months before the attempt on his life, sent for Ibrahim's cooks. There were fifty or sixty of them, and out of these he selected four, and placed them in his own kitchen. He thought that this was a safe enough thing to do, as he had his own stewards or tasters to superintend the cooks. Bavā now sent a maidservant to Etawah to summon one of her son's tasters (*chāshnīgīr*) named Ahmad. As Babur tells us, *chāshnīgīr* was the equivalent in Hindustani of the Turkī word *bakšūwal*. Ahmad came, and received from Bavā, through a maidservant, a packet of poison weighing one *tolah*, or about half an ounce. It was wrapped up in square-folded paper, and his instructions were to get the four Hindustani cooks, or one of them, to put the poison into the Emperor's food. Fearing that Ahmad might not have carried out her orders, Bavā sent another maidservant to make inquiries. It was found that Ahmad had done as he was directed, and that he had promised the four cooks, or one of them, that each would be rewarded with a *pargana* if they succeeded in putting the poison into the food. But it was found impossible to put the poison into the food while it was cooking, for Babur's own tasters had been strictly charged by him to watch the Hindustanis. The tasters did their duty and tasted the food while the cooking was going on, but were negligent while it was being served up. So when a portion of the food was being put upon a porcelain dish, the cooks, or the one who was specially in charge, placed the poison on the top of some thin slices of bread in the dish. But he was so agitated—in Babur's phrase, his hands were as clumsy as if they were feet—that more than half of the contents of the packet fell into the fireplace. The food consisted mainly of hare, and carrots, and smoked or dried meat, and over these comestibles, or some of them, the cook poured melted butter (*ghī*?). Babur ate

plentifully of the hare and the carrots, and had only taken a mouthful or two of the poisoned part of the food when he felt nausea and had to leave the table. On going to the privy he vomited, and for a while he was very ill. Next morning some pages who had eaten of the food fell ill, and were for some time in danger, and a dog, who was given some of Babur's vomit, became drowsy, and did not stir, though stones were flung at him and a commotion made around him. Eventually he too recovered. The cooks were arrested and put to the torture, and then confessed what they had done. The *chāshnīgīr*, no doubt Ahmad, was put to a lingering death by being lopped to pieces, somewhat as Priam's son Deiphobus was hacked by Ulysses and Menelaus, and the cook who was most guilty was flayed alive. Two women were also put to death, one being trampled under the foot of an elephant and another being shot. It is not clear whether these women were the slaves whom Bavā had sent to Ahmad, or were cooks. Probably they were the go-betweens, for we do not hear that women were employed in Oriental kitchens. Babur recovered, partly because he vomited, and partly on account of the antidote he used. This consisted of an infusion containing Lemnian earth (*terra sigillata*) and *theriak fārūqī*. Theriak is a word derived from the Greek, and is the origin of the innocent term "treacle!" It was, apparently, obtained from venomous reptiles, and was regarded as an antidote on the principle of *similia similibus curantur*. Bavā was seized and deprived of all her property, and eventually was sent off to Afghanistan, but on the way she drowned herself in the Indus. Babur says that the grandchild was sent off to Kabul to Kāmran (his son), but according to Shaikh Zain Kāmran happened to be then in Agra on a visit to his father, and the grandchild was made over to him as he was returning to Afghanistan.

Four days after the occurrence, Babur sent an account of the poisoning to Kabul, presumably chiefly for the information of his favourite wife Mahim Begam. The letter was

in Turkī, is included in the "Memoirs," and is the chief source of our information about the affair. But it was probably written hurriedly, and before he had quite recovered, and is not as full or as clear as might be wished. It occurs in the two Turkī MSS. of his "Memoirs," and also in two at least of the Persian translations of the "Memoirs," and is followed there by Persian translations. It is also given in Turkī in Shaikh Zain's paraphrase. Shaikh Zain adds that Bavā was treated like Abu Jahl's wife, and dragged along with a rope of palm-fibre round her. This is an allusion to Chapter III. of the Qoran, where we are told that Abu Jahl, who was Muhommed's uncle, shall go down to hell, "and his wife also, bearing wood and having on her neck a cord of twisted fibres of a palm-tree." Probably, Shaikh Zain's statement is only rhetoric, and does not mean that Bavā was actually treated with such barbarity.

It is curious how little is said about the attempted poisoning in the contemporary historians. Abu Fazl dismisses the subject in two or three lines, and Ferishta is almost as brief. Nizam-ud-din does not mention it. Perhaps Abu Fazl had not the Persian translations of Babur's letter before him when he was writing the notice of Babur's reign, and, presumably, he could not read Shaikh Zain's Turkī copy of the letter.

WHAT A RUSSIAN LANDLORD CAN DO

BY OLGA NOVIKOFF

THE following is an account of the work of a Russian landed proprietor whose memory still lives among all those who knew him, and throws a light on conditions in a village situated in the Government of Tambov. The opinions of the villagers themselves are herein expressed, as voiced by their executive committee.

GENERAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AT NOVO-ALEXANDROVKA, now called NOVIKOV:

"I will begin my report by quoting the words of our beloved benefactor Alexander Novikoff, who, in the year 1892, wrote as follows: 'Whichever side of village life I touch, the same need invariably confronts me—more light, more light, away with darkness! Alas! the light lingers long on the way, the darkness grows ever gloomier and more unbearable for our suffering, starving villagers.'

"It is only since recent years that I have devoted all my energies in the capacity of landed proprietor to the interests of my schools. I have fulfilled, at various periods, the duties of Marshal of the Nobility, chief of the zemstvo, President of the Board of Education, member of the local diocesan council, and I have, in addition, founded, built, and organized numerous Board and Church schools. And now, as I look back upon all my activities during what the world would call the best years of my life, I see clearly

that my only good work is to be found in the schools and all that is connected with them. My dear, dear schools! The torch they have kindled is not, forsooth, a brilliant or dazzling one; but their little light burns bravely, and they do what good they can. God grant that the time may soon come for much wider activities. The foundations are laid, and to build on will not be so difficult. It is sad, indeed, that we workers will die without seeing the full glory of that light for whose attainment we have given all our strength. Yes, all that is sad; but we take courage from our faith in the usefulness of our work. However dark and stifling may be the atmosphere of this moment, the time will undoubtedly come when the fresh air and sunshine of culture will revive and transform our helpless, downtrodden Russian peasant; and then he will arise and astonish the world with his boundless supply of love and charity, now so systematically suppressed by lies and Phariseism."*

To-day it would be unpardonable to forget the writer of the foregoing words, that enlightened, fervent, liberty-loving patriot, our fellow-countryman Alexander Ivanovitch Novikoff, who, in the darkest days of the past, believed in the brighter future of our dear land, and struggled against the gloom, sparing neither means nor health and strength. It is true, alas! that he is no longer among us. His strength failed him before he had carried his glowing torch into the dawn of our dazzling day of liberty; but, like a true knight, he carried it nobly to the very brink of his grave, and left it as a legacy to his successors, when he passed away on the 24th of January, 1913. The sparks of this torch have never been extinguished, but have conquered the shadows, have burst into a flame that illumines his grave and ourselves, and speaks to us of him. His soul lives in his good works, not only in our village, but on the cold Finnish shores, in Petrograd (where his writings are published), and in the regions of the burning Kolchida (Baku) where there is a

* "*Memoirs of a Village School*," published 1902.

street named after him. His services to his country will find their place in history, while his good works in our village are ever before us, and are inscribed as follows in our local reports :

"On the 30th of August, 1892, a new parish church was opened and blessed, by which our village becomes a self-supporting, independent parish. The donor of the church is our local landowner and benefactor, A. I. Novikoff, this beautiful shrine having been erected entirely at his cost and under his supervision. The building was commenced on the 2nd of May, 1891, and, together with the painting of the Ikonostass, has cost 65,000 roubles (£6,500). Mr. Novikoff has also built, at the cost of 8,000 roubles, two large stone houses for the parish, and has made a free gift to the parishioners of 114 dessiatius of ground (about 300 acres).

"In 1890 he founded and opened in our village his first school for forty boys, one of the earliest teachers in which was one of our local, self-educated peasants—Kamoroff. In 1891 Mr. Novikoff opened two parish church schools, one of which was at first housed in his own home, and later transferred into a new building, erected opposite the church, and including a special branch for painting. The expenses and salaries of the entire staff of these schools were paid by our benefactor.

"Among the pupils preference was given to orphans and children of very poor parents, who, in their turn, were in many cases kept entirely by his generosity. In 1894 Mr. Novikoff built two more stone houses, one to accommodate the school-teachers, the other a hospital. On the 20th of April, 1898, the foundation-stone was laid of our large St. John's Seminary for church teachers, towards the building of which Mr. Novikoff again gave 17,000 roubles (£1,700) ; and later he added 1,000 roubles (£100) more, for the installation of a laboratory in this college. The original boys' school was turned into a secondary one for girls, and afterwards, for purposes of practical agrarian

studies, Alexander Ivanovitch made over to this school 14 dessiatus (about 42 acres) of ground, also 12 dessiatus (about 36 acres) to the boys' establishment. The latter provided accommodation for 230 youths, mostly boarders, maintained at the expense of the founder.*

All the above-mentioned schools continue still, after the death of their founder, to benefit the inhabitants of our parish both morally and materially. But the public services of our benefactor by no means end there. In his capacity as chief of the local zemstvo, he spared no pains always to ensure the best interests of his peasants. In his own words he "struggled against the drink problem, introduced order in the parish administration, and insisted on the election of the most deserving and capable parishioners for all local duties." Large-hearted idealist that he was, he remained always, in public as in private, an enthusiastic worker for the good, to which fact his influence over our people and his achievements in our midst bear striking testimony. Having given up his land to the railway that was being planned through our regions, he paid 3,000 roubles for the building near our village of a small station, having successfully insisted on the passing of the line at that point. The station was called "Novikoff" in his honour.

In 1890 there was a famine. The indefatigable Mr. Novikoff immediately set to work, establishing public free meals, and providing food for the starving cattle. A sum of £2,000, collected among generous friends and helpers in England, helped largely to tide over the difficulties of that trying year.

In 1891 our population was visited by the scourge of cholera. Thanks to the energy and care of Mr. Novikoff, this parish was fully provided with doctors and medicines and all possible sanitary measures, the result being that innumerable lives were saved. In 1892 a great fire ravaged the neighbourhood. Again the generosity that

* *Tamboff Diocesan News*, February 8, 1913.

never failed us stepped in : Mr. Novikoff rebuilt most of the houses that had been burnt down, replacing stone buildings for the old wooden ones, and in other cases making good all losses with money.

It is impossible to recall and enumerate all the good works of this public benefactor in connection with our parish and our people. One thing only can be said, to include everything : there existed no need, no sorrow, no trouble to which Alexander Ivanovitch did not lend a sympathetic ear and hold out a helping hand. Did a peasant want to provide for his son, to marry his daughter, to build a house, to buy a horse or a cow ; did he need bread, coal, food for his cattle ? There was always the "Squire" to be appealed to. And never was the appeal known to have been made in vain. The proofs of all this confront one very clearly in the fact that on the death of this landowner no trace remained of his former estate of 1,000 dessiatins (3,000 acres), while the benefactor himself, during the last years of his life derived his sole income from his literary work. In his "Memoirs of a Village School," Mr. Novikoff wrote : "Let us hope that in the not far distant future public opinion will write a new page for Russia, the page of her liberation from illiteracy. To write but a few words on this page is already in itself a merit."

To these sincere and weighty words we can now reply : "Your hope, great spirit, has become a reality, and your good deeds will never be forgotten. May your soul rest in peace."

In conclusion, I propose to the committee to rename our village, that it be known in future as "Novikovo." The necessary legal formalities will be immediately arranged.

RUSSIAN AND ENGLISH IDEAS ABOUT DUELLING

BY BARON A. HEYKING, D.C.L.

THE other day I received a letter from Madame Olga Novikoff telling me that in her last publication, "Russian Memories," she had mentioned that her late brother, General Alexander Kireef, has inspired the publication of the Russian General Staff about duelling in the Russian Army. I have read Madame Novikoff's interesting book, and know that General Kireef took a conspicuous part in the regulation of duelling amongst the officers of the Russian Army. I possess also a voluminous publication of General Mikoulin giving all possible details about the rules to be observed in duelling. However, in this lecture I am not so much concerned about the details as about the principle of duelling itself. I cannot help thinking that the revolution in Russia, which has brought about great changes of a democratic and radical character in the social standing of the soldiers with their officers, must also affect what was considered a privilege of the latter—viz., duelling. From the democratic point of view of equality in honour there is no plausible reason why duels should be confined to officers only. But if on account of equality of rights the privilege of duelling must be extended to the privates of the army, this would at the same time entail a *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole institution of duelling. The revolution may therefore revolutionize also the existing regulations about duelling of officers of the Russian Army. But even a greater influence upon the practice will probably be exercised by the close, friendly relations which very happily unite Great Britain and Russia. There seems no more fruitful aspect of these friendly relations than in a co-ordination of the English and Russian point of view upon the duel *honoris causa*.

It is a strange coincidence that it was approximately at the same time that England suppressed duelling and Russia introduced it, for very different, if not diametrically opposed reasons. This institution existed in England for centuries as a relic of feudal times, until civic progress and the dictates of reason prevailed against it. On the contrary, Russia, who was not labouring under the same historical

conditions as England, and had hitherto not believed in duelling, adopted it in her somewhat indiscriminate imitation of Continental Western methods. The present-day social influence of England upon Russia may now produce a fundamental change in the aspect of duelling in that country, as a result of the foreign, not Russian, origin of the practice, and the desire to follow the lead of England in this matter.

There is perhaps no civilized country in the world which has more reason to reconsider its views on duelling than Russia, who has had the great misfortune to lose through it two of her most gifted poetical geniuses, Pushkin and Lermontoff. And since Russia has, thanks to the revolution, shown her intention of becoming an up-to-date country, she is doubly interested in shaking off the old fetters of the ancient régime, and amongst them the medieval practice of duelling.

One of the most interesting and convincing proofs of biological change and evolution is shown in the rudimentary organs contained in the bodies of living beings. These organs have now no functional value, and often bring about obstruction, disease, and even death. They are the remnants of a previous form of existence, and though they were of importance and necessity then, they have, under present conditions of life, lost their utility and reason for existence. Science has recognized the desirability of removing such organs, as, for instance, the appendix, which is a constant danger to the life of the individual.

As in the case of the individual, so with human communities. There, owing to a conservatism which tends to interfere with the capacity for adaptation, coupled with a mental backwardness which does not sufficiently realize the change in the conditions of social life, we see the survival of customs, habits, and rules, which have long ago lost their significance and necessity, and are an encumbrance and danger to society. This applies particularly to duelling, which is still in vogue on the Continent, but has been recognized as an exploded method of settling disputes which has no place whatsoever in modern civilized society.

The War has in so many ways brought about enlightenment and progress that we may suppose that it will also exercise an influence upon the custom of resorting to the duel. Russian public opinion has now expressed itself openly in favour of English methods of education, English customs and habits, and the question is whether British influence, which is at present felt so strongly in Russia, will also make itself felt as regards the practice of duelling.

The English point of view is not only in harmony with the existing law, which in all civilized countries considers duelling to be a punishable offence, but it is also in full consonance with the stage of civilization which we have reached, and which cannot in any way be regarded as inferior to that of ancient Greece and Rome. To the Greeks and Romans duelling was unheard of, for the simple reason

that the idea of citizenship prevailed so much over considerations of a purely personal nature that the possibility of avoiding the law by a personal vindication of one's honour was unthinkable. And this is exactly the way in which all the Anglo-Saxon world, the British Empire and the United States of America, treat this question at present.

An Englishman appreciates honour, but his idea of it is bound up with the idea of citizenship. An Englishman leaves it to the law and to public opinion to vindicate his honour, because he recognizes the law and public opinion as paramount under all circumstances, just as it was in the days of the Greeks and Romans. He does not admit personal interference. If anyone has been slandered and his good reputation injured, he knows that his best course is to bring the matter before the law-courts, where he will receive satisfaction by a judgment which will be publicly recognized. If he has suffered through ill-treatment, provocation, or bad behaviour, he knows that the rules of society and public opinion are so strong that the offender and not himself will be the sufferer, and in that way also he gets satisfaction, and there is no need for a vindication of his honour by a duel.

If a man, through some act of aggression against him, is not in danger of losing the esteem of his own class, his honour cannot be involved. Only too often, when honour was supposed to be the motive for settling a dispute by a duel, the true motive was personal revenge. But personal revenge by the use of deadly weapons cannot be admitted in a civilized community, where the law must in all cases be the weapon for redress. That is why an Englishman is always ready to apologize if he has been found guilty of transgressing against the rules of society and good form. If an Englishman under such circumstances does not apologize, he is not considered to be a true gentleman, and his position in society is endangered. The power of public opinion is so strong in this respect that the consequences are of great importance to every Englishman, and he has to submit. Buckle, in his "History of Civilization in England" (vol. ii, p. 137, note 71), says quite truly: "The learned professions have each their own tribunal, to which their members are amenable, and the highest ranks of society, however imperfect their standard of morality may be, are perfectly competent to enforce that standard by means of social penalties, without resorting either to trial by law or trial by battle."

Defenders of duelling often proclaim that good manners in society can only be assured by the possibility of duels. But this is not so, judging from English society, which is more fastidious as to forms and manners than many Continental societies which uphold duelling. Some people think that Englishmen use in speech with one another such strong language that the manners of society suffer through it, and that this would not occur if there were duelling. As a matter of fact, good English society observes a very elaborate phraseology,

and even men who are incensed against one another would not resort to strong language, because, as already mentioned, they would be regarded as ungentlemanly and vulgar. Good English society has a horror of vulgarity, and is certainly not less refined than society on the Continent. Of course, Englishmen do not suffer from an overstrained point of honour, and they would not feel themselves offended if, for instance, they were once convicted of having said or done an unwise thing.

It is also sometimes said that a man must always be ready to prove his courage, and that this can only be done by duelling. That is a point of view which can scarcely be admitted. Apart from the fact that a duel is not at all a test of courage, every man has a right to be considered courageous, whether he is a duellist or not. Besides, there are many and better ways of showing courage. During the present War no one can accuse the millions of British fighters of lacking in courage, yet they have never fought duels. Napoleon was the sworn foe of the duel. One of his best-known sayings is "Bon duelliste, mauvais soldat."

During the agrarian upheavals in Russia in 1905, when the land-owners had to prove their courage in order to maintain themselves on their estates, it was rather strange to see that notorious duellists, who were always ready to make a show of their alleged courage, were the first to desert their estates and to seek safety in flight. It can hardly be considered as a fair test of courage to fight under moral compulsion exercised by perverted public opinion on the combatants.

But the surest sign that the duel is a relic of the past can be traced in the antidemocratic spirit which underlies it. A democracy like Great Britain or the United States could not tolerate it. Democracy means that every honest man has the same sense of honour irrespective of his walk in life. The English meaning of the word "gentleman" is an honourable man commanding respect in all classes of society. The term can apply whether he be a duke or a small merchant. Following this train of thought, "honour" means nothing else than the esteem assured to any man who has decent manners, is honourable in his business dealings, and is a useful member of society. According, therefore, to the democratic ideal, the conception of honour applies to all classes alike. Duelling stands in open contradiction to this conception. Amongst the lower classes there has never been a question of duelling, owing to the fact that this practice has its origin in the feudal idea of chivalry. In the year 501, Gondebald, King of the Burgundians, passed a law authorizing trial by judicial combat, and from there this custom spread to every country of Europe. The judicial duel is the direct parent of the modern duel.

Of course, only freemen could fight. The underlying idea was that he who was in the right had special help from God, and must therefore be the victor. The right to fight out quarrels by arms

was also derived from the idea of the feudal state, where the central Government had a comparatively small part in regulating the affairs of the State. The settling of differences was thus left in the hands of the individual, owing to the weakness of the central power and prevailing superstition.

Fighting duels has been, as already said, the privilege of the higher classes. But it is not quite clear wherein lies the limit for people who are supposed to be worthy of fighting duels and those who are not. In olden times only the nobility and the military were considered to have this right, while later on University students were also deemed to possess the right to take satisfaction and demand it by duels. But when industry and commerce made themselves felt as important factors in the life of the State, the representatives of those classes began to claim the same right. However, the right to demand satisfaction by a duel is still not supposed to belong to all men and all classes, and it is this feature which makes it unacceptable to the modern democratic structure of society. The duellists form, so to say, a caste—a society acting contrary to the law, such as the Camorra in Naples, the Mafia in Sicily, or the Black Hand in America, associations which, of course, pursue different aims, but, in common with the duellists, are in open opposition to the existing law and addicted to violent methods.

Unbridled pugnacity, which pays no regard to human life, or considers duelling a kind of sport, can no longer be tolerated in modern communities, where it is considered to be the duty of each individual to respect the rights and personality of the other. It is a rather curious fact that the less a man is living by his own exertions, the more inclined he is to lay stress on *amour propre* and sensitiveness on the point of honour. Men of the working classes and those who have to earn their own livings have no time to indulge in such egotistic and petty pretensions. In England the idea of class honour has, broadly speaking, been replaced by the ideas of honesty and respectability comprising all classes of society—ideas which are, from an ethical point of view, infinitely sounder, and are applicable to all members of society. Honesty and respectability cannot be insured by duelling or any other illegal act, but are only acquired by a conduct of life which secures such a reputation. It is said, "By their fruits ye shall know them." There is a patent difference between the conduct and behaviour of duellists and non-duellists. The duellist does not need to be so careful as to his behaviour, because he has a weapon at his disposal which is supposed to repair any wrong done, and gives him the opportunity of putting himself in the right. It is a well-known fact that when a duellist sees that he is in the wrong he endeavours to put himself right by challenging his enemy, and it is also a fact that the duellist claims to be able to make good any offence committed by offering "satisfaction" with arms to the injured party. On the contrary, the non-duellist does not harbour such illusions, but endeavours to

avoid being aggressive or quarrelsome or trespassing on the rights of his fellow-men. He is, moreover, always ready to apologize if he is in the wrong.

The absence of duelling has strongly influenced modern English ways in social life, and forms a distinct characteristic of Englishmen. It is considered very bad form according to English ideas to be quarrelsome, to contradict, or to provoke an oversharp discussion. For the same reason in English messrooms it is the custom to avoid speaking of women. Respect for individual personality is responsible for this. It is truly said of Englishmen that "their passion for personal freedom has made them chary of treading on one another's toes."

The absurdity of challenging anyone to a duel and making his honour dependent on it is illustrated in the case of a man who enjoys a good reputation and has proved during a long lifetime to be of a high moral character. If such a man is provoked by unseemly behaviour on the part of another, it cannot conceivably endanger his reputation, and it would be absurd for him to fight a duel on this account, as his reputation is already established. In this respect the careers of the great English statesmen are especially noteworthy and can be models for others. Many a public man in England has in the heat of political controversy been accused by his adversaries of stupidity, arrogance, and so forth, without the slightest disturbance to his own self-respect or that of others towards him. These men had espoused the cause of the public interest, and had acquired a discipline of character by which they subordinated their own personal feelings to the public aims they were prosecuting. The provocation of duels amongst Parliamentarians and Ministers of State on the Continent always produces a pitiful impression in England, where it is considered that such men do not sufficiently realize the great public interests in which they are engaged.

According to Continental legislation, duellists are not considered as ordinary criminals. In England this point of view was abandoned at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1808 a Major Campbell was sentenced to death for duelling, and in 1813, in the case of Captain Blundell, who was killed in a duel, the surviving combatant and the seconds were convicted of murder and sentenced to death by hanging. In 1844 the Articles of War were amended to the effect that "Every person who shall fight or promote a duel, or take any steps thereto, or who shall not do his best to prevent a duel, shall, if an officer, be cashiered, or suffer such other penalty as a general court-martial shall award." By the same Article it was expressly declared that to accept or to tender apologies for wrong or insult, given or received, were suitable to the character of honourable men. English society, always being on the side of the law, adjusted its opinion about the duel in conformity with these enactments.

The problem of settling disputes affecting honour has also a religious aspect, which, strange to say, is on the Continent ordinarily left entirely out of account. It is supposed that in affairs of honour not only considerations of public order and the requirements of the law, but also the tenets of religion must give way. Such a point of view amounts to anarchism coupled with egotism. In the Middle Ages, when the Christian religion confined itself mainly to miracle stories, it was perhaps easier to overlook its ethical meaning. But at the present day, when the moral principles of the Christian religion have been more and more placed in the foreground of religious teaching, it is hardly possible to overlook the fact that the vindication of honour by wilful vengeance is diametrically opposed to a Christian line of conduct. The necessities of the State may perhaps serve as an excuse for infringing the Christian moral code, the more so as we are told Christ urged that we must render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. A Christian soldier has to fight when the State commands him to do so. But in the case of duelling this excuse does not exist, as the modern civilized State forbids expressly this sort of private warfare. The principles laid down by the First Epistle of St. Peter, ii. 19-21, the Gospels of St. Matthew, v. 39, and St. Mark, xi. 25, make it abundantly clear what the Christian attitude towards duelling should be:

1. "For this is thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully.

"For what glory is it, if, when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? But if, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God.

"For even hereunto were ye called: because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should follow His steps" (1 Peter ii. 19-21).

2. "But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also" (St. Matthew v. 39).

3. "And when ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have ought against any: that your Father also which is in heaven may forgive you your trespasses" (St. Mark xi. 25).

Can one conceive the possibility of one of the Saints, or Apostles, or Martyrs taking part in a duel? Even the heathen—as, for instance, the Hindus, whose religion is too often underestimated by Christians—would never fight a duel, because it contradicts their religion. But Christian duellists may be good church-goers, and consider themselves orthodox, and yet do not seem to realize that to fight a duel is in direct opposition to the fundamental Christian principles to which they profess allegiance.

A duellist cannot excuse himself on the grounds of having acted on the spur of the moment on passion or strong provocation, which could be considered as somewhat mitigating the offence and minimizing his personal responsibility, as duelling often takes place

you in charge of the police." He did so, and his aggressor was brought to justice and received a well-deserved punishment. This manner of dealing with petty instances of bad behaviour is palpably preferable to duelling. It requires that self-control which Englishmen justly consider one of the primary aims of the education of a gentleman.

Englishmen do not acknowledge the medieval, selfish, and over-drawn sensibility called the *point d'honneur*, which produces a kind of hot-house atmosphere in which the pernicious fungus of the duel thrives and prospers.

But even admitting the claims of the *point d'honneur*, it remains a fact that an infinitely small number of offences and quarrels touching honour lead to duels. Social relations have become more and more complicated and varied, and are not of a nature to admit of settling them by the rudimentary practice of duelling. Many men have somehow trod on each other's toes without bringing their grievance to a head. Many avoid each other's company or are simply not on speaking terms, without, however, feeling the necessity of resorting to a duel. The consciousness that in the great majority of cases duelling offers no possibility of a practical issue diminishes more and more the number of duels.

It is a rather strange fact that duellists trying to vindicate their honour leave out of account the fact that the offence committed may be in itself dishonourable, as, for instance, in the cases of impropriety with women, false accusations, slander, and so forth. The combatants in a duel are considered to be both men of honour, as according to the code of honour no duel can be fought with a man who has lost his honour. Now, if a man has offended another by a dishonourable action, he has lost his honour, and, strictly speaking, such a man should not be called out to a duel. If none the less a duel takes place, it implies the unwarranted and nonsensical rehabilitation of a man who has lost his honour. A typical example may serve as an illustration. Duellists are specially uncompromising about the obligation of fighting a duel in cases of seduction of a near female relative and a refusal on the part of the seducer to marry her. There can be no doubt that such an action is dishonourable. And yet a duellist finds himself bound to call such a despicable man out to a duel, and in doing so to give him the privilege of being considered a man of honour by the very fact that he is challenged to fight a duel. In countries where duelling is out of the question—for instance, in Norway and Sweden—no one would dream of doing a scoundrel the honour of fighting him in a duel; he may be horse-whipped or punished otherwise—that would certainly be more to the point. In England public opinion ostracizes men of principle; they become outlaws of society.

A duelling to a duellist's point of view, a man loses his honour if on the spur of the moment he takes revenge by a duel for an offence committed against him by a woman-folk. It needs no further explanation that the minimizing his

wrong committed must be redressed by all possible lawful means. Revindication of honour is indispensable. But the question is whether the duel can be considered as a proper method of redress, and whether in case of an offence committed against a woman a man is under the obligation to fight a duel for her sake. In our present state of civilization a woman has the possibility of vindicating her honour herself, and only so far as she expressly wishes in doing so to be assisted by a man has the latter the right to take the matter up in her place. This way of dealing with the matter recognizes the principle of equality of personal rights of women and men, and gives at the same time a chance to women to develop their sense of moral responsibility. Owing to the tutelage exercised over them by men throughout the past centuries, they are sometimes deficient in that respect.

Up to the present time a difference was made in principle between the honour of a man and that of a woman. This was due to the different positions occupied by men and women in society. It was argued that it was the man's duty to uphold social order in the State, local community, family, and so forth, and to that end he must guard his person against any attempts to deprive him of the character of an esteemed and recognized member of society. On the other hand, the woman's duty was limited to her position as a wife and mother, and anything which endangered that position would minimize her personal value in the eyes of human society, which is built up on the institution of marriage. The man loses his honour when he ceases to uphold the laws of that society, the woman when she endangers the proper observance of her present or future duties as a wife and mother. But this difference in man's and woman's honour has now been effaced to a great extent by the changes which have taken place in the position of women. In the modern State women have become factors in public life, and claim equality of rights with men. Accordingly, the honour of a woman can no longer be limited to sex honour, but must be in its essence identical with the man's honour.

Up to quite recently men considered it their duty, from motives of chivalry, to defend the honour of women, and this proved to be the most prolific source of duelling. But things are changing. There are nowadays many women who consider that this sort of chivalry is very far from complimentary to them, and places them in an inferior position, by reason of their supposed inability to defend themselves. As long as physical force played the chief part in regulating the affairs of society, this was necessarily so, but since the arm of the law and the police takes the place of physical force, and women derive the same benefits from these safeguards as men, this sort of chivalry has become out of date and unnecessary. The duel is supposed to be a prerogative of man, but all that has been said about its uselessness as a true weapon of justice in settling the quarrels and affairs of men applies in the same way to those of women.

If a woman's reputation has been damaged, from a dramatic and theatrical point of view perhaps it may be desirable to fight a duel, but a real reparation can only be secured by the law, when the offence committed can be publicly redressed by evidence to the contrary. If an offence committed is in itself irreparable, it is obvious that a duel cannot be an adequate remedy, as a duel is in itself a cataclysm, and though it may satisfy vengeance, it cannot redress. The fact that an offender is ready to place himself at the disposal of a man who will shoot at him or thrust him through with a sword is considered by duellists as a circumstance which must give satisfaction to the person offended. But, after all, it is a poor thing for someone who has suffered an irreparable wrong to be allowed to wreak his vengeance on the wrongdoer. There is no moral sense in it.

The case of self-defence when life is endangered may be looked upon differently. Quite recently Lieutenant Malcolm, who was tried and acquitted of the murder of Anton Baumberg, a Russian Jew, in an affair regarding Mrs. Malcolm, in the first instance called Baumberg out to fight a duel. When the latter did not accept the challenge, Malcolm soundly thrashed him; but, on finding out that Baumberg had provided himself with a revolver and was resolved to use it, Malcolm shot him. The acquittal of Malcolm speaks for itself: his course of action was much more to the point than a duel could possibly have been.

Of all the writers and philosophers who have expressed themselves against duelling, Montesquieu in his "*Lettres Persanes*," Labruyère, Greville de Girardin, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Edward von Hartman, and Schopenhauer, the latter is perhaps the most convincing. He explains that according to the tenets of the *point d'honneur*, honour does not consist in the opinion of others about our moral value, but simply in the outward acts which would imply such an opinion, irrespective of whether such an opinion existed or not. Others, therefore, may have a very bad opinion about our conduct and despise us. Our honour remains untouched so long as no one dares to express that opinion. On the contrary, even if we by our actions and qualities win the high esteem of our fellow-men, it is only necessary for some person, even the most ignorant and foolish, to express his lack of esteem for us, and lo, our reputation for honour is gone, if we do not repair it by a duel. The conduct of a man may be good and honourable, his conscience may be clean and his intelligence great, but all that cannot save him from losing his "honour," if another man, who perhaps has not infringed the *point d'honneur*, but is in other respects a scamp, a gambler, and altogether good for nothing, chooses to belittle him in the eyes of his fellow-men. If such a man insults him, the insult is taken as true and well founded until it is washed out in blood. In short, the offended is supposed to be what he was called by the offender, if he has not challenged him to a combat by duel. The

men of "honour" will despise him, ostentatiously avoid his society, and so forth. "Duelling," says Schopenhauer, "tends to place might for right. It is an easy matter for people with limited intelligences to appeal to a decision by arms each time they find themselves losers in arguments. If, for instance, clever Cajus debates with stupid Sempronius on a scientific question, and Cajus by better judgment and sounder logic proves to be the superior debater, causing Sempronius to appear in the public eye as the losing party, the latter needs only to become rude and offensive, and the legitimate and indubitable triumph of Cajus is annihilated if he does not answer the rudeness of Sempronius by greater rudeness. Sempronius, by these means, is in the eyes of the men of 'honour' the victor. Truth, knowledge, intelligence, wit, are of no avail. Rudeness beats them all. But if Cajus answers with greater rudeness, a duel becomes inevitable, and should Sempronius happen to be the better shot, he will have it all his own way, and will be admired for his 'victory' by the men of 'honour.'"

The best way of dealing with the duel is to recognize the necessity for resorting to arbitration in affairs touching honour if the parties do not like to appeal to the law. This principle has already been introduced in Russia and other countries by special regulations, and there is every reason to believe that it will be further developed, especially if British influence is allowed to have a voice in the matter. The principle of arbitration could be introduced by law, and also by public opinion. It would have to be established as right and proper that arbitration should take the place of the duel. There is no necessity for a permanent court of arbitration, but in each single case the parties would have to elect arbitrators, one or an equal number of arbitrators for each party, and the latter would have to elect a superarbitrator as their president. It would be the duty of the court to investigate the case, and to fix the blame on the party at fault; that party would have to withdraw the offence, express his regret, recognize his guilt, and offer formal apologies. This would be the best possible reparation for any wrong committed against honour.

Such Courts of Honour have been very rarely resorted to in England, because Englishmen, as already mentioned, find it more expedient to apply to the ordinary law-courts. At the same time, it is very characteristic of Englishmen that the question of honour, from a Continental point of view, does not play a great part in English social life. Englishmen believe much more in duty than in honour, and duty certainly stands on a higher plane from a moral point of view.

In ancient Rome civic honour was an attribute of the citizen, guaranteed by the State. Every Roman citizen, every *vir bonus et honestus*, who led an upright and moral life, had a right to the esteem of his compatriots. The civic honour *existimatio* was the recognition by society of the ethical value of an individual. This

also in our own time forms the idea of honour, only it has ceased to be a juridical conception, and has become of a purely social value. Everyone receives recognition of his own personal value in the esteem which he enjoys in his particular sphere of life, approximately in the same way as the value of a writer is deduced from the criticisms of his works. Thus, in the case of honour, it is not sufficient that a person is conscious of his own value, but in order to maintain his social position it is necessary that this self-consciousness of honour is shared by his fellow-men.

Not so with duty. Here the opinion of others does not matter. If a man acts from motives of duty, every consideration of the opinion of others must be lost sight of, in order that the idea of working for moral good, which he conceives to be his duty, can be accomplished. Moral duty is superior to the judgment of the multitude. Morality is derived from the yearning of the soul towards the good, and the obligation which is felt towards that which is recognized as good. The man who is conscious of his duty has the one aim in view that his action shall correspond with the moral principles which he recognizes as obligatory. The result of doing one's duty is self-respect, while the enjoyment of "honour" assures respect on the part of others. Thus duty and honour complement one another, being different in their essence. The difference between them is not apparent so long as the carrying out of duty assures at the same time the esteem of others. But as soon as duty and honour come into collision, it becomes apparent which of them stands higher from an ethical point of view. The confession of the Italian priest-astronomer, "*E pur si muove*" (And still she moves), was heroic, inspired as he was by the holy duty of faithfulness to personal convictions, but none the less only brought to him dishonour, hatred, and excommunication. On the other hand, lack of duty often does not interfere with a man's honour or the place which he occupies in society. Honour, on the whole, is far more easily satisfied than duty, which has for its judge the inexorable tribunal of the conscience. In the light of duty, duelling appears particularly petty and insignificant.

It is good to defend one's honour (not by fighting duels, but by legal and social means), but it is even better to realize that duty stands higher than honour.

The conclusion to be drawn, therefore, is that duelling is, like a dangerous rudimentary organ in the human body, a pernicious anachronism in the body politic and social of modern life. It is objectionable from the point of view of the law; it is contrary to reason and common sense; it is a cataclysm which, far from repairing any injury, adds another wrong to the wrong committed; it stands in flagrant opposition to the Christian religion; it is not only altogether unnecessary, but has proved itself to be an unmitigated evil, which should and could be suppressed by the rigour of the law, by stringent adverse public opinion, and by appreciation of the

duties of democratic citizenship. Duelling in England has been abolished by an adequate improvement in legal remedies and by a change in social opinion with regard to it. Both these factors would also be necessary in Russia in order to obtain the same result.

If one realizes that the great majority of the population of Russia—namely, 80 per cent.—who belong to the peasant class, have never had the slightest inclination to fight duels, and that the peasant class all over the world does not fight duels; that the entire population of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the British Empire, the United States of America, and China, have never indulged in this practice, it appears that those believing in duelling form a very small minority. In the twentieth century amongst the classes who hitherto believed in duelling a propaganda has been initiated in favour of abolishing this custom. In the August number of 1908 of the *Fortnightly Review* there appeared an interesting survey of the fight against duelling in Europe, by Alfonso de Bourbon et d'Autriche-Este. According to this article an Anti-Duelling League was formed in 1902 in Germany under the presidency of Prince Charles of Lowenstein, which in 1907 comprised 3,000 members. At a general meeting of that League at Munich on October 13, 1907, it was moved that whoever commits adultery dishonours himself, and by this act becomes incapable of giving satisfaction by arms.

In France a committee was formed in Paris for the same purpose in 1909, under the presidency of General Baron de la Rocque and Admiral Kuverville. In 1903 the first Court of Honour was created in Paris, composed of distinguished military people, amongst whom there was also M. Paul de Cassagnac—since dead—who was previously a noted duellist.

In Austria a national Anti-Duelling League was formed, and in 1902 a general meeting was held at Vienna. An Anti-Duelling Association for students at the University was organized at Vienna in 1905. In 1907 the Ladies' Austrian Anti-Duelling Association was formed.

In Italy an Anti Duelling League was formed at Rome in 1902, and a Ladies' Committee was formed in 1906.

In Hungary an Anti-Duelling Movement was founded in 1902, and at the University at Budapest Courts of Honour for students were created. In 1906 a Ladies' Anti-Duelling Association was constituted at Budapest.

In Galicia, Prince George Tzartoryski in 1903 formed a League for the Protection of Honour, and a Ladies' Association was also founded. Nearly the whole of social Galicia has joined the League, and questions of honour are arranged by juries.

In Belgium an Anti-Duelling League was formed in 1903, and in 1905 rules were drawn up for Courts of Honour.

In Belgium the duel was almost unknown, but none the less an Anti-Duelling League was formed.

In Spain, in 1904, an Anti-Duelling League was started. In 1906 King Alfonso accepted the honorary presidency of that League.

The above-mentioned particulars about the anti-duelling campaign in Europe show that the movement is universal, and that public opinion in Europe is about to be strongly influenced against duelling. The War has brought the movement to a standstill, but as soon as it is over the anti-duelling campaign will continue, and probably be taken up also by Russia.

THE STORY OF RUMANIA

BY FRANCIS P. MARCHANT

To-day it is given us to assure unshakably and in its fulness the work realized for the moment by Michael the Brave: the union of the Rumanians on both sides of the Carpathians. . . . It is in us, in the virtues of the race, in our gallantry, that lives the powerful force which will give them once more the right to prosper in peace, in conformity with the customs and the aspirations of our common race, in a complete and free Rumania from the Theiss to the sea.—*Appeal of King Ferdinand to his people.*

Rumania has rendered incalculable service to the cause of the Allies by her tenacious defence of the Moldavian provinces, and her sons are defending the last remnant of their country's soil against a relentless invader, under conditions of discouragement which it is difficult for us to apprehend. But they have done so with a success that has astonished the German armies, and when the time comes the Allies cannot forget how little Rumania stood to her guns.—*Mr. Lloyd George at Burkenhead, September 7.*

Românul nu piere ("The Rumanian does not 'perish'"). This is the proud boast of a gallant and sorely tried ally, who we are convinced will yet prove its truth. The present kingdom has not been in existence half a century, but the people of the former Moldavia and Wallachia, with their Latin tongue, have shown wonderful tenacity through a precarious career. Our readers will remember the illuminating accounts of social and military conditions in earlier numbers of the ASIATIC REVIEW.

EARLY HISTORY

It is a long way back to the Getæ or Dacians, whom Philip of Macedon and his greater son Alexander met in arms, and

who later forced the doughty Lysimachus of Thrace to pay heavy ransom after defeat. The Romans hesitated for a long time to penetrate beyond Thrace into the Carpathians, until provoked by Dacian incursions. Augustus, Vespasian, Domitian, and above all Trajan, sought with varying success to subdue these hardy warriors, who in their rocky fastnesses baffled the legions, as the sturdy Welsh held their own against Saxons and Normans. The Emperors did not subdue the Dacians without great expenditure of blood and substance, and often the title "friend of the Romans" was bestowed on a chief as a kind of compromise. The government of the earlier Dacians appears to have been by a chief surrounded by strong lords. Roman garrisons and colonies brought the Latin civilization and language, assimilating the earlier Dacians, and the Rumanian of to-day regards his country, in which he includes Transylvania and other old Ruman areas, as being an heiress of old Rome equally with Italy. He can point to roads laid out by Domitian and Trajan, remains of bridges on the Danube, and other monuments and inscriptions. But pressure from northern invaders compelled Rome to withdraw her legions from Dacia as from Britain, and the Daco-Roman population was left to its fate. Before the raids of Goths, Huns, Avars, and Petchenegs, they retreated into the Carpathian woods and mountains. Constantine the Great was successful in arresting the progress of the Goths and shielding the Daco-Romans, but after his death the irruptions could not be averted. Moreover, there was no eastern natural frontier against the Asiatic invaders.

The Slavs, whose early communities covered the vast area between the North Sea and the Ægean, and afterwards concentrated in different principalities, formed a broad belt between the Daco-Romans and their Latin brethren. The Slavonized Bulgarians extended their sway northwards and formed the Bulgaro-Ruman kingdom, destroyed by the terrible Byzantine Emperor, Basil II., the Bulgar-slayer (*Bulgarocthonus*). Then came the Hungarians, of Asiatic origin, and finally the Tartars, who overran Hungary and Russia,

materially affecting the historical future of the latter country, but were checked on the borders of Prussia and the mountains of Bohemia.

MEDIEVAL TIMES

The foundation of the two principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia was largely due to Hungarian influence, which the native element aspired to shake off. Only outstanding names can be mentioned: Mircea the Old, whose Wallachian contingent fought by the side of Lazar at Kossove-polie, celebrated in Serbian ballads, and ally of Vladislav Jagellon of Poland, who overthrew the Knights-Swordbearers at Tannenberg; Vlad the Impaler, against whom Mahommed II., victor over Constantine Palæologus and captor of Constantinople, suffered defeat through a ruse; Stephen the Great, hero of Racova, whose Christian neighbours should have been his friends and not his grasping foes; and Michael the Brave, who for a brief space united all the Rumanian lands under his sway, assassinated through intrigues of Christian princes. The gallant efforts of princes, nobles, and peasants could not save the provinces from Turkish domination, and mutual relations of upper and lower classes were embittered by extortion and oppression. Princes favoured alternately the *boyars* (nobility) and peasants, satisfying neither class. This was the opportunity of the astute Greeks of the Phanar (lighthouse) quarter of Constantinople, employed as Turkish diplomatic and commercial agents. The Turks required huge payments from the Phanariote princes for their privileges, and they proceeded to recoup themselves at the expense of the unfortunate peasantry. "Though individually some of them may not deserve blame," writes Mr. D. Mitrany, "yet, considering what the Phanariotes took out of the country, what they introduced into it, and to what extent they prevented its development, their era was the most calamitous in Rumanian history." Their luxury and frivolity aroused pernicious emulation among the *boyars*.

MODERN PERIOD

The expansion of Russia to the south-west, with corresponding loss to Turkey, brought Wallachia and Moldavia into the growing sphere of European general politics. A colleague of Peter the Great was the Moldavian *hospodar* Dmitry Kantemir, whose son Prince Antiokh Kantemir became one of the earliest Russian European diplomatists and a famous satirist. Bukovina (the beech land) fell to Austria in 1775, in whose hands it has remained. Bessarabia, embodying the name of a former dynasty (Basarab), was ceded to Russia in 1812. The Greek movement for independence was regarded with apprehension, as the principalities feared extension of Greek influence on the one hand and on the other reprisals from the Turks in the event of their success. One improvement was the end of Phanariote rule, granted by the Turks on Rumanian demands, and the appointment of the Rumanian *boyars*, Sturdza and Ghica, as princes of Moldavia and Wallachia. The temporary Russian occupation and administration led to a desire for union of the principalities under one chief, but many years of preparation had yet to be passed through. Intercourse with France, however, stimulated the latent Latin element, and it was largely due to the efforts of the Emperor Napoleon III. that a final union of the principalities was effected under the name of Rumania, with the election by each of Colonel Alexander John Cuza as prince. It must be remembered that there had been frequent foreign occupation of Rumanian territory by armies of rival Great Powers for over half a century.

The new ruler, a whole-hearted adopter of French ideas, during his eight years of power carried out reforms in Church and State, and founded the two universities of Bucharest and Jassy. Educational reforms were based on French legislation. Peasant tenants, exploited for centuries by native feudal lords or foreign masters, became landowners, though, as "Alexander Severus" shows (*New Europe*), this was not in itself enough to secure their welfare. Opposition to Cuza grew

from several causes, and he was compelled to make an ignominious retreat. The National Assembly of the United Principalities approached Count Philip of Flanders, father of our heroic ally Albert, King of the Belgians, and on his refusal of the throne, in view of disapproval from different quarters, Prince Charles (Carol) of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen was unanimously selected. The Emperor Napoleon III. supported the choice, and Bismarck urged the young Prince to accept, even though it might ultimately mean "a pleasant souvenir," while King William of Prussia was dubious. His entry into his realm at Turnu-Severin, where Mr. Ion Bratianu received him, was scarcely dignified; but during his long reign Prince Charles, supported by his gracious and gifted lady "Carmen Sylva" (*née* Princess Elizabeth of Wied), fully justified the promise of his speech from the throne. "Setting my foot upon this sacred soil, I have become a Rumanian. The acceptance of the popular choice brings with it, I am aware, great duties; I hope it will be granted to me to discharge them." Accordingly, the new ruler took in hand the organization of his exploited and backward country, and his death under the menace of war clouds left to his successor a throne respected by rivals who had regarded the former principalities with contempt or indifference. The rise and progress of Prussia furnished the Prince with a model, and in every department, social, financial, and military, thorough-going reforms were carried out. The Prince's efforts were seconded by a line of able statesmen of all parties.

It was many years yet before Rumania secured her independence. The storm-clouds of 1877 were foreseen, and Rumania could not escape the necessity of taking sides with Russia, whose armies passed through her territory on their way to the Danube. The sturdy defence of Plevna put up by Osman Pasha led to Prince Charles taking the field at the head of the Russo-Rumanian forces, which succeeded after terrific struggles in capturing the Grivica and other redoubts and compelling Osman to surrender. The Treaty of San

Stefano incorporated the three southern departments of Bessarabia—which the Treaty of Paris had given back to Moldavia—with Russia in spite of Rumania's protests, and she received the Dobrudja province as compensation, an area of inferior value which was then largely peopled by Orientals. The Berlin Congress gave Rumania but cold comfort, to say the least, and more than one Great Power was actively hostile. In May, 1881, Rumania was proclaimed a kingdom, and an iron crown cast from a Turkish cannon from Plevna was placed upon the head of King Carol I., whose subsequent reign was marked by peaceful prosperity and development. As was to be expected, the King and his Ministers looked to Germany for guidance and support, and Rumania became identified more or less with the Triple Alliance, in spite of Latin affinity and earlier political ties with France. The Germans, by their well-known commercial and financial methods, with which all Europe has long been familiar, carried out a peaceful penetration and conquest of Rumanian trade. The railways, oil-wells, forests, electrical and other industries, were developed by German capital, which founded or acquired control of numerous Rumanian banks. The second Balkan War, in 1913, afforded Rumania the opportunity of gaining more territory in the Dobrudja, with Silistria, in consequence of Bulgarian aggression against Serbia. An important result was a relaxation of the links with the Central Powers, though friendly relations were maintained during the succeeding period of anxiety. With the outbreak of the present conflagration, King Carol was strongly inclined to intervene on the side of Germany, whose victory he appeared to count upon, believing also that Italy would side with her partners of the Triple Alliance; but his representations were decisively rejected by large political and military majorities shortly before his death, and Rumania declared for neutrality. It is not practicable or necessary here to trace out the political developments which led to King Ferdinand's Crown Council, when war was decided upon with Austria-Hungary, the reasons being set forth in their note to Count Czernin.

RUMANIAN ASPIRATIONS

Having brought our historical sketch of the country down to the War, in which her forces are playing a glorious part against apparently overwhelming odds, we will turn to the aims of Rumanian statesmen, of which some are centuries old. It cannot be claimed that present-day Rumanians are a pure Latin race, but they are proudly conscious of their marked Latin characteristics and equally of the Dacian blend. When visiting a Belgian commercial institute some time ago, one of the Professors drew our attention to a Rumanian student, with "a profile like those on Roman coins." Moldavia and Wallachia, which form the present realm of King Ferdinand, do not comprise the areas inhabited by Rumanians. "Rumania Irredenta" includes Transylvania and other districts in Hungary; Bessarabia, once part of Moldavia; and Bukovina, ceded by Turkey to the Empress Maria Theresa. The Carpathians thus form no barrier between races, and in spite of clumsy Hungarian attempts to ignore and burke inconvenient facts, the Rumanian and other non-Magyar elements constitute a vast majority in Magyar territory. Other members of the race (Kutzo-Vlachs or Aromuni) live in Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, and Serbia. Transylvania has been the scene of wearisome contests between the dominant Magyars and the Rumanians, in which the former have succeeded in securing the support of the Crown. (In passing, it is right to mention the fate of the unfortunate Slovaks, kinsmen of the Czechs, who have suffered far greater hardships from the Magyars than their brethren from the Germans. The subtle *Ausgleich* of Count Beust placed the Czechs under the thumb of Vienna and the Slovaks beneath that of Budapest.) For a description of electoral jugglery, intimidation, and corruption, reference must be made to Dr. Seton-Watson's "Corruption and Reform in Hungary." Newspapers have been crushed out of existence or bought over and transformed, and enlightened Rumanians have left Hungary in large numbers to join their

brethren in Moldavia and Wallachia. Mr. Mitrany gives statistics of fines and imprisonment of Rumanian men of letters. Others have been exiled for using their language. The Magyars, whose story of brilliant achievement reads like a romance, and who vigorously asserted their national claims against the governing German influence at Vienna, would not concede that other races had an even better case against themselves. In Bessarabia the Rumanian peasantry have obstinately clung to their language and customs, and in Bukovina have held their own against Germans and Slavs (Ruthenes). The Law of Nationalities of 1868, with its fair promises, has long proved a dead letter, and the Rumanian National Party have undauntedly maintained assertion of their claims, though attempts at appeal to the throne brought about Magyar denunciations of treason and formal dissolution by the Budapest Government. Professions of loyalty to the Magyar Government have been extorted under duress, but the Rumanian population have suffered death, imprisonment, and confiscation for assisting their invading brethren. Rumanian prisoners of war in Russia, unwilling conscripts for the Central Powers, have offered to fight for the freedom of their Transylvanian kinsmen. In Russia a "National Moldavian Party" aims at strengthening Rumanian sentiment in Bessarabia. The economic methods by which the Poles in Prussia have baffled the Germanizing policy of the Government have been successfully adopted by Rumanians and Slovaks, who have created their own banks and acquired growing proprietary interests. As to the Dobrudja, anciently Scythia Minor, a poor recompense for the loss of Bessarabia, Professor N. Iorga has shown that a Rumanian population has persisted during the sway of Byzantium, Bulgaria, and Turkey. There are Turks and Bulgars in that region, and as Rumanians were not favourably regarded by the Porte, they feigned to be Bulgars and spoke Turkish by choice, but the ethnologist could not but recognize affinity with Italians. The authority of the Metropolitan at Braila extended over

the Dobrudja, and religious works from Wallachian printing-presses are found in old churches. What Greek civilization had been unable to complete among the semi-barbarous Thracians was achieved by the Roman conquest.

INTERNAL PROBLEMS

Reforms, political and social, have long been demanded by far-seeing Rumanians, and have necessarily been postponed through the Balkan conflicts and the greater War. Rewards for party services to the detriment of public administration, electoral reform, antiquated land conditions and peasant hardships, and the better treatment of the important Jewish element—these urgently demand attention. King Ferdinand, in opening the Jassy Parliament last December, pledged himself and the Assembly to execution of reforms, and promised the defenders of the soil gifts of land and a fuller share in national affairs. During the last few months this promise has been redeemed. The Rumanian Parliament sitting at Jassy passed by an overwhelming majority the proposed reforms of the Constitution, fully democratizing the land and electoral systems. The system of electoral "colleges," a Prussian expedient which favoured the landed gentry, is done away with, and Rumanian males of twenty-one years of age possess direct votes, while officials are no longer subject to removal with political changes. Harsh conditions of life for the peasantry are a matter of history. The once free peasant proprietors gradually came under the control of feudal lords (*boyars*), who settled with the princes or Turkish overlords. The Phanariote régime introduced a state of bondage, with peasant revolts. Prince Cuza carried through some measures of amelioration, in the face of *boyar* opposition, but the peasant lost pasture rights, and for lack of capital was always in a state of debt to a master whom he probably did not know, who perhaps mortgaged his estates and lived in luxury far away. Grants of land, free days of labour for himself, and peasant banks,

were steps in the right direction, but left much to be desired, and repeated outbreaks were only put down by military force. Following King Ferdinand's example of a grant of all Crown lands, other corporate estates are to be divided, and large landlords compensated, so that the valiant peasant fighter has happier prospects before him in a future the date of which cannot yet be predicted. The Jewish question requires careful handling, as the State had to guard against grave economic consequences through cosmopolitan financial operations, and the Jew, excluded from landownership, political status, and certain occupations, was liable to military service, but could not hold a commission. It was undoubtedly the case that the immigrant Jews obtained an important control of the trade of the country, to the alarm of the Rumanians, who placed them under civic disabilities. When the new Greater Rumania is a *fait accompli*, with a reformed and widened franchise, the Rumanian Jew, with his co-religionists now under Magyar domination, will have every incentive to prove himself a patriot and work for the welfare of the State.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

As in Russia, the bulk of the Rumanian people are tillers of the fertile soil ; but, side by side with modern agricultural instruments like the steam plough and thresher, the spade and flail are still used by the humbler class. The peasant is a great observer of Nature, and regulates his operations by the behaviour of beasts and birds, besides keeping up old superstitious practices. Large numbers were accustomed to assist in harvest work in the Hungarian plains, as well as reaping their own abundant cereals. The salt-mines and oil-wells, staple industries like agriculture, have temporarily been seized by invading hordes, though a military mission from England rendered the oil-wells useless before their arrival. The contrasts of rich and poor have hitherto been marked, as labour was cheap, while Bucharest citizens enjoyed all the

gaities of Paris and the Riviera. Names of large farms perpetuate the fact that in olden times they had been conferred on meritorious Roman legionaries. King Carol took keen interest in his extensive forest domains. It is likely that peasant industries, as in Russia, Austria, and neighbouring Balkan countries could be developed with advantage and interest. Hardy, taciturn shepherds live in the mountains under conditions little different from those of their Dacian forefathers. The winter season enforces idleness, and the produce of autumn is all required for the needs of usually prolific families, in which early marriages followed by impoverishment are the rule. There is an organized medical service for rural districts, but the peasant clings to old domestic cures and charms. The need of education was long unrealized by villagers, and illiteracy was widespread; but now elementary schools have been improved and higher education, including technical training, is within the reach of all. Like their Slav neighbours, the women are experts with the needle, and the native costumes are of charming design. Ready-made garments used to be regarded with contempt, implying that the wearer was lazy or incompetent.

Greek Orthodoxy, in communion with other Eastern Churches, is by far the prevailing religion, and the Rumanian is a devout but broadminded believer. Reference may be made to Mr. Oliver Bainbridge's interview with the Primate. The clergy are State paid, and receive a good many private fees. Latin Christianity was first adopted by the Rumanians after Constantine's edicts, and on the conversion of the Bulgarians the Slavonic faith and language were introduced when the Rumanian provinces were under Bulgarian control. As in neighbouring countries, godparents come within degrees of affinity as regards marriage. Sunday is a day of secular enjoyment as well as of Church services, and while the older folks enjoy the convivial glass the young men and maidens exercise themselves in dancing in a ring, a survival of Roman times.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Although the Roman colonists and legionaries mingled with the original Dacian inhabitants of ancient Dacia, the dominant language was Latin, which has ever remained the ruling influence. Latin words are retained which have not passed into the other Romance languages. Thanks to the Bulgarian domination, Slavonic words were introduced, and the Turkish and Phanariote elements contributed Turkish and Greek influences. Writers who endeavoured to rid the language of foreign words turned to French, and at present a student of Latin, French, or Italian is often able to understand the drift of a sentence. The so-called Daco-Rumanian dialect is the prevalent one, while Macedo-Rumanian is spoken by the Kutzo-Vlachs. The following words proclaim their origin: *cal*, horse; *omul*, the man (*ul*, postponed article, a peculiarity of Bulgarian and Albanian, also of Danish; the three Balkan languages apparently adopted it from the original Thracian-Illyrian language); *lacrima*, tear; *sufletul*, the soul; *strada*, the street; *caldura*, heat; *fluvul*, the river. Of Slavonic origin are *vreme*, time; *voinic*, hero; *bogat*, rich; *a goni* (Russian *gonit*), to hunt; *ogînda*, mirror; *pricina*, cause; *bolnav*, sick person; *vesel*, cheerful. The Russian says *Slava Bogu*, glory to God; the Rumanian, *Slava Domnului*. Michael the Brave is Mihai Viteazul or Bravul; Stephen the Great is Stefan cel Mare. The capital is *Bucureşti*, the city of enjoyment (*bucurie*), said to be derived from the name of a shepherd, Bucur.

For long Slavonic was the literary and ecclesiastical language, and Rumanian the vernacular. The first printing-press was set up by Matthew Basarab at Bucharest, his Moldavian contemporary, Vasili Lupul (Basil the Wolf), following his example at Jassy. The best known name in Rumanian literature in Western Europe is the late Queen, Carmen Sylva, an unusually talented authoress in several languages. One of her ladies, Mdle. Helene Vacarescu,

made the folk-tales embodying Latin, Slav, and other elements, known to English readers. Queen Marie, daughter of the late Duke of Edinburgh, has published a descriptive work, "My Country."

GENERAL POLITICS

In the nineteenth century, when changes took place in more developed countries of Western and Southern Europe—*e.g.*, France and Italy—with relative rapidity, modern institutions were transplanted to Rumania, of lingering Turkish and Phanariote traditions, by eager enthusiasts. Prevalent illiteracy among the population rendered the masses incapable of political responsibilities, and the policy of the upper class gentry became a contest for office. The "two-party system," says Mr. Mitrany, was most suitable to such conditions, but "Liberal" and "Conservative" were little more than labels. The Conservative-Democratic Party was the creation of Mr. Take Ionescu, perhaps the most familiar name in this country, and an ardent Anglophile.

The old Liberal Government, led by Mr. Ion Bratianu, were in power for two years after the Allies' declaration of war with the Central Powers, and maintained a prolonged neutrality. This was inevitable, as the situation of Rumania was delicate.

A Cabinet crisis occurred in December last, when four members of the Conservative Party were given a place in the Cabinet, but the Liberals continued, however, to assume the sole direction of affairs. There were grave differences of opinion between the Liberal and Conservative members of the Government concerning the long promised internal reforms, and equally with regard to foreign policy. Mr. Bratianu induced the Senate to accord him a vote of confidence for his past, present, and future policy; but the Conservative Ministers considered it impossible to continue in office, unless the Cabinet was reorganized so as to give equal share to both parties, and demanded a national ministry.

The military situation in Galicia hastened a party truce, and a new Cabinet was formed as follows :

ION BRATIANU	...	President of the Council, and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
TAKE IONESCU	...	Vice-President of the Council, without portfolio.
U. TITULESCU	...	Finance.
General IANCOVESCU	...	War.
M. CANTACUZINO	...	Justice.
G. MARZESCU	...	Agriculture.
I. DUCA	...	Education and Public Worship.
A. CONSTANTINESCU	...	Interior and Supply.
VINTILA BRATIANU	...	War Material.
B. DELAVRANCEA	...	Industry and Commerce.
D. GRECEANU	...	Public Works.
M. PHEREKYDE	...	{ Without portfolio.
E. COSTINESCU	...	

Two members of the previous Cabinet were not included—Mr. Victor Antonescu (Justice) and Dr. Istrati (Industry and Commerce).

Several members of the old Conservative Party favoured intervention on the side of the Central Powers. One was Mr. Peter Carp, a respected veteran Foreign Minister, and another was Mr. Alexander Marghiloman, whose views wavered and finally crystallized against the Allies. These two politicians remained in Bucharest with several others.

CONCLUSION

On the first anniversary of Rumania's entry into the war on the side of the Allies, it was announced that an Anglo-Rumanian Society had been formed in London (hon. secretary, Mr. A. W. A. Leeper, 26, Buckingham Gate, S.W. 1). The Society's objects are :

To promote closer relations between the British Empire and Rumania by mutual study of the life, literature, and economic conditions of both countries.

To support and to make known Rumania's just aspirations.

To spread a knowledge of Rumania, its political and geographical position in the Near East, and its importance for the welfare of the British Empire and for the maintenance of peace in Europe.

In a letter from Lord Bessborough, Chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee, it is pointed out that "relations between Rumania and the British Empire have hitherto been scanty and spasmodic, largely owing to mutual ignorance and indifference." It is true that we are remote from Rumania geographically, in spite of increased travelling facilities in peace times, and the number of Englishmen who have a thorough first-hand knowledge of the country and people is small ; but we can join in the tribute of admiration, sympathy, and warm encouragement in her fiery ordeal, with hopes and belief in her ultimate happy deliverance. To the full liberation of the Rumanian people the Allies are indeed pledged. *Românul nu pierde.*

SOME AUTHORITIES CONSULTED.

- R. W. Seton-Watson, D.Litt. : " German, Slav, and Magyar " (Williams and Norgate).
- R. W. Seton-Watson, D.Litt. : " Rumania and the Great War " (Constable).
- A. W. A. Leeper : " The Justice of Rumania's Cause " (Hodder and Stoughton). The writer of this article is greatly indebted to Mr. Leeper for advice and assistance.
- D. Mitrany : " Rumania : her History and Politics " (Milford).
- N. Iorga : " Droits Nationaux et Politiques des Roumains dans la Dobrogea " (Jassy).
- The New Europe* : Various articles.
- National Geographic Magazine* (U.S.A.).



THE JUBILEE OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

(FOUNDED 1866)

CHAPTER VII

ON November 17, 1893, a deputation of the Association waited upon the Viceroy-Designate, the Right Honourable the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, at the India Office and presented the following address :

“ MY LORD,

“ The East India Association, a body including members of every shade of political opinion, established for the disinterested advocacy of the rights and interests of the princes and peoples of India by the opportune discussion in London of all questions affecting their welfare and by other means, desire to offer to your Lordship their sincere congratulations on your appointment to the exalted office of Viceroy and Governor-General.

“ The Council of the Association recall with pleasure your distinguished father's tenure of the same office, full of promise only disappointed by its all too short duration ; and they venture to express their confident hope that the coming Viceroyalty will fulfil all the expectations that were then justly entertained.

“ The discussions that have been recently held or are shortly to be initiated, under the auspices of our Association, indicate our appreciation of the extreme gravity of many of the questions that await your Lordship's consideration in the East.

“ By the time that your Lordship takes up the reins of

office, Sir Mortimer Durand's Mission to Cabul will, it is hoped, have succeeded in mitigating anxiety in regard to the North-West Frontier. But other frontier questions in the neighbourhood of the confines of Burma will also demand the serious and watchful attention of the Viceroy of India, as well as of the British Government at Home.

"We may also entertain the hope—without presuming to express any opinion on the merits of the case—that the tentative measures recently adopted by Government for meeting the great Exchange difficulty may prove successful, and thereby afford some much-needed relief to the exhausted finances of the Empire. Whilst great good may result from currency reform, it seems likely that some important Indian industries may find, in these recent changes, reasons for asking the special consideration of the Indian Legislature. But the Indian Government seems utterly unable to protect the interests of its people in the matter of the Home charges. Even in the case of expenses imposed on India to gratify British opinion, the burden of them, to a large extent, is laid on Indian revenues; and the present Secretary of State has publicly expressed his extreme apprehension of the growing tendency to multiply these unfair exactions. The increasing pressure of expenditure on civil and military administration—however opinions may differ as to the necessity of this increase—will certainly demand your Lordship's vigilant attention. The question must inevitably arise, in view of the Imperial considerations involved in the adequate defence of the frontier, of dividing the military expenditure between the Indian and British exchequers, and proportioning that expenditure to what is absolutely required for the defence of the Empire.

"In connection with financial considerations, we would venture to draw your Lordship's attention to the fact that the demands of the Supreme Government have tended to cripple the resources of Provincial Governments, and to undermine the principle of finance introduced with such beneficial results by Lord Mayo.

“This Association has always earnestly advocated the promotion, by every possible means, of good feeling between Europeans and all the Indian races and communities, and the extended employments of Indians in all the public capacities for which suitable candidates can be found. And recent events have added to this desire an earnest wish for the removal of all contentions and asperities between the various communities of our Indian fellow-subjects.

“The varying phases of the great Land Question, as they affect different parts of India, must ever present to the Viceroy subjects of anxious thought. This Association has constantly advocated various means of improving the economic conditions of the Indian cultivator; and though opinion here is divided as to the merit of a permanent, as opposed to a periodical, settlement, we are agreed that where British faith has been pledged to a permanent settlement no infringement of it should be permitted. In this connection the Association has recently considered the burning question of the Behar Survey; and the land system of Madras, as compared with those of Bombay and other provinces, has also been a fruitful subject of discussion.

“In these and similar questions, we venture to submit that recent changes in the constitution of the Legislative Councils of India justify a belief that those Councils—now to some extent representative of the people of India—will enable your Lordship’s Government to arrive at just conclusions suited to the peculiar conditions of the country. And in every case we desire to express our belief that changes in existing laws or methods of administration should be well considered beforehand with reference to the wishes, so far as they can be ascertained, of the various sections of the Indian peoples.

“The Council is glad to know that the relations between the Paramount Power and the Princes and Chiefs of India will be in your Lordship’s charge in a special degree. And we venture respectfully to submit that the time is ripe for some considerable advance in the carrying out of that just and

enlightened policy which was advocated by Lord Salisbury in his speech at Stamford in 1866, was adopted by Lord Mayo, and received its best development in the rendition of Mysore at the hands of Lord Ripon, the restoration of the fortress of Gwalior to the Maharaja Sindhia by Lord Dufferin, and similar acts of justice and goodwill. That policy has evoked from some of the greatest Princes of India very striking manifestations of friendliness and loyalty—especially in the establishment of Imperial Service Corps, and in the spontaneous offer of the Nizam to take the field on the frontier if it should ever be necessary. The remarkable success that has unquestionably attended the Native administration of Mysore may well encourage your Lordship to extend that policy, as opportunity may offer, and also to employ more largely than heretofore Native statesmen and magnates in high and responsible positions.

“We would specially draw the attention of your Lordship to the political importance and the justice of preserving the sovereignty of the States that have entered into subordinate alliance with the Government by treaties.

“We ask permission to submit to your Lordship, from time to time, the records of our proceedings as set forth in the Journal of the Association. And, in conclusion, thanking your Lordship for the opportunity of laying this expression of our views before you, we most heartily wish you God-speed, and the greatest success and happiness, in the high and arduous task that has been confided to you by Her Gracious Majesty the Queen, Empress of India.

“We have the honour to be, my Lord,

“Your Lordship’s most obedient servants,

“R. J. MEADE, *Chairman*

(*On behalf of the Council of the East India Association*).”

LORD ELGIN : Gentlemen, I have only to say that I regret very much the short notice which I was obliged to give you for this meeting, which I am afraid may have been incon-

venient to you. Of course, it has put me also under the disadvantage that, as I have only seen your Address not very long ago, I should at any rate not be able, even if I desired it, to put in shape any formal expression of views in response to it. But I venture to think that you, gentlemen, will not have expected that at my hands. You, gentlemen, in presenting me with this Address, have very properly described me as holding the position "Viceroy-Designate." I think you have defined my position very accurately. A "Viceroy-Designate," as I understand it, has perhaps to some extent ceased to be a private individual, but he has not assumed any formal official function. It therefore seems to me that it follows that, in the consideration of the questions of which you have given me a most admirably concise statement here, and to the extreme gravity of which you yourselves call my attention, you will at once admit that, even if I had any opinions in regard to them as a private individual, it would be impossible for me to express them, and at the same time, of course, it is out of my power to enunciate any official policy. Therefore I can only say with regard to that, which is, of course, the greater portion of the Address, that I shall certainly give the questions which you have brought under my notice my most careful consideration when the time comes that I have to deal with them.

At the same time, gentlemen, I hope you will understand also from me that I am extremely grateful to you for meeting me; because I think it cannot but be of advantage that there should be a body, including members of all political parties, who can set aside those divisions which naturally divide us in this country, and devote themselves to the considerations of the welfare of the princes and people of India. We all—British (if I may say so as a Scotsman) and natives—are subjects of the Queen-Empress, and the more we know of each other, both here and there, I am sure will be to the advantage of the Empire. I might also add in relation to that subject how grateful I am to you for the reference which you have made to my father's services. Certainly, I think

the son would lose some of the advantages which he might derive from his father's career if he did not bear constantly before him that one of the chief characteristics of his father's rule in the different parts of the world in which he was called upon to administer government was the sympathetic treatment of the various nationalities who came under his control. I cannot, of course, say now, without any experience of the duties falling upon him, what power the Viceroy of India has in bringing together the various nationalities and promoting good feeling between the people of India and the other subjects of the Queen; but I can assure you, gentlemen, that if there is any method by which I can properly use that influence in that direction it certainly shall not be overlooked. I am grateful to you for your promise of submitting to me at future times the proceedings of your Society. From what I have already said, I think you will understand that I shall value the expression of your views here as bearing upon the subject which I shall have to take into consideration elsewhere, and I can assure you that those proceedings, if sent to me, shall not be received formally, but shall receive every attention that, in the time at my disposal—which I believe will not be very much—I shall be able to give them. Well, gentlemen, I do not know that you will expect from me any long speech. I have only to say that I am extremely grateful to you, and to you as representing the larger body to which you belong, for the very kind personal wishes which you have expressed with regard to myself. I am quite aware that I am going to undertake a very great responsibility, but I also know that I shall be supported in the Government of India by a service which is unrivalled throughout the Empire, and I should hope that the relations between that service and the natives whose government they are called upon to administer will not suffer in cordiality from any act of mine.

On May 2, 1895, Sir Lepel Griffin presided over a meeting of the Association at the Westminster Town Hall, when Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.I., read a paper on "Sir

Robert Sandeman and the Indian Frontier Policy," at which General Lord Chelmsford, G.S.I., the Rt. Hon. Lord Halsbury, and the Rt. Hon. Hugh Childers, were present. In closing the debate on this paper, Sir Lepel Griffin noticed two characteristics which distinguished Sir Robert Sandeman: one was his handwriting, which was "the worst and most illegible of any that ever formed the despair of the Secretariats," and the other his "ignorance of the language of the Tribesmen"—for Sir Robert was never able to acquire any linguistic knowledge except a little Hindustani. Nevertheless, "by his inherent force and ability he successfully triumphed over these grave difficulties."

At the annual meeting of the Association held on May 27, 1895, Sir Richard Temple requested the Association to accept his resignation of his position as President and to elect a successor. He had served as President for fifteen years, and Sir Lepel Griffin voiced the great sense of gratitude of the Association for all he had done, not only for the Association, but for India, and their regret at losing him as President.

In succession to Sir Richard Temple, the Rt. Hon. the Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., LL.D., accepted the position of President.

At a meeting held at the Westminster Town Hall on December 13, 1895, Mr. (now Sir) Walter Lawrence read a deeply interesting paper on "Kashmir." The Hon. Mr. (now Earl) Curzon occupied the chair.

Dr. G. W. Leitner, who joined in the debate on the paper, pointed out that Mr. Lawrence had evidently made himself acquainted with the language of the land, and had thus acquired the sympathy and the confidence of the Kashmiris. He then dealt with Mr. Lawrence's suggestion as to how the employment of European capital for developing Kashmir industries could be carried out, and how some of the difficulties confronting the English in their own country, such as existed in Lancashire, could be solved. If some of the plant could be transferred to India, where labour was so cheap, it would at once solve the distress of the manufacturers, affect

the exchange question favourably, and confer good on the country itself. With regard to the suggestion as to the development of the silk industry, there were a number of handicraftsmen from different populations which might be settled in Kashmir, such as the Armenian silk-weavers of Brussa, Jewish and Mennonite emigrants, and English colonists ; but he should not like them to go in and *supplant* the durable manufacturers of Kashmir, but rather develop the country on indigenous lines, which were now, unfortunately, neglected. Whatever was done, the Kashmiri himself ought ever to be treated as the owner of the soil. Another point touched upon by the lecturer was the absence of crime and vice among the Kashmiris, which showed they did not deserve the character which had been given them as one of "the three races to be avoided whenever there should be a scarcity of men." As to the beauty of Kashmir, they would all know the Persian lines : "If there is a Paradise on earth, here it is—it is here." The description of it in a recent article in the *Nineteenth Century* and the graphic account given by Mr. Lawrence were charming contributions to English literature, but it was with the practical suggestions in them that the Association was chiefly concerned.

The Chairman congratulated Mr. Lawrence on "the extremely happy and picturesque manner of his address, characterized not only by his obvious familiarity with the subject, but also by graces of style and lightness of humour."

He did not, however, quite follow the lecturer in his admiration of everything to be found in the valley. Srinagar was considered extraordinarily beautiful. He (the Chairman) had found its beauty, such as it was, slatternly, tumble-down, and decayed. Mr. Lawrence had talked with sympathy about the artistic manufactures of the country, but, remembering what they used to be, as could be seen in museums, he thought the present artistic manufactures were declining. The old decoration of arms and leather had died out. The silks and enamels you could buy at the Army and Navy

Stores much easier and rather cheaper than at Srinagar, and for his own part he did not think they were particularly beautiful ; but there was the most exquisite wooden panelling, and he was surprised that it was not more introduced into English houses for ceilings and walls and wainscoting and other purposes. The Chairman then continued as follows : " There is another aspect in which Kashmir has an interest, though I do not agree it has to everyone. It is one of those places with which, according to the theories of some amiable persons, England as the ruling authority in India ought to have nothing to do. Kashmir lies outside and beyond the great Indian plains, separated by an immense range of mountains from the bulk of India ; and just like Afghanistan, like Nepaul and Burmah, it might be said that this country, lying outside the pale of the Indian system, is one with which we have no particular connection and with which we did wrong to interfere." Again it might be said : " There is a native Ruler, there is a native system of Government, native institutions and habits. Why should you intervene ? Why should you interfere with these innocent people ? Why should you introduce your foreign customs and methods of government amongst them ? Why should you acquaint them with the irrepressible features of Mr. Thomas Atkins ? I think there is a very good answer to all those queries. I should undoubtedly rank myself with those who hope that the Native rule in Kashmir may continue. I do not think there is anything more unfortunate in Oriental countries than the substitute for the Native rule, with all its picturesque interest and its facility of adaptation to the circumstances of the people and the country, of the hard-and-fast and somewhat pedantic accuracy of the British system. I hope very much that the system will continue, but at the same time, when I contrast Kashmir as it is now and Kashmir as I read of it in history, I can only be thankful for the sake of Kashmir that that amount of interference which the British Government has put forward has taken place in that country. We hear from Mr. Lawrence that in the days of the Mogul Sovereigns the

Valley of Kashmir was their playground and pleasure. True; but I suspect very much that where Kings sport subjects are not always at ease, and whatever might have been the state of the Kashmiris in that time, we know perfectly well that under the Pathan and Sikh rule oppression and crime and iniquity of every description was rampant in Kashmir; and yet if we go there now and travel in that country we find peace and contentment; we find good government under English auspices, and good work, like that done by Mr. Lawrence himself, in the country; and to any of those amiable but, as I think, mistaken dogmatists who are always laying down the law that England ought not to interfere in countries that lie immediately outside the direct scope of its government, I would point to Kashmir and say: There is an instance where the happy compromise is struck between leaving native government and native institutions alone and exercising that amount of interference and control which is required to bring justice and good government to the people."

The Hon. Mr. (now Earl) Curzon then went on to pay a tribute of praise to the Imperial Service troops of Kashmir, organized and looked after by Colonel Neville Chamberlain—a body of troops (Doquas and Ghooklas) which during the recent campaign in Chitral covered themselves with glory, fighting not only for their own country, but for the British Raj.

During the year 1892-93 arrangements were made under which the papers and proceedings of the Association were published in the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, a copy of which was supplied to every subscribing member. At the same time the continuing of the Journal of the Association was preserved by copies of the Proceedings being printed separately by the REVIEW.

At the close of the session of 1895-96 a very interesting paper was read by Mr. J. B. Pennington, under the Presidency of Sir Roland Wilson, on "The District of Tinnevely before and after its Conquest by the British"; and this was followed at the beginning of the following session by two papers by R. Sewell, M.C.S., on "India before the English." These papers, and also a paper by General H. S. Cunningham,

K.C.I.E., on "Indian Famines," led to very animated discussions. Mr. Pennington said : "As time goes on, the memory of what India really was in pre-British days grows fainter and fainter, so that the present population, having never been accustomed to anything but Law and Order, are apt to compare our rule with that which is supposed to have prevailed in some imaginary golden age, of which real history has no record whatever. There is, indeed, no reason whatever to suppose that there ever was any such golden age in India ; such evidence as we have points quite the other way ; but even if in the remote past there ever was a time when Tinnevely enjoyed the blessing of uninterrupted peace and a settled Government, that is not the time with which the British administration should be compared. All its apologists need to prove is what the government of the country would have been if the British had not deposed, or set aside, the corrupt and effete administration of the Nawab. This, so far as Tinnevely is concerned, only commenced in 1744, so that we did not even upset an old and settled government. Now, if anyone, after a dispassionate review of the condition of the district during the whole of the eighteenth century as compared with its condition since the last Poligar War and the final assumption of the government by the British, is still of opinion that the old free and lawless life was preferable to, and more suited to the country than, the present reign of law and order, because the little wealth the people were able to acquire was all spent in the country, he is welcome to his opinion, and we may even admit that it may have been pleasanter and more interesting for some of the Poligars ; but it certainly was not so for the great bulk of the inhabitants."

Mr. Sewell was convinced that in the minds of the majority there was much misty ignorance regarding the condition of India before the advent of the British. He says the case stands broadly thus : "Many Hindus are convinced that their country was better governed by their own rulers than it is now, and some people in this country think the same thing. Well, if that be the case, Her Majesty's Government ought to learn the truth. It would lead to better government in future. And if it is not

the case, the Hindus ought to learn the truth. It would lead to their greater contentment in the future ; and contentment means happiness. So that, for the benefit of both sides, investigation can, I think, only lead to good results. But at the outset the enquiry must be conducted on purely historical lines, since it is on those lines alone that we can proceed with safety. We want the actual facts ; nothing else is of any value."

"It is true," he adds, "that ignorance of the real condition of their country in past days is not confined to the people of India, for in England the people are singularly backward in this respect ; but as a nation the English possess what may be called the historic faculty. It is the want of this historic faculty that leads the Hindu into the land of dreams, the land of poetry ; and here he is at home. He does dream of the Past, but the dream is in most cases a mere vision of non-realities. He dreams, as I said, of there having once been a time when all India, from the Hindu Kush to Ceylon, lay under the Imperial sway of magnificent monarchs of supreme power and dignity, the like of whom the world has never seen, under whose benignant and enlightened government flourished all the Arts and all the Sciences in unparalleled splendour. He dreams that under this government the people were more free and less heavily taxed, that the taxes were somehow less burdensome, less irritating ; that there was little or no oppression of the people by corrupt officials. As to the Sciences, I once heard one of these dreamers, a young Brahman who spoke excellent English, declare in a lecture that the knowledge of medicine arose in ancient India, as well as the knowledge of every other science ; and such was the power of diagnosis possessed by the ancient Hindu doctors that, whereas one of our poor ignorant latter-day Surgeons is compelled to examine the person of a patient to ascertain the cause of his illness, in old India the Leech could at once come to a right conclusion merely by touching the end of a stick pushed through a hole in a curtain by a person hidden behind it. There was similar excellence, he averred, in all branches of study."

Mr. Sewell declared that ancient Indian Emperors were a "myth," the very name India being little more than a century old ; and "Hindusthan" no more meant "India" than "Han-

over " meant " Germany." The races were just as distinct, the language just as various, as the races and languages of Europe.

The monarchy of Asoka did not extend beyond the limits of Hindusthan proper ; while King Siledilya of Kananj (500 A.D.), a very powerful sovereign, held only the North of India.

Mr. Sewell then dealt with taxation in ancient times, and showed that in the Coimbatore District alone Major McLeod found that over and above the Land Tax there were no less than sixty-one recognized taxes, besides some thirteen or fourteen special taxes.

On the occasion of Queen Victoria's first Jubilee the East India Association submitted the following address to the Queen Emperor : " The Council of the East India Association, which has been founded to promote the public interests and welfare of your Majesty's Indian subjects, ventures to offer on behalf of its members, both in England and in the East, most respectful and loyal congratulations on the occasion of the commemoration of the sixtieth year of your most auspicious reign.

" In no part of your Majesty's extended dominions has there been greater progress than in India—in population, in commerce and national prosperity, in respect for law, in railway communication and irrigation, in medical relief, extension of education and in general enlightenment, while the deep sentiment of personal devotion and loyalty on the part of your Majesty's Indian subjects is the rock on which the Government of India most surely rests.

" That the blessing which your Majesty's rule has conferred upon India may be long continued is the fervent prayer of the Council and Members of the East India Association."

The more important papers of the year 1897-98 were, one on " The Separation of the Judicial from the Executive Functions in India," an important lecture delivered by Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., with Lord Reay in the chair ; another, by Mr. C. L. Tupper, C.S.I., Commissioner Rawal Pindi Division of the Punjab, on " Early Institutions and Punjab Tribal Law," the chair being taken by Sir Lepel Griffin ; and a highly interesting paper by Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., M.P., on

"Agricultural Banks for India," with Sir Raymond West in the chair. The season concluded with an appropriate and timely lecture by the distinguished traveller Mr. Archibald Colquhoun, on "The Railway Connection of India and China."

Following a paper read by Mr. Robert Cust on "The Grievances of British Indian Immigrants in Natal," the Association addressed a very strong letter to the Secretary of State for India on the subject, protesting that as the English Colonial Office was, by the traditions of the office, unable or unwilling to compel a self-governing colony to behave or to deal with coloured settlers in accordance with the ordinary dictates of justice, it was time for the Governor-General-in-Council to take action and protect the Indian subjects of the Queen by forbidding the supply of indentured coolies to Natal until adequate provision should have been made by the Colony for the just and proper treatment of free settlers.

In the course of the year 1898-99 the Association sustained an irreparable loss in the death of Dr. G. W. Leitner, LL.D., who had been a most active member for twenty-five years. His great attainments, and his distinguished services in almost every branch of Oriental learning, have been recognized by the scientific and literary world and English and foreign Governments. In the East India Association he took the warmest and most constant interest, and the Council felt that there was no one who could adequately fill his place, or sustain and animate its discussions with the same wealth of knowledge on all difficult problems of Oriental, and especially Muhammadan, sociology, ethnology, law, language, and sentiment. His enthusiasm and untiring energy were always at the service of our Association. For some years the proceedings of the Association, with addresses and discussions delivered before it, had been published in the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, which he owned and edited, with good results both to the Association and the Review, which, under his control, had risen to the highest rank as an authoritative and liberal exponent of the best opinions on all questions relating to the Eastern world.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

THE MIDDLE EAST

ACROSS ASIA MINOR ON FOOT. By W. J. Childs. (London: *William Blackwood and Sons*, 1917.)

Reviewed by PROFESSOR L. W. KING.

Most people probably regard Asia Minor very much from the point of view of the old skipper of the mail steamer which carried Mr. Childs along the southern coast of the Black Sea to Samsun, the starting-point of his long tramp. We can all recall the shape of that great peninsular projection, shut off by high mountain ranges from the rest of Asia and washed on its other three sides by seas. To the skipper the two thousand miles of coast-line between Beirut and Trebizond represented only so much exacting navigation. The region behind the coast he filled with savage, little-known people. He saw it from the sea as a fastness where anything might happen, a territory from which his calling, happily, kept him well removed. It is true that the war has lent additional interest to any study of the interior, but it is an interest concerned in the main with strategic problems, and with the line of the Baghdad Railway. As to the country itself and its peoples, the skipper's rather vague notions are probably widely shared.

Mr. Child's book thus appears at an opportune moment. Not that it was written for any political purpose, or with the idea of imparting instruction on problems connected with the war. In fact, one of its great recommendations is that, though published this year, it is not a war book. It is the record of a journey undertaken some years ago, during the Italian war with Turkey, and it describes the country as the author saw it before the present war had cast the Near and Middle East into the melting-pot. Its very detachment from our present problems thus lends it a certain freshness, and this is increased by the author's own outlook. "For one," he writes, "who likes to connect scene with event; who in spirit can get himself into the past; who delights in the sun and wind and open sky upon unknown roads of adventure, this ancient Eastern land holds pleasure beyond most." It was the lure of the East and of

the open road that attracted Mr. Childs to Asia Minor, and the plain tale he tells succeeds in conveying to the reader much of the pleasure he himself experienced.

The main roads of Asia Minor are better than those in any other part of Turkey, and it was by choice, not from necessity, that Mr. Childs journeyed on foot. Most travellers, indeed, ride or go by *araba*. But if time permits there is much to be said for travelling in the peasant manner, sleeping in the poorest *khan*s, or wherever shelter can be found, and so mixing with the varied company of the highway. The author had planned to walk from Samsun accompanied only by a Turkish servant with a pack-horse to carry the baggage. For in this way he could, from the outset, have followed mountain tracks and have struck across country at will. But he started late in October, and it was necessary to get beyond the region of impassable snow before the winter came on. To do this he had at first to travel faster than was possible with a pack-horse loaded with three hundred pounds of baggage. So he put his baggage in an *araba*, or covered spring waggon drawn by two horses, whose pace could exceed his own, and there was thus no danger of their falling behind. His first *araba*-driver, Achmet, with whom he went the first two hundred miles to Sivas, was a Bulgarian *mohadje*, or Mohammedan immigrant, a class noted for industry and enterprise. He served him well, though Mr. Childs did all his own cooking, and only on one occasion, when in the *khan* at Tokat and under critical observation, did he summon his aid for any domestic operation. The next hundred and thirty miles he wished to cover in four days, in fear of bad weather, and here he had bad luck. For Mehmet, his new driver, a small red-headed Moslem with feeble and watery eyes, a striking contrast to the burly Achmet, he distrusted from the first; but no other driver would undertake the journey at that season. In spite of taking a wrong road, he managed to guide Mr. Childs to Talas four days before the snow descended, and rendered the roads behind impassable.

Haste was then no longer essential. So with the help of an American doctor in Talas, Mr. Childs secured a new Turkish servant, Ighsan by name, who owned a pack-horse, and met him two days later at Kaisariyeh. It was now possible to leave the roads and travel by any path or track that seemed inviting. But some additional discomfort was entailed. With an *araba* it was possible to halt at midday for a meal and rest. But winter travel with a pack-horse meant trudging the day's stage without a stop, as that would mean unloading and reloading, which was no light affair. For the burden included saddle-bags filled with tinned goods and cheeses; a large canvas kit-bag stuffed with bedding, folding-bed, rug, and sleeping bag; two well-filled Gladstone bags; the wooden cooking-box, an ingenious contrivance made for Mr. Childs by an Armenian at Marsovan, and containing in separate compartments the vapour stove, and various stores in aluminium boxes and canisters; a large linen bag for carrying bread, another for fruit, nuts and potatoes, and yet another for an enamelled iron wash-basin. In the cavity at the top of the pile reposed Ighsan's hairy cloak, his bundle, and pair of old shoes. The

water-bottle hung on one side, Ighsan's old umbrella was thrust under one of the ropes, and the author's mackintosh and straw hat secured under others. And on top of all Ighsan, or his successor, Mustapha, would sometimes perch himself. It says much for the two pack-horses' staying powers, as well as for Mr. Childs' determination and endurance, that during his journey of 1,300 miles the rate of travel for the days actually spent upon the road works out at no less than twenty-five miles a day.

No bloodshedding nor hairbreadth escapes are to be found in Mr. Childs' narrative. In fact, only in the quality of adventure, he tells us, did realization fall short of what might have been expected. Brigandage and robbery, fighting between troops and deserters, murder and forcible abductions, took place before and behind him; but he missed them always, sometimes by days, sometimes only by hours. Though he has no sensational incidents to recount, his record of lesser excitements, of wayside sights and incidents, can be enjoyed by anyone with any taste for travel. There is no monotony about the country traversed, consisting as it does of high mountain ranges and tablelands. The highest point passed in the journey was little less than 7,000 feet above sea level, on the bleak plateau which forms the watershed between the upper Euphrates and the Kizil Irmak. Among the most interesting physical features he describes are the strange "hatted rocks" near Urgub and the thousands of sugar-loaf cones in the celebrated valley of Guereme, many of them hollowed out to serve as dwellings. His route, too, took him by several famous cities, among them Amasia, with its imposing but no less mysterious "Tombs of the Kings"; Sivas, whose mosques and minarets still bear witness to its former greatness as one of the Seljukian capitals; Kaisariyeh, below the great mass of Mount Argaeus, the overlord of all Turkish mountains; Marash, on the steep slope of Akhar Dag, and out of the usual way of travellers; Tarsus, Aleppo, the Cilician Gates, and other places that are the scenes of legend, tradition, and history. Mr. Childs has the historical sense, and it is part of the charm of his book that he shares with his readers the visions of the part which each famous site called up for him. He also passes many shrewd judgments on men and things of to-day. While impressed with the defects of Turkish rule, he can do justice to the better qualities of the race, as evinced by both the peasant and the official classes in the interior of Asia Minor. It is satisfactory to know that even in the most remote villages he never met a peasant to whom the name "Ingleez" was unfamiliar, or did not stand for a more or less friendly figure, vague and uncertain, no doubt, but carrying definite prestige. We learn to know intimately his own servant Ighsan, and at Adana are as sorry to part with him as Mr. Childs was, when he thought he would have had to return from that point to Constantinople.

We may add that the book is admirably illustrated by photographs; but it has one serious defect in that it is provided with no index. Some books need none, for they are put to one side as soon as read. But this book contains much of geographical value, and the reader must compile

his own index if he wishes to save himself prolonged hunts in referring afterwards to points that have struck him. We hope that in any future edition, Mr. Childs will save him that trouble.

RUSSIAN BARDS FOR ENGLISH READERS*

Many of the great Russian poets have translated into their own language extracts from the works of Schiller, Goethe, Byron, Shelley, and other famous bards. The results are, in most cases, exquisite masterpieces, for the simple reason that the Divine spark, being international, laughs at differences of language or dialect. The inspiration of Schiller is not lost when expressed by Jukovski—for Jukovski is a poet, one of those "whom God has whispered in the ear," and who can twist words into strings of pearls and rubies. Judging by the number of people who come before the English public in the rôle of translators of foreign verse, there seems to be a general impression that no such qualification is needed for the task, and that with just a little knowledge of French or Russian one can confidently set about rewriting, say, Lamartine or Pushkin, for the benefit of one's compatriots. The dire results of this system confront one unblushingly on every bookstall, and only make one marvel at the extent to which their perpetrators are lacking in the sense of humour. Experience, indeed, prompts one to look askance at new-comers in the field, and to approach their work with more diffidence than hope. It was in this spirit that I turned to Madame Jarintzov's first volume of translations from the Russian poets. Somewhat listlessly, I began glancing through its pages, thinking to read a line here and there, and throw the book angrily aside. But—wonder of wonders!—a Kryloff fable, all intact, with its humour, its lilt, and its sagacity, irresistible in its witty wisdom. Who could help but smile unconsciously and read on? And there, a little farther, a short lyric from Pushkin, a tear in its heart, a sob in its voice—one's eyes grow dim as one reads. Then, Lermontoff's great epic phantasy, "The Demon." Something grips hard at one's heart-strings; translators, theories, criticisms, are forgotten; there is only the consciousness of that far-away Caucasian dream, of the interrupted marriage festival, of convent bells, of the tempter's voice, of the white soul of Tamara. . . .

Time passed, the pages turned, I read on and on, almost through the whole volume, and then pulled myself up with a start: had I been reading Russian or English? The very sound of the Russian language is there, the very echo of Russian colloquialisms, the very key and colour of Russian song. These translations are amazing! Pushkin, Lermontoff, Alexei Tolstoy, Nekrasoff, and others—all these most national of Russian singers stand revealed with perfect clearness to the English mind, their glory untarnished by manipulation, their melody ringing true like a perfectly tuned instrument. The words, indeed (one rubs one's eyes and looks

* "Russian Poets and Poems." Vol. I., "The Classics." By N. Jarintzov. (Oxford: Blackwell.) 10s. 6d. net.

twice to make sure!), are undeniably English, but the character, the shape, the turn of each phrase, the keynote of it all, is curiously and quite indescribably Russian. Madame Jarintzov, having set about her task in an entirely new manner, has achieved a positive triumph. Here is no English journalist manufacturing bad English poetry on vaguely understood Russian themes. What we have before us is not English poetry at all, and has no pretension as such. On the contrary, the writer of these ideal translations is a Russian, and, with a pen shaped for writing in her native tongue, she has presented to the English mind Russian poetry in the Russian manner. She has thrown to the winds all English rules of style and versification; she has invented expressions and words that somehow manage to convey quite unerringly the meaning of seemingly untranslatable lines; she has kept intact throughout the original metres and rhythms; and she has translated all these poems literally word for word! The achievement is remarkable, and one can only express the hope that Madame Jarintzov's admirable work may find its way into the hands of all sincere students of Russian literature. They will discover in its pages not paraphrases nor echoes, but Russian poetry itself, unchanged and undiluted, intact with all its idiosyncracies, its beauty, its national peculiarities.

And now just one word of criticism. Is it not a pity that the prose sections of an otherwise delightful volume have not been revised by an English hand? Madame Jarintzov's articles on the lives and literary influences of the various poets are interesting and instructive, but their English is as un-English as that of the poems—this time, however, unconsciously, and with far less happy results. It is impossible, for instance, not to smile at such phrases as: "They, most lively, explained to me . . ."; or, "The entrain was greatly embellished by the creative impulses"; or, "Pushkin, neither man nor poet, would not lose his chance." Then, a short poem is called "a contrastic little thing"; a military school is "a Marcian establishment"; simple folk are "aborigines"; and Pushkin has friends among "the society, the military, and the literary." These needless absurdities are pointed out here in no unkind spirit, but only as a suggestion that the fault may perhaps be easily remedied in a future edition. In publishing her admirable translations, Madame Jarintzov deserves the gratitude of the English reading public, and her promised second volume will be greeted with pleasure and interest. V. M:

THE UNION OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES*

BY DOUGLAS JERROLD

"THE world must be made safe for democracy"—that is the text of this eloquent book by a distinguished American scholar and publicist, in which an alliance of the English-speaking peoples is suggested as the necessary safeguard of the future peace of the world.

Mr. Beer is no believer in the inevitable war; the fact that it has occurred is to him, as to all thoughtful political writers, of more importance as a warning of war's dangers than as a proof of war's necessity. Foremost among the causes of the war he places the universal acceptance of the theory of the unlimited sovereignty of nationalities which held, and still holds, the field in current political thought.

In a brilliant essay entitled "Nationalism and Sovereignty" he traces the assumption by every political unit in the civilized world of an unlimited independence, and their abnegation of superior authority. This sovereignty, borrowed by patriotic publicists of all countries in the sixteenth century from the philosophic armoury of the papacy, has led Europe along the path of an admitted anarchy. Europe has been divided by it into a number of politico-legal units independent of each other, atomic in conception, out of harmony not only with the moral judgment of the unity of civilization, but out of harmony with the very self interest of the nations concerned. It is this theory of sovereignty, Mr. Beer claims, which has been the bar to the formation of a supernational authority for settling disputes, which has undermined the usual authority of the papacy for securing the actual administration of international justice, and which, even in the face of the disastrous results of the world war, tends to cast ridicule on any scheme for the creation of an armed international executive.

In the British Empire to-day we have a perfect example of five nations each with a distinctly limited sovereignty, all living without loss of dignity, and guaranteed by the mutual recognition of their respective rights and obligations from the threat of internecine war.

* "The English-Speaking Peoples," by G. L. Beer. Macmillan, New York. 1917. \$1.50.

The path lies clear before us : we can extend such a comity of nations to embrace all English-speaking peoples and our European allies, or we can organize the British Empire into a federal state with one sovereign executive, and recreate the anarchy of the past. For the former policies, though out of regard for English susceptibilities he does not draw the alternatives so bluntly, Mr. Beer's book is an eloquent plea. He sees in a loose informal league of nations, with its corner-stone and the guarantee of its strength in the union of the English-speaking peoples, the sane hope of the future. And he sees in the British Empire as it exists to-day the historic parallel. He sees the sovereignty of nations unlimited in the ordering of their domestic affairs, but limited internationally by a recognition of the equal rights, obligations and legitimate ambitions of other states. The test of the true equality of right and of the actual legitimacy of ambition will be, as it is in the inter-state relations of the Empire to-day, the pursuit by the covenanting nations of an unselfish policy aimed solely at the greater good of civilization as a whole.

It is in the formation of such a league of nations that America can be of paramount service to the cause of humanity. Her adhesion to an inner league of English-speaking peoples would be a guarantee which she alone could give that the league existed for no purposes of political or economic aggression. A federalized British Empire with unlimited resources, claiming an unlimited sovereignty, might well be mistaken for an attempt to dominate the world. A free alliance with the greatest trade rival, our great competitor, would be a guarantee of our good faith. But of far more value would such an alliance be as an object-lesson for all time in true political wisdom : a league of free nations, independent but mutually agreeing to common action in all external policy, and recognizing that in the sphere of *Welt politik* they had no claim to independence of action or the guidance of self-interest. The very existence of such a league, and of such supernatural machinery as it would necessitate, would be an incalculable good. As a concrete recognition of the unity of morality and policy it would inaugurate a new era of political thought. What is more, decade by decade new nations would join it, envious of the untroubled quiet and security of the members. The sureness of its joint action against any aggressive agent, even the least of its members, would be a sure guarantee of future peace.

Is America prepared to abandon her tradition of isolation to ensure a fair trial to such a project? That is the problem to which Mr. Beer addresses himself in his concluding chapters. He traces the origin and development of the Monroe doctrine in an interesting passage, and claims that Washington, and to a great extent Monroe himself even, was by no means so whole-hearted in support of it as modern pacifists claim, and we think he proves his contention. But he does not incline to underestimate the force of its hold on modern America. The growth of a localized patriotism he thinks is more dangerous a bar to a European policy than the mixture of races. Foreigners are apt, he says, to

Americanize completely in two generations: and such, indeed, is our experience; and in the height of anti-German feeling two members of our Cabinet are of German descent. But local patriotism is apt to blind America to larger issues.

The Pacific, the Middle West, and the North Atlantic sea-board tend instinctively to produce a different standpoint. We think, however, that he over-estimates the dangers of this. If America's participation in a league of nations were to be dictated by self-interest, manifestly the lack of common interest among her citizens would be fatal. But the influence will be moral, not material. It is the reaction from the blood and suffering and moral wreckage of war that will lead the world along the path of peace, if anything does. And it is an axiom of political science that it is easier to unite a nation in an unselfish cause than pursuit of gain. That is why war always unites a people once it has broken out—all have a common burden to bear. And the same influence, the same self-sacrifice, the same loyalty to an idea must be made to subserve the new ideal of international welfare. And we look to America, instructed by her publicists and statesmen, to lead Europe in the paths of an unselfish idealism. We shall not look in vain.

OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

INDIA OFFICE,
WHITEHALL, S.W. 1.

September 18, 1917.

The Secretary of State for India has appointed Miss Alice Sergeant to the Indian Educational Service to be Inspectress of Schools in Madras.

Telegram from Viceroy, Revenue and Agriculture Department, dated September 11, 1917.—Rainfall has been scanty in Kashmir, North-West Frontier Province, and Madras Deccan; fair in Assam, Bengal, Chota Nagpur, Bihar, Bombay Deccan, and Madras South-East; normal in Upper Burma, Orissa, United Provinces East, Central India East, Central Provinces, Hyderabad South, and Mysore; in excess elsewhere. Prospects normal.

Telegram from Viceroy, Revenue and Agriculture Department, dated September 4, 1917 (received at India Office, 10 a.m., September 5).—Rainfall has been scanty in Kashmir, Berar, and Madras (south-east); fair in Orissa, Bihar, and Mysore; normal in Burma, Assam, Bengal, United Provinces (east), Punjab (east and north), Baluchistan, Central Provinces (west), Hyderabad (north), and Madras Deccan; in excess elsewhere. Prospects are good.

Telegram from Viceroy, Revenue and Agriculture Department, dated August 28, 1917 (received at India Office, 10.20 a.m., August 29).—Rainfall has been fair in Bay Islands, Upper Burma, Bengal, Bihar, United Provinces (east); Mysore, Malabar, and Madras (south-east); normal in Lower Burma, Assam, Orissa, Chota-Nagpur, United Provinces (west); Central India, Central Provinces (east); Madras Deccan, and Madras Coast (north); in excess elsewhere. Prospects are normal.

HOME RULE FOR INDIA

A SUGGESTION

DR. JOHN POLLEN thinks that the simplest way to give India "Provincial Home Rule" in the manner that would most commend itself to the masses of the people would be the restoration of the Native Princedom (Daily Mail, September 19).

Dr. Pollen is not the first person to make this or a somewhat similar suggestion. If we mistake not, the first move in this direction was made many years ago by Mr. John Bright, and the plan is certainly one which has met with the approval of Sir Walter Lawrence and many others. It seemed also to be foreshadowed in Mr. Dadhabhai Naoroji's famous dictum that "the worst Native Rule was to be preferred to the best foreign," and was certainly set forth by Mr. Malabari's "ultra-patriotic Native Politician," who used to declare that "it was better that a hundred people should die under Native Rule than that ten should be saved by British interference."

Seeing that advanced Native Rulers like the Gaekwar of Baroda, H. H. the Nizam, and the Maharajas of Mysore and Bikanir are giving so much satisfaction to modern Indian Reformers—on what may be called Congress lines—it would, perhaps, be no bad thing if some such form of Government could be extended in the direction desired by Dr. Pollen. The question is, can it? Take, for instance, the case of the Madras Presidency. Except in the great Zamindari districts it would be difficult to find Chiefs intelligent enough to take charge; and even if such Chiefs were forthcoming it is not easy to see how a District like Tinnevely could be suitably divided up, even supposing the great body of ryots, who have been holding their land direct from Government, would agree to such a revolutionary change of tenure. There are, doubtless, a considerable number of old Paliyams (*i.e.*, States of the old fighting Poligars), but the total area of such States is trifling compared with the adjacent Ryotwari lands.

In the Bombay Presidency, after the Town and Island had been constituted a "free city," the task of finding suitable Native Rulers would present little, if any, difficulty. Poona, and most of the Dekkhan, might be restored to the Satara and Kolhapur families, and the limits of the

Gaekwar's territory extended so as to include Ahmedabad and Surat, etc., while the Panchmahals could readily be apportioned amongst the Chiefs of the Rewa Kantha, and considerable additions might be made to the territories of the Scindhia and Holkar.

The apportionment of the Panjab and the U.P. and Oudh would be a comparatively simple affair, while the Maharajahs of Burdwan and Durbhungha, etc. (or possibly even Mr. Surendranath Banerjee and Members of the Tagore family) would be ready to render service in ruling Bengal.

One great advantage certain to arise from the proposed change would be the reduction in the enormous expenditure at present incurred on the Judiciary and in litigation in India. It has been calculated that the people of poor India now spend more than fifty millions sterling every year on litigation in British Districts, whereas Native States understand how to curtail or prevent such deplorable extravagance. For this reason alone it would seem not undesirable to move forward cautiously and gradually on the Home Rule lines suggested by Dr. Pollen.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

NOVEMBER 15, 1917

INDIAN NATIVE STATES AND BRITISH POLICY THROUGH TWO CENTURIES

BY "DEWAN"

THE foreign policy of the Government of India may be classed under two heads, namely, that with relation to the Native States, and that with relation to the countries immediately adjoining the Indian frontiers. The first-named is probably the more important of the two from the very fact that internal differences must spell ruin, and before any idea of India can be obtained a knowledge of the States and their relations with the Central Government is necessary.

The first question which naturally demands an answer at the very outset is : " What is a Native State ?" and, for the benefit of the uninitiated, a definition is necessary. Sir William Lee Warner, in his work entitled " The Native States of India," says : " A Native State is a political community occupying a territory in India of defined boundaries, and subject to a common and responsible ruler, who has actually enjoyed and exercised, as belonging to him in his own right, duly recognized by the supreme authority of the British Government, any of the functions and attributes of internal sovereignty." Put shortly, a Native State is a defined portion of India, governed by a Native ruler, who holds his Sovereignty under British authority. Having thus settled what the Native States are, it is next necessary to discover how they came into being.

The Native States comprise about one-third of the total area of British India, and they have come to be known as such from various causes. Before the Muhammedan dynasty at Delhi came to an end, a number of viceroys and adventurers had thrown off their cloak of allegiance to their Emperor and had formed kingdoms of their own. With the gradual decay of the central power these were able to maintain the course they had adopted, and hence, when the Delhi dynasty came to an end, there still remained separate Musalman kingdoms scattered about all over India. The most important of all the Chiefs in India at the present day is the Nizam of Hyderabad, and he represents the great Muhammedan kingdom of the South of India which severed its connection with Delhi in the seventeenth century. Other States, again, are ruled by Rajput Chiefs, who boast that they can date back sixteen centuries in direct succession. These chiefly consist of the States of Gujerat, Rajputana, and Central India, who successfully held their own when the Muhammedan tide swept over the peninsula.

Then, again, there are those States which are ruled by the descendants of the great Maratha Chiefs. The Maharajah of Kolhapur is the representative of the great Shivaji himself, while Indore, Baroda, and Gwalior, are other evidences of the time when the Maratha Confederacy overran the greater part of India, and, indeed, came very near to conquering it altogether. Lastly, there are those States which were made so by the British themselves. When the Sikhs were overcome, in 1849, Kashmir and Patiala and one or two others were left to Sikh rule, the first-named having been previously given to the Chief of Jammu for a monetary consideration. And so it is apparent that the States differ from one another in many ways besides religion, though now bound together in a common interest under British authority; and, having seen how they came into being, we may proceed to discover how they continue to hold their positions under British rule.

When the English and French were fighting for supremacy in the South of India, the friendship or enmity of the important rulers in that part was a matter of great consideration, and to gain their active aid was the most prominent idea of both sides.

Many engagements were entered into, and when the French were finally overthrown and the English were left masters, the latter had to find out by experience the way in which they could best retain their position. They had no analogy from history to guide them, and this fact made matters so much the more difficult. The first policy they followed was that of keeping themselves to the territory they had won, and ignoring what went on beyond their frontiers. This state of things, however, could not endure for long. Quarrelling and fighting could not be expected to stop short at an imaginary boundary, and wars in neighbouring States were bound to affect the peace of the country under British possession.

It must not be forgotten that when the British first came to India the Native States were not as they are now, but were separate kingdoms, whose rulers owned no overlord, and it was soon made manifest that the differences between Hindus and Muhammedans prevented any combined efforts of the two great religious denominations against the English, and the aid of a Hindu ruler against a Muhammedan one could nearly always be obtained, and *vice versa*. Moreover, intrigue for power, even among rulers of the same religion, in many cases kept them divided. The task of conquest, or compulsory amelioration, thus became a comparatively light one, and had the kingdoms combined to drive the white invader out, the handful of Europeans would soon have been exterminated. But this was not the case, and the remote possibility of an Empire under British sway in India became in time an accomplished fact.

It is not necessary to go into the histories of all the kingdoms of India, and, indeed, to do so might easily fill several volumes. There are those who say there is no History of India at all, and this is true when it is considered that the history of India is nothing more nor less than the histories of its various conquerors; and the States are themselves but survivals of their conquests.

The policy of the East India Company could not remain for long one of indifference as to what went on beyond their frontiers. Those who would not enter into and keep to the terms of treaties and engagements had either to keep themselves well

behaved or suffer the penalty of conquest. This latter alternative meant one of two things. Either it meant a treaty entered into and the State continued under Native rule, or else it meant the taking over of the conquered territory as part of the British dominions. As may be imagined, this latter was only resorted to in extreme cases, and Native rule was continued wherever possible. The East India Company were at first averse to adding to their conquests, and had no intention of subduing nations and founding empires.

This policy is, indeed, the same to-day with the exception that all the States owe allegiance to the King of England as their overlord. Only in very special and serious cases is annexation resorted to.

The quelling of the Mutiny of 1857 cast a change over the whole of the political landscape of India. From this time it came to be recognized that the Native States were to be subordinate partners in Empire, and that the ruling of India was to be on a kind of mutual liability basis. For some time after the Mutiny the Chiefs were uncertain as to their fates. With the restoration of British supremacy, even more firmly established than before, many of them thought that their States would be brought under direct British rule, and anxiety was not finally dispelled until Lord Canning announced, in 1858, that Queen Victoria, on taking over the rule of India from the East India Company, guaranteed the Native States so long as they remained loyal. One great factor in bringing about the Mutiny, which is not generally recognized as such, was the annexation of the State of Oudh, in 1856, on account of the sufferings of the people under Native rule and the incompetence of the ruler. Satara had suffered the same fate, but for another reason, in 1848; while Nagpur, some five years later, also had ceased to be a Native State. Precedents were being created. Those who did not look on the introduction of British methods of administration with favour were fearful of their fate should they fall foul of the people to whom they paid allegiance.

When the Mutiny was over and the power of the British was

left even stronger than it had been before, those who had shown a passively or actively hostile attitude had, of course, the greatest cause of alarm, while those whose attitude had been truly Eastern—by which is meant those who waited to see which side was likely to come victorious out of the struggle before they made any definite move—were afraid that their hesitancy would be taken into account rather than their ultimate loyalty. Those who had been loyal from the first knew they had nothing to fear from the Government they had helped in its distress.

Thus it was that a feeling of relief spread over the whole of India when Lord Canning made known Queen Victoria's intentions, and with the granting of Sanads of adoption joy took the place of apprehension. These Sanads were written guarantees of the Government's intentions, and are best explained by their own wording, which is as follows :

" Her Majesty being desirous that the Government of the several Princes and Chiefs of India who now govern their own territories should be perpetuated, and that the representation and dignity of their houses should be continued, I hereby, in fulfilment of this desire, convey to you the assurance that, on failure of natural heirs, the adoption by yourself and future rulers of your State of a successor according to Hindu law and the customs of your race will be recognized and confirmed. Be assured that nothing shall disturb the engagement just made to you so long as your house is loyal to the Crown, and faithful to the treaties, grants, and engagements which record its obligations to the British Government."

A slight alteration in the wording was made in the case of Muhammedan rulers.

The Sanads were eagerly sought, and were not given cheaply. There are many States to this day which do not possess one, and in some cases applications for the granting of one have been many times refused. This does not necessarily mean that if a sanadless Chief dies without a male heir his State will be taken over and become part and parcel of the country under direct British administration. As has been shown,

British policy is averse from this course being taken. But a Sanad is an honour rather than anything else.

By Hindu law, if a man has no male issue he must adopt a son to inherit his property. When the last Rajah of Satara died, in 1848, he left no son to carry on his name, and had omitted to adopt one. Had such a thing occurred in these days, a successor would in all probability have been chosen by the British Administration. But Lord Dalhousie, who was Governor-General at the time, ruled that the State must lapse to Government, it not being anyone else's. Nagpur suffered the same fate in 1853 for similar reasons. Certainly, in both these cases it was also deemed the only course to take for the good of the people, and public considerations had not a little bearing on the courses taken.

There are certain rules understood under which the successor is to be chosen, though these are nowhere authoritatively laid down; they follow, rather, from precedent. There is no code of rules to regulate British relations with Native States. Thus, Government must approve of the adoption, which must not be done in secret; and it must be notified of the intention to adopt. So it will be seen that, strictly speaking, a State not possessing a Sanad of adoption is little worse off than one which has been honoured with one. The last sentence in the wording of the Sanad constitutes a saving clause, and so long as the rule of any State is in accordance with the times, and satisfies British ideas, there is no danger of its ceasing to be such.

Since the Mutiny of 1857 the relations between the States and the British Government have been guided by the understanding that without each other's support neither can stand. Each helps the other in the task of improving conditions in India and in the work of governing. On the one hand, there is the knowledge that were the English to leave India the hardy tribes beyond the frontier would once more swoop down on the land as they have so often done before, or else that some other powerful European nation would turn its attention to the country which appears to have been made for the purpose of being

conquered. On the other hand, the English realize that the support of the States as a whole is a necessary condition of their rule. The Chiefs have become much more peace-loving since the time that British sway became established. Formerly they were in a state of constant war and turmoil, never knowing when they might not be fighting, and the consequence was that a spirit of warlike restlessness was engendered. Things are very changed now. The Chiefs and people have come to see that, after all, peace is better than war. They understand what a just and impartial rule is, which was an impossibility when war and intrigue were the moving factors of a State's existence.

There are many distinctions between the administration and rule of British districts and those obtaining in the Native States. No effort is made to force British ideas on the rulers, and, so long as the States progress and there is no undue oppression of the people, no interference to alter existing methods takes place.

It must never be forgotten that it is chiefly in the Native States that one gets a vision of the real India. Indian ideas of government differ vastly from Western ones, and it is most difficult often for a European to see things from a Native point of view. The customs of ten centuries cannot be changed in a few years, and the native of India is probably the most conservative man in the world. There is nothing he abhors so much as change of custom. He dislikes and distrusts new innovations, and, like a true philosopher, cannot see why some thing which has suited his forefathers for a thousand years, and appears good enough for him, should be changed. With change he anticipates trouble, and it is this dislike of adopting a new custom which in many cases hinders advancement and progress.

The Native States afford a good example of the divisibility of sovereignty. The Chiefs of India share their rule with the British Government, and this fact is thoroughly understood and recognized by them. They are not independent sovereigns, otherwise they would have international powers, and be to all

intents and purposes the equals of the lesser Powers of Europe from an international standpoint. While they may make their own laws and regulations, still they may not negotiate with other countries, nor even among themselves, without reference to, and by permission of, the Government of India. All negotiations between the States must be referred to the Political Officers concerned, and submitted through them to Government. No representative of any other nationality may reside in the States, and a foreign policy is unknown.

So do the States stand with reference to the outside world and each other, and the reasons are fairly obvious. Prior to the final expulsion of the French from India they were the resort of adventurers of that nation and of others. Under the influence of these men the Mysore wars took place, and the Peishwa of Poona, previous to his overthrow at the Battle of Kirki, in 1817, entertained a number of French officers in his Army.

The existence of the States is not without drawbacks. Political offenders turn towards them for refuge when "wanted" by the British Government. When, in 1829, Lord Charles Bentinck abolished "sati"—or immolation of widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands—the rite was for many years carried on in the Native States. It is not every State which has the laws in force in British India for its own, though in most cases the English Law Codes in India are taken as a basis, and in a greater or lesser degree exercised. However, no Chief is forced to make the same Codes applicable in his State. Many States have been under a British Administration some time or other, and it is the laws of these States which most nearly resemble English Law as contained in the Indian Penal and Criminal and Civil Procedure Codes.

In a country where formerly offences were punished with the most appalling cruelty, it is nothing short of wonderful to see how quickly conditions have changed. A subject of a Chief now gets a fair and impartial trial at the hands of judges who are appointed by the Chief. Gaols suitable for the accommodation of malefactors are built, and fair treatment is meted

out. Perhaps the greatest difference between the States and surrounding British districts is the promptitude with which legislative and administrative duties are carried out in the latter as compared with the delay which takes place in the former. This is, of course, a matter of temperament. The Indian cannot, as a rule, understand hurry and bustle. He is quite content to sit down and think of nothing in particular before getting on with his day's work. And this he will perform with many intervals. It is in this respect that the English differ from all other conquerors of India. The climate is naturally enervating, and there are many occasions when even Englishmen feel little inclined to do anything but go to sleep. The Western conquerors are little likely to fall into that state of dissipation and luxury in which the Muhammedans indulged. Rome paid the price of luxury with its very life. The Musalman rule, too, degenerated from a hardy race of men into an enervated people who in time were unable to keep what they had won with the sword. This danger is, fortunately, a remote one. The stream of new English blood into the country is continual, and, indeed, there is little chance of becoming luxurious and dissipated even were the inclination present.

The system of education in the States and otherwise is much the same. The candidate for educational honours passes through one of the many schools which exist, and after a course at one of the Universities obtains—or does not obtain, as the case may be—the degree he desires. The schools and colleges bear no resemblance to their nominal counterparts in England. There is no system of boarding, and the students attending them live in their own way where they like. There is thus no supervision, and the discipline which is the very life of an English public school is conspicuous by its absence.

The results of mistakes in education are felt just as much in the Native States as outside them—in fact, one might almost say more so. The agitators feel they are safer when not under the eye of the British police, and, consequently, they go where there is less danger. This is one of the principal difficulties the Chiefs have nowadays to contend against.

Those who take vigorous measures to put down sedition find no easy task before them. Their own lives are often in danger, moreover, and more than one Chief has been threatened with death for his efforts in the cause of loyalty.

The subject of sedition naturally leads to that of arms and armaments, and in this matter the States of India are playing a greater part yearly. In former days, whenever a Chief gave military aid to the East India Company, he did so by placing the whole, or part, of his forces at the disposal of the Company. These forces were raised on a feudal basis, and it was the practice of the Chiefs to give grants of land to influential persons in their States on the condition that they should come forward with a fixed number of fighting men when called upon. The armies thus constituted were nothing more than a badly armed and totally undisciplined rabble, who were far more proficient in the art of plundering and looting than they were in the art of war. As was natural, when fighting with disciplined troops they proved more of a hindrance than a help, and eventually, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the system was dropped. Two plans were now resorted to. Either a grant of money was accepted instead of active aid, or bodies of troops were kept up in the States, officered by English officers. This scheme, too, proved a failure, for the Mutiny of 1857 found all the contingents wanting with the exception of those of Hyderabad and Kolhapur.

Finally, a third plan was tried, which appears to meet with complete success. This was the formation in the States of those Chiefs who offered them and could afford to keep them of Imperial Service troops. These troops are officered by the men of the better classes in the States in which they are maintained, and an English Inspecting Officer pays occasional visits to see that they are kept up to that state of efficiency which modern warfare demands. The Imperial Service troops are of all sorts. Some of the larger States maintain cavalry, infantry, and units of transport. Bikanir possesses a very efficient camel corps, while some of the chiefs of Northern India pay for the cost of a company of sappers.

Other States, again, are represented in the Imperial Service scheme by signalling units, but none possess modern artillery. Since the dark days of the Mutiny there have been no efficient artillery in India except British batteries—though one must except certain mountain batteries which are kept on the Frontier. The Imperial Service troops are quite apart from the forces maintained by certain States for their own armies and to uphold the dignity of the Chief. These forces vary in size with the importance of the State and the revenue of the Chief, but they are not armed with modern weapons of precision, neither do they strive after modern efficiency. Of the "private" armies, those of Hyderabad, Gwalior, and Baroda, are perhaps the most important. Special mention must be made of Kolhapur and the Okhamandal Coast of Baroda.

In 1844, the Gadkaris—or hereditary defenders of the forts in the Kolhapur State—together with the Sibbandi, or local militia, rose in rebellion against the Minister who had been appointed by the British to rule the State during the minority of the young Chief. Matters became so serious that British troops had to be despatched to put the rising down. This they did after much difficulty, and the forts were dismantled. Now arose the question as to what was to be done to give the warlike men of the State employment so as to keep them out of mischief. To this end the Kolhapur Infantry were formed, under British officers, who were to have complete charge of them. The plan proved most successful, and when the 27th Native Infantry mutinied at Kolhapur, in 1857, the local corps remained loyal, and saved the situation. The result is, they have kept their status, and, although armed with weapons which are somewhat out of date, are a most efficient body of men.

The Wagir Corps, on the Okhamandal coast of Baroda, had its beginning in much the same sort of way. The Wagirs are a somewhat truculent tribe, who, in 1861, broke out in rebellion. To keep them in order, a corps of them was, therefore, formed on the same lines as the Kolhapur Infantry. They are commanded by a British officer of the Political Department under

the Government of Bombay, and the scheme is in every way a success.

The Imperial Service troops are liable for service in cases of emergency side by side with British troops, while the remaining State troops, who are merely for the protection of their States, are not liable for service outside them. The Imperial troops number about 20,000 men. Such are the military forces of the Native States of India ; but the question of armaments is not complete with an account of them only. There is the more important question of their relation to the forces of the British Government.

Since the ruling of India is maintained by the co-operation of the Chiefs, so does co-operation play its part in the defence of it, and for this reason those forming the alliance are required to give when necessary such aid as the paramount power may see fit to ask. This aid takes several forms. Firstly, if the supreme Government wish to form a Cantonment in any State the land necessary for the purpose is handed over, and British jurisdiction established over it. Within the boundaries of the Cantonment the land is to all intents and purposes British territory, and remains so until the troops are taken away and the site of their recent occupation given back.

Similarly, military roads in the States are kept in proper condition by the British Government, and whenever troops are on the march on them the Chiefs must render all necessary aid which is in their power. This takes the form of having camping grounds set apart, wells cleaned out, and the giving of assistance in obtaining supplies.

One of the most important treaties entered into with any of the Chiefs of India was that with Gwalior, in 1844. This treaty was one in which the strength of the Gwalior army was fixed at 6,000 cavalry, 3,000 infantry, 200 artillery, and 32 guns. In 1860, the infantry were raised to 5,000 and the guns to 36 ; but the treaty was intended to act as a guide to other States. There are some States which can show no treaty of any description with the British Government ; but they, none the less, are subject to the great unwritten laws which take the

place of a tablet of guiding rules. Thus it is that all treaties which have been entered into with States are equally applicable to all Chiefs who were not participants, and it is in this way—by Case Law, in fact—that the actions of the Chiefs are regulated. One treaty only has been made which has in any way attempted to embody the whole matter in a nutshell, so to speak. This was the treaty of 1881 with Mysore, when, at the end of a long British administration, the State was once more placed under Native rule.

But even this Article—which contains twenty-four comprehensive clauses—does not include solutions for every possible contingency, though it contains a saving clause to the effect that “the Maharajah shall at all times conform to such advice as the Governor-General in Council may offer him with a view to the management of, and any other objects connected with the advancement of His Highness’s interests, the happiness of his subjects, and his relations to the British Government.”

The two treaties above mentioned are probably the most important of all that have been signed. In them lies the whole of the source of the present relations with the Chiefs, though, of course, they were not executed until a great number of earlier ones had been entered into. A very important agreement, too, was the treaty with Kolhapur, in 1812. By this the State was guaranteed British protection; but in the next clause it was expressly stated that this protection would be withdrawn if the Rajah entered into any hostilities with other States, or did not surrender all differences to the British for adjustment. Times changed, however, and Kolhapur was bound to accept protection and its conditional clause whether it wanted to or not.

There is no treaty which expressly lays down any standard regulating the laws in force in the territory of any Chief. They may make their own laws provided these laws are for the good of the people, and are neither unnecessarily severe or unnecessarily lenient. There have been too many cases of the consequences which misrule brings in its train to leave any doubt as to the interference of Government in the recurrence of like

cases. In 1834 the State of Coorg in the South of India was annexed for gross misrule, and at the time the people were promised that they would never again be placed under a Native Administration. The case of Oudh, in 1856, has before been mentioned. It suffered the same fate for a similar reason after many years of suffering, misunderstanding, and procrastination.

The happenings in Cambay in 1890 are instructive. A section of the Chief of that State's subjects rebelled against him, and he applied for British aid to put the rising down. This was given on the understanding that no conditions were attached to the giving of it. When quiet was restored the Chief was informed that the British Government had done what circumstances obliged it to do, but that it could not give aid to enforce submission to an abused authority.

The war has become a new and totally unexpected factor in the development of the States. It has broadened their outlook, strengthened their position, and has proved that the policy steadily pursued by the British Government in its dealings with them during two centuries has been one of unbounded success and foresight. It has confronted the supreme test of war and has risen superior to it.

THE HINDUISM OF THEOSOPHY

BY F. H. BARROW, I.C.S. (RETIRED)

No one can read much of the serious literature of the day without seeing that there is a current setting in favour of the life which rests on mysticism and occultism. The ancient beliefs of the East are being explored, and, as a consequence, the wonderful subjective experience of Hinduism has been made the basis of a modern creed under the name of "Theosophy." Mrs. Besant is its main exponent, and her chief works are—"The Ancient Wisdom," "Esoteric Christianity," "Thought Power," "In the Outer Court," and "A Manual of Theosophy," which show literary ability and a great power of advocacy. Then she has an able lieutenant in Mr. C. W. Leadbeater, who, in "Man Visible and Invisible," takes us into the innermost shrine of this occult science. Their ideas and beliefs are full of interest, though eerie at times, and contain much that is high-souled and beautiful; and of the genuine sincerity of Mrs. Besant at least there can be no doubt. But the same cannot be said of the first founder of this religion, for Mr. Maskeleyne, in his "The Fraud of Theosophy," gives a very racy and unedifying account of Madame Blavatsky, who seems to have freely used deception when her occult science did not carry her far enough. Consequently much prejudice has been raised against Theosophy, and one naturally asks how it has survived at all; and we are driven to the conclusion

that there is some side of nature to which it powerfully appeals, and that it has something besides fraud to sustain it. Some of the promoters of Christianity have at times descended to fraudulent practices, and yet we do not on that account condemn Christianity itself. For every theory of truth has a right to be judged on its own merits, and therefore we cannot accept the judgments of writers like Mr. Maskeleyne as conclusive against Theosophy.

But our chief complaint against Theosophy is that it is merely a *réchauffé* of Hindu and Buddhist philosophy. All the root doctrines are the same. There is the Supreme Soul, the descent therefrom of the *Atma* or Monad (the true self) into the world of sense; the formation of the human soul by the response of the *Atma* to the impressions or vibrations of the matter it meets with; salvation by *Yoga* (i.e., union with the Divine, or Supreme Self), the difficulty of this union owing to Desire (or *Kāmā*), and its resulting *Karma*; and, above all, there is Re-incarnation, or Transmigration of Souls. It is by the doctrine of Re-incarnation that the greatest problems of life are solved and all its mysterious conditions moralized.

As in Hinduism, the highest ideal of Theosophy is to know oneself to be one with the Divine. This is Yoga, so praised in the "Bhagavad-gita," a book dear to all mystics and for Theosophists containing more true teaching than the Bible of the Christian. Mrs. Besant takes Hindu philosophy, reads into it modern physical science, especially that connected with light, sound and evolution, and, adding most astounding assumptions, partly borrowed from the occult art, provides a complete answer to the eternal questions of the why, the whence, and the whither. To the writer many of her descriptions of the spiritual world and of the basis of life are so fantastic, and so suggestive of shallow human imagination, that they are almost ridiculous. In her philosophy every difficulty is provided for; there is not a lacuna anywhere. But when one inquires whence came this knowledge of all mysteries, we are only told that

it is revelation, the knowledge gained by the adepts, the Buddhas and Yogis of ancient times who have obtained union with the Divine ; and there is a mysterious reference to the Great White Brotherhood in Central Asia as the inspired teachers of humanity. As a fact, Mrs. Besant is merely serving up for modern consumption the dreams and speculations of the old Indian *Munis* and *Rishis*. These wonderful assertions of facts connected with the unseen world would be unworthy of serious notice were it not that they are made the basis of the philosophy of an extensive society, which has a vast literature and many meeting-places. And now we shall proceed to give an outline of this teaching, premising that Mrs. Besant tells us that her subject is as difficult to master as astronomy or any other abstract science.

There are connected with this world seven spheres. Just as there is a physical sphere of consciousness, so there are many others in which we could move if we were experts ; but they are known only to occultists—that is, to the student of the workings of the Divine Mind in Nature. Each sphere is built of atoms of one kind, and, to carry the idea of origin through the eye, their Sanskrit names are given as follows : (1) *Adi* ; (2) *Anupādaka* ; (3) *Atma* or *Nirvana* ; (4) *Buddhi* ; (5) *Mānas* ; (6) *Kāmā* ; (7) *Sthūla*. Translated : (1) The Divine, the sphere of the Logos ; (2) The Monadic, that of the human monad ; (3) The Spiritual ; (4) Intuitional ; (5) The Mental ; (6) The Astral ; (7) The Physical.

The two first are unmanifested ; the other five manifested. The Monad (2) proceeding from the Divine (1), passes through spheres (3), (4), and (5), and in doing so acquires their matter, and thus becomes a manifested individualized immortal being. But in order that the Spirit thus constituted may act in our solar system, it must descend still further, and, by so appropriating matter of spheres (6) and (7), it assumes a mortal personality. Man is thus started on his long pilgrimage with being derived

from the above five last spheres. The seventh sphere, which confers the physical body, has, again, seven subdivisions—solid, liquid, gaseous, etheric, super-etheric, sub-atomic, atomic. The physical or dense body, the finished product, is permeated by the etheric body, which latter draws its energy directly from the sun. It is also called the etheric double, being the finer part of the physical body. Only occultists (clairvoyants) have etheric vision, and can see the etheric body when it is detached from the dense body, as it can be, for instance, by anæsthetics. Death alone causes its complete withdrawal. It then remains with the higher bodies (3), (4), and (5), “for a varying interval, usually thirty-six hours, after death.” “It decays away *pari passu* with the dense corpse.” Also interpenetrating the dense body is the astral body, which belongs to sphere (6). This is composed of astral matter—*i.e.*, consciousness—which shows itself as feelings, desires, emotions. While interpenetrating the dense or physical body, the astral body appears beyond the latter’s periphery, as a cloud oval in shape. Its vibrations are visible as colours to those who have astral sight, and these colours are governed by the nature of the emotions and passions of the individual concerned. Thus “the passion of anger causes vibrations that yield a flash of scarlet, while a feeling of devotion or love suffuses the astral body with a blue or rosy hue,” and so on. All feelings of pleasure or pain in the physical body are due to the presence of the interpenetrating astral body, and, if this be driven out by anæsthetics or mesmerism, feeling disappears. We are informed that sportive elementals, such as fairies, gnomes, sylphs, undines, salamanders, not endued with physical bodies, appear in this astral world, and people rendered susceptible to astral vibrations by taking drugs will see such beings. In sleep the astral body leaves the physical body, and may wander about. It is in this astral body, when detected, that men can often see things better, and hence the sayings, “Sleep brings counsel,” “Better sleep

on it." This astral body in its detachment can do wondrous things: "he can work through rocks, dive into seas, pass through raging fires," etc.

Now, in Theosophy the consideration of the astral body is very important, for it is constituted by the man himself. Death is merely the shedding off of the dense body, and the human monad goes forth with the spiritual matter—(sphere 3), intuitional (4), mental (5), and astral (6)—it has acquired. It then becomes an inhabitant of the astral world. The astral body is composed of seven concentric shells, that formed by the coarsest emotions being outermost. It sees all over, but can see and communicate with only the subdivision of the astral world to which its outermost shell belongs, the amount of each kind of matter depending on the kind of desires and emotions the monad had cultivated on earth. This astral state is called the Desire World or Purgatory (*Kāmāloka*). To some of its inhabitants it is a hell, for like is only conscious of like, and so man makes his own hell. As Satan says in "*Paradise Lost*," "Myself am hell." Raging passions can find no satisfaction, and yet all passions here on earth are pale and weak compared with their violence in the astral world. But this hellish state is only temporary, for the thick layer of densest matter wears away, and the man (or monad) enters another sphere, the mental. There gradually the elements composing the astral body are set free.

The mental sphere is a more permanent abode. Part of man's mental body is immortal, and is called his causal body. This is evolved in the long series of incarnations, and is the enriching of the monad spirit by abstract thought. It is the vehicle of intellect. The causal mind has its habitat in the mental sphere and in the individuality. And here we do not know how we can take the prophetess of Theosophy seriously. The following is her statement: "The causal body begins with the above-named flashing down, as a mere film of matter, egg-shaped, like a shell round the lower bodies, formed within it, as the chick in

the egg. A delicate net-work radiates from the permanent atom glowing like a brilliant nucleus." We must ask, How do Theosophists know this? Their only answer is by occultism, by the clearer vision they have acquired by intense thinking on—nothing, vacancies. But there is no end to their knowledge. There is a heaven portion of the mental world (*Devachān*), and we are told exactly what takes place there. For instance: "Here the religious devotee is seen, rapt in adoring contemplation of the Divine Form he loved on earth, for God reveals Himself in any form dear to the human heart; here the musician, etc., here the artists, etc.," and so on. We are even told the length of stay in heaven, for "it depends on the materials we can carry through death, and these materials are good thoughts and pure emotions. It may stretch to 1,500 or 2,000 years." During this stay experience is being worked up into faculty. When this is done, "the man casts off his mental body, and is then truly himself, living in the causal and the two higher bodies." But this individualized spirit is after a time driven by hunger for more experience to make another descent into the lowest spheres. The germs of the developed mental faculties are planted in mental matter, and of emotional and moral faculties in astral matter, and these are the innate faculties, the character which a child brings with him into the world.

So now we have had a description of the process by which human beings are developed and born into the world. Souls are always on the make. When discarnate they are in the upper mental sphere. Their *Karma*—or account of their actions good and bad—are on record, and Mrs. Besant in "*Ancient Wisdom*" can even inform us that there is a special department composed of *Lipikas* and *Maharajds* to keep these accounts, and to direct the discarnate souls to their fresh incarnations. A fitting habitation for each soul has to be found. So accurately are things known at the Theosophist headquarters that we

are told : " The Lipikas give the idea of the physical body, which is to be the garment of the reincarnating soul, expressing his capacities and his limitations. This is taken by the Maharajas and worked into a detailed model, which is committed to one of their inferior agents to be copied—this copy is the etheric double, the matrix of the dense body, the material for their being, drawn from the mother and subject to physical heredity." Ego's are then fitted into families. We are here reminded of the child who complained that her mother could not satisfy her about the domestic arrangements in heaven, when the cook could tell her all about them. The cook, we need hardly say, represents the Theosophists.

Now, there are certainly arguments in favour of reincarnation, and we know that in ancient times it was universally believed in. Says Mrs. Besant : " Souls without a past springing suddenly into existence with marked moral and mental peculiarities, are a conception as monstrous as babies unrelated to any body with marked racial and family types. Science cannot explain the intellectual evolution of a Sankaracharya or Pythagoras, or the moral evolution of a Buddha or a Christ. Reincarnation would explain it." And so, we may add, would the direct action of a personal God. These minute and finely-spun descriptions of the divine methods of ordering creation are taken from the old Oriental philosophies, and are as reasonable as the Oriental fables concerning the physical nature of the world, which we know to be false and ridiculous. Science was unknown to the ancient Hindus, and their introspective minds " found no end in wandering mazes lost." As against the Theosophist principle of reincarnation we would set the Christian one, that man must be born again. Till the soul receives the inspiration of the Holy Spirit it is mortal ; when it is spiritualized it becomes immortal. This doctrine has the merit of being both reasonable and transcendental. Hinduism, Buddhism, and such-like Oriental religions, had groped after this truth,

but their adherents relapsed into the slough of idolatry. On the other hand, Judaism, with its clear-cut Monotheism, copied afterwards by Muhammadans, had fought all the degrading forms of idolatry, but, lacking the full knowledge of God's love and fatherhood, had itself degenerated. It had no power of progress and expansion, not having the great dynamic, and so hardened into ceremonial and legality. The universal failing of man through the ages has been to lose touch with the vital element that has started religion, and to rely on the rites and ceremonies, which are only its shell, and only suited to foster and protect the spirit. If the latter is wanting, religions tend to become mere magic, and, relapsing into a kind of animism, depend on *mantras*, passes, charms, and incantations; or, they sink still lower and become a prey to witchcraft, demonology, and fetichism. Meanwhile the thoughtful become rationalists, and the crowd drop into the abyss of pure nature worship. Thus ended the more or less ennobling religions of Greece and Rome. The Orontes, with its flood of Egyptian, Phœnician, and Indian mysteries, and of incantations and magic rites, did, indeed, pour into the Tiber; and, in a less degree, the same tendency is at work amongst ourselves to-day. Instead of holding that Christ was specially divine, and revealed a new and living way of righteousness, Theosophists' teaching is only that "He was a glorious Being of the great spiritual hierarchy, one of the Masters of Wisdom." Then under Theosophy the old spiritism, or cult of nature-spirits, is being revived. It proclaims that gnomes, sylphs, salamanders, and discarnate spirits of all sorts, throng around us. It is a recurrence to the belief of our medieval ancestors, who, when they built their magnificent cathedrals, "frosted" them outside with the images of those ugly and malignant spirits, goblins, and demons, who were kept outside the sacred edifice by the use of holy water, spells, and magical rites. Mrs. Besant peoples all the air with spirits good and bad, and tells us the places the latter particularly haunt—drink-shops, gaming-houses, brothels, and such-like.

Then the spirits of animals under our "organized butchery" cause the animal distrust and horror of man. But this theory of hers does not square with the fact of the docility of the European cow and sheep, nor of the poet's lamb, "which licks the hand just raised to shed its blood."

We are assured, however, that Theosophy is not a religion, only a philosophy, and that a Christian, a Hindu, or a Muhammadan can be a Theosophist. But we find prescribed certain means of mind and soul culture which exclude the idea of a personal God, and would assuredly displace all ideas of prayer and worship such as are offered by at least Christians, Jews, and Muhammadans. The procedure prescribed in "The Outer Court," in order to put on the Sheath of Bliss, so that the soul may enter the Temple and go out no more, is not consistent with these religions. It is a mystical and self-concentrated asceticism; and the end is to enter the company of the perfected—the Buddhas, Manus, Chohans, and Masters. This method is thoroughly Hindu. It is still more fully explained in Thought - Power. The dynamic to obtain this bliss or salvation is through thought-control, leading to thought-annihilation, and the following may be taken as a description: it is posited that there is the Self and the Non-Self, and the Mind is produced by their interaction through ether vibrations. Vibration is the keynote of the Science; for Motion is the root of all things. Life is Motion, Consciousness is Motion. The One is changeless. When the One becomes the Many, Motion arises. The essence of Matter is separation, that of Spirit is unity. The Omnipresence of the One in the multiplicity of Matter is by ceaseless and infinite motion. Absolute motion is identical with rest. This infinite motion appears in rhythmical movements or vibrations. Consciousness is the vibration of thought-ether between the Self and the Non-Self—that is, the Subject and the Object. Each unit of this consciousness is called a *jiva*, which is contained in a garment of matter. The garments vibrate as each *jiva* vibrates, and so the

garment of one *jiva* communicates with its neighbour. Thus one *jiva* knows another, and each *jiva* communicates, not only its own vibrations, but those of the others. Similarity is ever being evolved, but never attained, because of the garments of matter. Different ranges of vibrations constitute light, heat, electricity, etc. So Knowledge, Will, Action are all made up of vibrations. Thinking is when thought-ether is thrown into waves between an object and the mind.

Having laid down this basis of thought, the book proceeds to show how thought can be controlled, and in what concentration consists. Soul-formation is the outcome, and here the heart of Theosophy is reached. We have it explained how complete abstraction can be attained, resulting in thought-annihilation, a most difficult process. The knower, the real self, must keep itself fixed, first on one object, and finally on vacuity. This is most exhausting, and can at first only be practised for short intervals. Eventually the abstraction can be prolonged, and becomes complete. This is the state so well known in Hindu mysticism, and called *Samādhi*. The whole universe then exists at one point, so complete is the concentration: the heart of life is reached, for, ether vibrations having no friction, space is annihilated, and the student becomes an adept, and hidden knowledge is within his ken.

And now we think the dangers of Theosophy can be readily understood. Strong philosophic minds, say one in a thousand, can maintain their equilibrium when thinking, as it were, in space, but ordinary ones straining for the ideal perfection promised as the result of this method of culture would frequently collapse altogether. And this method is not only theory. Eastern "sages" and anchorites have practised it for thousands of years, and the results of atrophied minds are well known. So far Theosophy certainly is not a fraud, but a dire and dreadful fact.

But let us step out into the open and look at the panorama of history, and mark what this trafficking in

mind-culture and this belief in hosts of ghost-souls and nature-spirits ever hovering around us has done for nations. Do we not infallibly gather that no mere philosophy of life has ever sufficed to satisfy the human heart, that it must have some object to which its affections and emotions can go out and cling, and with which it can enter into personal relations? The deep Indian doctrine of the One Undivided Supreme Being, unknown and unknowable, of whom nothing can be predicated, has only resulted in universal idolatry, often of the lowest kind. For "when the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places . . . and . . . saith I will return, and when he cometh he findeth it swept and garnished. Then goeth he and taketh to him seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and the last state of that man is worse than the first." This seems to be the effect of merely emptying the heart by hard thinking.

Then turn to China, with its civilization running into millenniums, and the same results are seen. To the Chinaman the world is full of spirits; they dog his steps in every detail of life, and he is hampered and terrified beyond all measure, for, as usual, the spirits are nearly all bad. Owing to fear of displeasing them, railways and other modern inventions for long could not be introduced. The *genius loci*—Chinese *Feng Shui*—would be mortally offended, and the consequence has been that the all-pervading trait of Chinese civilization has been steadfast immovability. A very full account of Chinese fetichism and demonology is to be found in "*Le Bouddhisme en Chine et au Thibet*," by E. Lamairesse, published in 1894. The Chinese mind, it tells us, was ruled at first by the joint influence of the practical social philosophy of Confucius and of the more idealistic Tao-ism, which aimed at the harmony of the Tao of earth and the Tao of heaven, the word Tao resembling rather the *logos*, or the *natura naturans* of Spinoza. But in the third century B.C. Buddhist missionaries brought in their more spiritual view

of life, which had been much fused with Hinduism. Anyhow, it contained a belief in a future life and in the existence of a most insistent spirit world. Amalgamating with native animism, the Buddhistic idea favoured the growth of spiritualism, and the present Chinese idolatrous system gradually developed. The God of Heaven, the Indra of the Hindus, is the chief deity ; but the pantheon is most varied, and the offerings to conciliate the gods and goddesses and spirits are as numerous as in India. But sorcery, witchcraft, and the black art have great sway, and they cling around both Chinese Buddhism and Thibetan Lamaism, like the shirt of Nessus. Altogether, China is a prey to the most debasing idolatry and demonolatry. And yet China has founded its faith on the three great atheistic religions or philosophies of Confucius, Lao Tse, and Buddha. Favoured by the ruling classes, Confucianism, with its worldly prudence and its praise of filial piety, has acted as an arbitrator ; Taoism has inculcated idealistic virtues, with its three essentials of Weakness, Emptiness, and Apprehension, and its three jewels of Gentleness, Frugality, and Humility ; while Buddhism, with its teaching of Transmigration and of the going and coming of the disembodied spirits, while preaching universal mercy, has peopled the world with unseen beings. We know well that our own ancestors had beliefs about the spirits of the departed akin to the Buddhist ones, see, for instance, Shakespeare's "Hamlet" and medieval legends. So also had they a belief in sorcery and witchcraft. But while our faith in a personal God has not prevented us freeing ourselves from these crushing superstitions, the Hindu and Chinese atheistic religions have indirectly helped to maintain them, for they have left the people helpless and terror-stricken, the forces of evil seeming stronger than the forces of good. It has been well said by Vinet, a distinguished Swiss writer, that "*Le Christianisme est dans le monde la semence de la liberté*," and this does not mean only political liberty. It has brought us into a large place,

has delivered us after much travail of mind and soul from the fetters of superstition which still bind the East, and alas! many Western lands. Atheism, on the other hand, as we have seen in the case of China, utterly failed to bring any such freedom. Modern Deism believes itself able to do so, but let not him who putteth on his armour boast himself as he who taketh it off. Theosophy, which is a kind of Deism, now professes to offer a perfect way, founded on an assumed mental and spiritual science. But many of its facts are mere assumptions, and the consequences of a like philosophy, as far as we understand history, have so far been disastrous in the extreme. Many of the leisured classes of Europe and America are now taking Theosophy up, and seem to find some measure of satisfaction in its doctrines and mental exercises. But can one imagine that anything except universal national decline would take place if theosophical ideas spread among the people at large? The writer had a long experience in India, which has led him to the opinion that there is something in the Hindu religion which prevents simplicity of character. It is not the East that is responsible for this, for Muhammadans do not show the same trait. But it is the atheistic or pantheistic attempt to reach Ultimate Being through mental effort. The Christian can look and behold "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." But the Hindu (and the Theosophist) must think and search to find "this inmost centre, where truth abides in fulness" in himself. To the writer native Christian schools in India ever showed a marked contrast to Hindu ones in the countenances of the scholars. In the latter you saw a mystic and somewhat clouded look, while in the former there was a freer and brighter aspect, as if the spirit had been released from an oppression of inner thoughtfulness. The belief in the transmigration of souls, the sufferings of the discarnate ones, and the need of propitiating the all-powerful spirits, all these ideas obsess the mind. And

what can be more disastrous to progress than the idea that all social conditions are dependent on men's conduct in a former life? Those at top, the Brahmins and the Mandarins, are the reincarnated virtuous and good, while the weak and the miserable are so because they did evil in a former life.

THE WAR AND INDIAN TRADE AND INDUSTRY

By J. CLIVE ROOME

JUDGING by the number of articles appearing in the papers in India, both Anglo-Indian and Indian, it is evident that the war has stimulated interest in problems affecting the future of trade and industry in that country. To satisfy the demands of those who consider that the time is ripe for the initiation of a campaign in favour of industrial activity, the Government has recently appointed a commission of inquiry. As may be expected, conflicting opinions obtain as to the measures which should be adopted in order to protect and foster trade and industry. This is not surprising in view of the various interests involved and the vast resources of the country. What may be called local prejudice must also be taken into account in estimating the correct value of any expression of views as regards the future of trade and industry in India.

As far as the problem of industrial activity is concerned there are, broadly speaking, those who paint a halcyon picture of an India studded with factories, mills, and workshops, and others who hold tenaciously to the creed that Nature destined India to be an agricultural country, and its future can best be secured by promoting agriculture. There are also others who prefer a middle way, and would

like to see both agriculture and industry having a fair share of the attention of the people.

In matters relating to the trade of the country also one finds diversity of opinion. Some would have Protection, pure and simple; some would give the people of India, or the legislative councils, power to regulate protective tariffs only in such a manner as would not injure the manufacturers of other parts of the Empire; some would have only Free Trade unalloyed; some again would only be content with a measure of fiscal freedom which might enable them to penalize any country by means of a sliding scale of tariffs which, in their opinion, proved itself to be a dangerous rival, either agriculturally or industrially.

One has therefore a wide range of selection in platforms of fiscal creed in India. It has, however, to be borne in mind that those most vitally interested in both the trade and industry of the country—the cultivators and the labouring classes—present a blank sheet in all examinations relating to theories of political economy. All that the cultivators want is a good monsoon at the appointed hour, efficient means of transport, and good prices for their produce. All that the labourers want is the daily bread. Those in a position to express any opinion on the fiscal needs of the country are either merchants or politicians. The merchants, both those who sell goods to the cultivators and those who buy produce, like the cultivators, are slaves of the monsoon, so that in a way the interests of both the merchants and the cultivators coincide in so far as the ultimate results of good or bad harvests are concerned. In the case, however, of merchants who depend for their livelihood upon the sale of the manufactured goods they import from other countries, there is a likelihood of their views on the future of industries in India being coloured by the fear of finding India independent of foreign manufacturers. Other merchants who now ship large quantities of raw produce for the use of manufacturers abroad are also likely to be prejudiced, to some extent, in favour of

agriculture to the exclusion of industry, as it is as an agricultural country that India proves a profitable field of labour to them. In spite, however, of the bias of their views, the opinions of the merchants carry greater weight than the opinions of politicians who have either no direct interest in agriculture or are likely to benefit personally by the introduction of new industries. One has also to remember that while the merchants are prone, by dictates of self-interest, to exaggerate the interests of agriculture, they have at the same time the immense advantage over theorists of practical knowledge as regards the economic conditions of the country.

THE POLICY OF SUBSIDIES.

India is undoubtedly an agricultural country, as a glance at the last census returns would show convincingly. It would be throwing away the bone for the shadow to adopt any fiscal measures which are even distantly likely to affect agriculture adversely. Those who advocate the encouragement of industries by subsidies from the Government are apt, in their enthusiasm, to forget that, if the subsidy system were adopted on a large scale, it would deal a crushing blow to the cultivators in India. It is not difficult to picture to oneself the wholesale abandonment of the plough in favour of the factory in the event of the Government granting subsidies to those engaged in industrial enterprises in India. It would revolutionize the outlook of life in the country, and for a time at least—for a considerable period probably—a large number of the fields would be left desolate, while those who now till them would seek employment in the factories. To say the least, it would be a dangerous experiment, for if, owing to want of skilled labour combined with lack of experience in the management of industrial enterprises, the factories were found to be unprofitable undertakings, it would be no easy task for those employed in them to revert to their old occupation of agriculture.

Those who bring forward the example of Japan as a country which has prospered by paying attention to industrial development are apt to forget that Japan was never at any stage of its history an agricultural country to the same extent as India, and it never supplied the world's factories with raw material on as large a scale as India. The labour problem, moreover, in Japan presents aspects entirely dissimilar to those observed in India. The transition from handicraft to factory work, as in the case of Japanese labour, does not seem so difficult as the adaptation of agriculturists to the conditions of life in factories. It may be argued that in India also handicrafts flourished at one period of its history, but handicrafts never took the place of agricultural pursuits to the same extent in India as in Japan. Agriculture, again, never held the same place in occupations in Japan as in India; it was never the means of livelihood of the vast masses as it is in India. In any case, there is no guarantee that industrial enterprises would prove more profitable than agriculture in India because they have in Japan.

PECULIAR ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

The questions whether it is advisable to divert labour from the fields to factories, and whether Free Trade or Protection is beneficent for the development of trade and industry, must be decided in the light of the economic conditions in India. Out of a total population of 315,156,396, no less than 217 million persons derive their means of livelihood from agricultural pursuits. Agriculture, in a word, absorbs the energy of the people to the exclusion of other occupations. Only 35·3 million persons are dependent on industries. Handicrafts provide only a small number of persons with their daily bread. In the light of these statistics, it would be, to say the least, producing a cataclysmic change in the mode of life of the peoples of India to find industrial occupation for 217 millions of its agriculturists. Apart from the impossibility of finding

money for financing industrial enterprises on so large a scale, the idea is indeed in other ways so quixotic as to be entirely beyond the pale of practical politics. Even if it were possible to obtain adequate financial support for the creation of a gigantic industrial organization necessary for the sake of supplanting agriculture, it would be futile to ignore the human element, the lack of men trained in the art of conducting pioneer industries, the deficiency of skilled labour, and even of unskilled labour accustomed to the peculiar conditions of factory life. It may be argued that the labourers in the jute and cotton mills in India even in these days are drawn from these agricultural classes and that they have proved themselves efficient workers. But it depends entirely upon what is meant by efficiency whether the conditions of factory labour in India as they are at the present time are regarded as satisfactory or otherwise. From a practical point of view the fitfulness of labour in the factories brought about by the duality of occupation of the labourers is only an unmitigated evil. The heart and soul of the worker is not with the whirring machinery in the factory, but with the idle plough in the field in his native village, and at the first opportunity when he can return to the labours of the field, he abandons the factory to its fate. This is also the case with labourers who before the days of the factory practised a handicraft closely allied to the industry which now claims their attention. They have their ancestral plot of land in many cases, and they also place the care of their strip of land before any consideration of the requirements of the factory which provides them with employment when they have no work on their own fields in their villages. It is at the same time futile to grieve over the circumstances which bind the Indian labourer to the soil of his native land. The conditions are the growth of centuries, and, what is more, they have been deliberately produced by the social laws of the country.

In attempting to impose industrial ideals wholesale upon

the people, not only fanciful prejudices will be encountered, but also the deeply rooted bed-rock of social organization firmly established by centuries of legislation. Nothing short of a revolution more far-reaching and extensive in its scope than any recorded in the world's history can change the agricultural life of the people. It is true that the advocates of industrial development in India do not openly suggest the abandonment of agriculture, but their arguments at the same time imply preference for conditions favouring the advancement of industries even at the risk of losing much that has been gained through agriculture. They sing, in their enthusiasm, a pæan of praise whenever any industry is mentioned without regard to its adaptability to the conditions of life and labour in India. If they had their way, they would establish factories in India for the manufacture of locomotives, aeroplanes, buttons, gramophones, and every other article of merchandise, for no other reason apparently than that of making the country independent of foreign manufacturers. As a matter of fact, only those industries are likely to benefit the country materially which, so to say, are closely related to agriculture.

SELECTION OF INDUSTRIES.

It is not without justification that some plead for the encouragement or establishment of industries likely to employ advantageously the raw material found in the country itself. The cotton and jute industries provide an object-lesson. Both industries are in a flourishing state because both have the raw material near at hand. The sharp-witted Scotsmen who initiated the jute industry in Bengal, and who now control it, saw clearly the advantage of having the factory close to the field, and were substantially assisted in their undertaking also by the fact that the raw material on which their industry depended was a monopoly of Bengal. The cotton-mills have also made profitable returns, in spite of the drawbacks under which they work, simply because the raw material for them can be obtained

in large quantities within the country itself. There are numerous other industries which afford ample scope for development in India without in any way being prejudicial to agriculture. On the contrary, they are likely to encourage agriculture by creating a demand for the products of the field. Many of these industries for which there is raw material in abundance in the country have not been introduced or are only languishing because the attention of those able to engage in industrial pursuits has been diverted to less profitable avenues of employment of capital. The manufacture of matches, glass, bangles, pencils and paper, may be very profitable in other countries, and is possible even in India, but the question is whether it is more profitable than, say, the manufacture of sugar from the sugar-cane, and the date-palm, or the cultivation and manufacture of ramie. In the one case, India can never reasonably dream of having a wider market for its manufactures than its own boundaries; in the other, it can make a bid for the world's market.

What is wanted is the establishment of industries complementary to agriculture, which may enable Indians to use, if not all, then the surplus of the raw produce of the country which is now exported to other countries. The idea that India, or for the matter of that any other country with a better organized industrial system, can be independent of the rest of the world in trade, commerce, or industry, may be regarded as only visionary, but the mere fact that India will be in a position to use its own raw material in an advantageous manner will not only raise the standard of value for its raw produce, thus benefiting the agriculturist, but also enable it to enter the world's market as a manufacturing country. Competition, face to face with other manufacturing countries, can only be beneficial to India. Then only can Indian manufacturers hold their own, even in the Indian bazaars, against the foreign manufacturers.

EFFECT OF THE WAR.

So far, Indian capital has been invested in industrial undertakings without regard to the question whether the raw material for them can be obtained easily or not. With the exception of the cotton and jute industries, the industries in which Indian capitalists have interested themselves are also industries which demand exceptional qualifications of specialization from their workers. They are, moreover, industries which require years of patient toil before they produce any tangible results economically. In fact, the industrial campaign in India has been planned by amateurs in finance, with the result that Indian capital and Indian labour has been frittered away without leaving any trace of any value to the future generation of workers. Indian money has been invested in small soap factories, in little pencil factories, in glass manufacture, in the manufacture of cheap toys and stationery, and in a hundred and one other industries which, by reason merely of the limited field they offer for the sale of the goods manufactured in India, can hardly be regarded as profitable. The war has further accentuated the illusory possibilities of these industries for Indian capitalists, inexperienced as they are in the art of managing industrial enterprises. One can never forget the flood of foolish rhetoric let loose upon the people of India when the war with its disturbance of sea-borne trade created a scarcity of matches in India. Sermons were preached everywhere on the advisability of starting match factories in India. Then the supply of bangles, which Austria supplied before the war, ran short, and moralists were not wanting who claimed to have warned their countrymen of the catastrophe, and who preached homilies on the vast scope which lay before the bangle industry in India. It was, as is usually the case, shown how India had fallen from her great industrial state when she was dependent upon a foreign country for her glass bangles which she manufactured for herself in the good old days. As a matter of fact, the agitation did

stimulate the bangle industry in the country. Whether the demand for Indian-made bangles will persist even after the war is, however, uncertain, and if foreign competition smothers the industry, as it did before, all the benefit that the country has derived from the industry will be only another sad experience. Admirable as are these minor industries in themselves, they do not hold out any substantial promise of success in India.

POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

As for the means to be adopted in encouraging industries in which the raw produce of the country can be usefully and easily employed, the Government, it may be stated, is already doing all that can reasonably be expected of it by research and advice, through the Department of Agriculture, to improve the methods of agriculture. It has, however, not directly offered any inducement to capitalists to engage in enterprises likely to develop the agricultural resources of the country and affording a vast scope for the industrial energies of the people. The Department of Commercial Intelligence has an enviable record of usefulness even within its short period of existence, but it is, after all, only a bureau of information. The people of India themselves are unable to take full advantage of the facilities offered by the Department of Commercial Intelligence. In order to direct the industrial activities of the people into the right channels, steps must be taken to show, in detail, how the raw produce of the country can profitably be used in factories in the country itself. To do this, the vernaculars must be employed more extensively in the pamphlets appertaining to agriculture issued by the Government than has been the case so far. Either the Department of Commercial Intelligence or some other department has to organize an educational campaign in favour of the industries which are closely allied to agriculture and offer a profitable field in India.

PROBLEM OF FINANCE.

As regards the question of finance, it is, unfortunately, true that the unequal distribution of wealth in the country makes the problem of industrial development a difficult one to solve. It is only a small fraction of the vast millions in India who hold the wealth of the country, while the rest of the population is dependent on its daily earnings for bare means of subsistence. The earnings do not, on an average, amount to more than sixpence a day per head, and this, taking the peculiar conditions of Hindu life into consideration, does not always suffice even for the maintenance of a family. There is only a small fraction of the vast population able to save anything out of its earnings; but then, again, the foolish custom of spending large sums of money on social entertainments on occasions like the marriage of a son or daughter makes extortionate demands on the savings. There are thus only a few in a position to invest money in industrial or any other commercial undertakings. Those who accuse the people of India of being backward in industry are apt to forget their lack of means. Those among the Indians who have the money to launch new industries or revive old ones are doing so to some extent, but owing to lack of commercial training and practical experience, their methods are necessarily haphazard and wanting in precision. Distrust and suspicion also play their part in retarding the progress of the country in the path of industry and commerce, and candidly the experience of the people warrants their cynical views regarding the probity of their fellow-creatures. The startling revelations of crooked finance made at the time of the failure of a large number of Indian banking concerns were not singular in themselves, but they attracted considerable attention owing to the fact that the savings of hundreds of hard-working men and women were involved, and the proceedings in the courts of law gave them a wide publicity. The problem of finance is therefore full of peculiar difficulties as far as the encouragement of industrial enterprises is concerned. It

seems that the only way to quicken the pace of progress is for the Government to act as banker and controller of all industrial enterprises at one and the same time. In a country where the State owns all the land and a large number of the railways, a patriarchal solicitude for the efficient working of industrial undertakings would excite no adverse comment. On the contrary, it would encourage those who now hoard their wealth to produce it and employ it usefully. As a beginning, the Government might consider the advisability of ear-marking the money deposited yearly in increasing amounts by the people in the savings banks for loans for industrial undertakings, and at the same time make it a condition of the loan to reserve to itself the right of supervising the accounts of such concerns.

INDIA AND WOMEN DOCTORS

BY LADY MUIR MACKENZIE

WE have all learnt with a deep heartache of the sufferings of our soldiers in Mesopotamia. Reading this harrowing tale, we gather something of the primitive conditions which prevail in the Orient and feel inclined to pity all sick people dwelling east of Suez, but more especially women. The sufferings of our soldiers will not extend over more than, shall we say, half a dozen years, but the sufferings of Indian women have continued through countless generations, and unless *we* do something will continue indefinitely. When Lady Dufferin, forty years ago, began her humane endeavours to bring medical aid to the women of India, Kipling wrote a poem which ought to act as spur to our national conscience, yet most people have forgotten his pungent, lucid words, dealing with a state of things for which the long years bring no adequate remedy.

Kipling, addressing the men of India, begins by describing how we English "Knit a riven land to strength, drove a road for all men's feet, bridged the raving ford," and allowed India to partake of the Wisdom of the West, our schools being "free to all." Then the poet asks the men of India passionately, "Who has spoken out for these the women and the young?" And again, "are all our gifts for men alone, or may your women share?" Above all, the women need the Light from the West, for "the curse God laid on Eve is theirs for heritage to-day."

"You know the 'Hundred Danger Times,' when gay with paint and flowers,

Your household Gods are bribed to help the bitter helpless hours :

You know the worn and rotten mat whereon the mother lies ;

You know the *Sootah* room unclean—the cell wherein she dies.

- “ Dies—with the babble in her ear of midwife’s muttered charm,
Dies—’spite young Life that strains to stay—the suckling in her arms,
Dies in the three times heated air, scorched by the Birth fire’s breath;
Foredoomed, you say, lest anguish lack, to haunt her home in death.
- “ These things you know, and more than these—grim secrets of the Dead,
Foul horrors done in ignorance, by Time on Folly bred;
The women have no voice to speak, but none can check your pen,
Turn for a moment from your strife and plead their cause, O men !”

During the forty years which have elapsed since Kipling wrote these words what have we done to bring medical comfort to our Indian sisters? In those days there were few, if any, women doctors; to-day there are about 500—but what are they among 150,000,000 women? Roughly speaking, while 3,000,000 Indian women may hope to secure adequate medical aid, 148,000,000 can never hope to consult a woman doctor, and the majority would rather die than call in a male physician.

The Zenana Bible and Medical Mission is a real friend to the women in their hour of need, and with encouragement the number of missionary and other doctors could be increased. There is an idea, for instance, that the Indian Medical Service will be reorganized. If this is done there ought to be a branch formed for women doctors, who would then be permitted to share the prestige, the pay, and all other advantages enjoyed by their brother doctors. Very highly qualified European medical women have now few inducements which would make them anxious to seek work in India. This is a state of things which it would be possible to remedy.

However, enough European and American women doctors will never be available to grapple with the vast problem we are considering, but Indian women, fortunately, seem capable of becoming excellent physicians and surgeons. There are thirty girl medical students to-day in the Grant Medical College in Bombay, but they have to study alongside the men students, under rough and uncomfortable conditions. Inducements, such as scholarships, ought to be granted to would-be girl medical students, and their path made easy in every possible way. Especially brilliant scholars might be given facilities for visiting European medical centres.

Once we could count on a supply of women doctors, nurses and health officers, how could they be put in touch with the scattered village population? Florence Nightingale long ago suggested that itinerant health missionaries might go on tour, and teach elementary hygiene and sanitation, and bring medical aid to outlying places. It is possible to travel in India for two hundred miles at a time and find no doctors even for the men, though they are incomparably better provided with medical assistance than the women.

I came across the case of some men who petitioned Government to erect a women's hospital in their town, as so many of the young wives were dying, they felt it would be cheaper to subscribe to keep them alive than to pay for a second marriage.

No one enjoys suffering, discomfort and disease, if they can find a way of escape. In India I have seen three-fourths of the population of a large village limping about with rags tied round their legs, because they were infested with guinea-worm. *They* said it was "the will of God," but it was easy for *us* to see that if all the offal is thrown out of the houses into the village street, and the women carry the dirt on their feet, and then step into the village water supply while they fill their water pots, disease will inevitably be spread. I feel sure that the Indian villager does not want to be poisoned, and he could be taught and coaxed, especially by his own people, into changing his ways.

We in the West ought to regard our painfully acquired knowledge as a precious trust to be handed on to those who have not yet had an opportunity of treading the same path. The way our fortunes have been wedded to those of India is a romance and a mystery on which we should do well to ponder, while we ask ourselves if we think with enough love and sympathy of the need of those teeming millions across the sea.

MILITARY NOTES

BY LIEUT.-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL

THE military situation has undergone but little change during the past six weeks. In spite of continuous fighting and heavy casualties no definite result has been reached in any of the many theatres of operations, except the Baltic littoral, where a substantial success has been scored by the Germans, who have ousted the Russians from Riga, and are now in occupation of all the Baltic provinces of the Empire. But this success has been due, not so much to German efficiency as to the demoralization of the Russian Army by the introduction of political activities into its ranks.

The present condition of the two great Empires of Russia and China is a striking illustration of the folly of putting new wine into old bottles; yet there are to be found people who advocate the introduction of such radical changes into our Indian Empire, and clamour for a reform of the Government of India. That Government is a very good Government as it stands—better than most of the existing Governments in this world, in fact; and out of the 315 millions of His Majesty the King-Emperor's Indian subjects, 314 millions are quite satisfied with the Government as it is, and do not want to see any change in it at all.

But it is quite fair that the natives of India should be associated with their British rulers and fellow-subjects in the Government of their own country, and we may confidently

expect to see them admitted to the higher posts in the Government services in increasingly larger numbers, and not only in a civil but in a military capacity.

His Majesty the King-Emperor has been pleased to signify his intention to admit his Indian subjects to the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army. They have, it is true, hitherto received commissions as Subadars and Jamadars, the native equivalents of Captain and Subaltern ; but the most senior Subadar ranks as junior to the youngest English Second-Lieutenant. In future, the Indian officer will be placed on the same footing as his British comrade ; but this cannot be done without some change in the present organization. When companies of Sepoys were first raised by the French and British adventurers in India, the command of the company was exercised by a Native officer, who was assisted by European Sergeants. When the independent companies were first assembled into battalions, in 1763, by the British authorities of Fort St. George, the battalion was commanded by a Native officer with the title of "Comidan (Commandant)," with an English officer as his Adjutant. Ibrahim Khan Gardi, who was killed fighting against the Afghans at Panipat in 1760, derived his sobriquet from his having been the Commandant of M. Bussy's Bodyguard at Hyderabad. There was even a Native General Officer, who controlled the whole body of Sepoys in the Army. Probably the last occupant of this exalted post in the English Service was the famous Muhammad Yusuf, who rendered such signal service to the British cause during the war of Trichinopoly, and who came to an unfortunate end through the enmity of the treacherous Nawab of Arcot. But it was soon discovered that the efficiency of our Native levies increased in direct ratio to the proportion of British officers employed with them. The English Captain virtually commanded the battalion, and the Comidan became a useless encumbrance, and finally disappeared altogether. Moreover, the increase of the establishment of British officers afforded a welcome opportunity for the exercise of patronage to the Directors of the Honourable East India Company, and, finally,

all the troops and companies came to be commanded by British officers, and the Subadars, or Native Captains, were reduced to the position of Subalterns.

In the present Egyptian Army the majority of the regiments have Englishmen as field-officers and Egyptians as company officers, but some regiments are entirely officered by native Egyptians.

In the Honourable East India Company's Indian armies there were many Irregular Regiments in which the field-officers and the Adjutant were British, while the squadron and company officers were all Indians, many of whom were men of good birth and considerable means, Risaldars sometimes owning all the horses in their squadrons. Under present arrangements the Subadars in Indian regiments nominally command companies, but the real command is exercised by the British Double Company Commander and his British Aide.

It is not obvious how the title of Subadar, which originally signified a Viceroy or Governor of one of the Subahs or great Provinces into which the Mogul Empire of India was divided, came to be used to designate the Captain of a company of soldiers. Its use in this connection appears to date from, or subsequent to, the enrolment of Native levies by French and English adventurers in India. Previous to that time the title of Jemidar, or Jemautdar, had been used in Native armies in India to designate the Captain of a company, from the Arabic word Jamáat, for company.

Another title, the use of which in a military sense appears quite modern, is that of Naik, or Corporal. Naik, or Nayak, was the title of a ruler in some of the States of Southern India, as Madura; but whether it had a dynastic or simply an official signification I am not aware. It was adopted as the equivalent for Corporal in our first military organizations in the Carnatic which became the pattern for our establishments in other parts of India.

The curious title of Woordie-Major (Native Adjutant), derived apparently from the English "word" or *parole* for the day, had its origin in the old Bengal Army, which in process

of time developed a considerable lingua franca from a mixture of Urdu with English military terms very much corrupted in their pronunciation—e.g., "Brijman" for "prisoner," and "Rungrout" for "recruit." But every army may be said to have its own military jargon.

This war has given occasion for the invention of many new terms in the description of military operations. The most fertile source of these innovations is the necessity for the translation of telegrams and despatches from a foreign language : the translator is apt to lay hold of the nearest equivalent in English in sound or appearance, instead of in meaning. Hence we meet with such words as "elements" and "organizations" when fortifications are meant ; a position is said to be "strongly organized" instead of strongly entrenched. Sometimes the word "elements" is used to signify formations of troops. Fighting is often described as "bitter," instead of as fierce or desperate. A *Times* correspondent referred to the clash of two opposing lines of hostile infantry as a "duel."

It seems a pity that the aspirations of our Jewish fellow-soldiers for a distinctive Jewish title and badge for the new regiment for the reception of British or Alien Jews should have met with so little sympathy at the War Office. There are two opposite currents of opinion in Jewry. The largest and most influential section of the Anglo-Jewish community, having been naturalized in this country, regard themselves as Englishmen, and, therefore, object to be labelled as Jews. They urge that we do not distinguish our regiments by sectarian titles, as Catholic or Presbyterian ; therefore, why should we call a regiment Jewish ? They forget that there is a regiment in our Army List which has always borne a sectarian title, the Cameronians, ci-devant 26th Foot, now the Scottish Rifles, which was raised from the disciples of the Covenanting preacher and martyr, Richard Cameron. But, further, the title Jewish applied to a regiment might well be taken to signify Race instead of Religion. We have Scottish, Welsh, and Irish regiments with racial designations, so why not a Jewish Regiment ? Some enthusiasts have

proposed that it might be known as "the Maccabees," and might have as its badge the Shield of David. We must confess ignorance as to the blazon on such a shield, or how the particulars of it have been transmitted to posterity, for there is no allusion to it in the historic books of the ancient Hebrew Scriptures.

When the writer served with a Bombay Native Infantry regiment, in 1868, there were some men in the regiment who followed the Jewish religion, but they called themselves Beni Israel, and repudiated the name of Yahudi (Jew). They bore Hebrew names, such as Ezekiel, Samuel, Daniel, etc., and were, no doubt, descended from the Ten Tribes which are often referred to as Lost ; but having been resident in India for some twenty centuries they are as dark-complexioned as any Hindus. Though there were not many of them in the army they seemed to have more than their fair share of promotion : the Subadar Major and the Jamadar Adjutant of the 3rd Bombay Infantry were both Beni Israel. Whether they still enlist is not apparent from recent Army Lists, where few or no Hebrew names are now to be found among the lists of Native Indian officers.

TOWARDS PERMANENT PEACE*

A STATEMENT OF VIEWS SUBMITTED TO INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

BY PLATON E. DRAKOULES

Delegate of the Greek Labour League at the London Conference of
August 28 and 29, 1917.

I

AT the beginning of the present war the attitude of the Greek people was one of sentimental and enthusiastic attachment to the cause of the three Powers who had been beneficent to the Greek nation, and who now constitute the nucleus of the Entente. The Socialist Party had further grounds for Pro-Entente feeling and action, but it was divided, partly on account of some members' leanings towards Germanism out of admiration for the German Socialist Party, partly because others were won over by paid Pro-German agents. These elements were, after some struggle, eliminated by July, 1915, and the prevailing Socialist feeling has since been that Europe, above all considerations, must, by war if needs be and at all costs, put an end to militarism which is the source of wars, and the abolition of which has always been advocated by Socialists all over the world and by the People's Parties in every country. The majority of Greek Socialists are convinced of this, as also of

* Document issued by the Greek Labour League and the Greek Socialist Party, 40, Rue du Pirée, Athens.

the necessity for re-establishing Internationalism on improved lines—*e.g.*, that Socialism must require, as a condition of ending the war, full integrity, independence and freedom for each nationality.

The Greek Labour League passed a resolution on May-Day, 1917, to the effect that the working-classes of Greece desire peace, but not German peace, and that, consequently, the war must be continued until the possibility of a German peace is excluded.

A proposal to send a delegate to Stockholm was unanimously rejected on the ground that no Socialist can take part in any conference which does not declare beforehand that the very idea of a German peace is inadmissible.

The above two features are the chief among other public statements of the Greek Labour League, such as that negotiations for peace must be deemed impossible so long as the Hohenzollerns count for anything in Germany. In view of these premises it is evident that Greek Socialist opinion is in favour of a prolongation of the war until the full victory of the Entente is achieved. Side by side with this it is felt that victory of the Entente is taken to imply the triumph of the peoples and not of exploiters, the triumph of the democracies and not of the plutocracies. It is admitted that the prolongation of the war is an evil, and that Prussianism is responsible. War, being always an evil, any factor which keeps this evil alive must be destroyed. Prussian militarism is indisputably pronounced to be this factor, and, consequently, sound Socialism is incompatible with any tendency to allow the militarist spirit to exist, even in embryo, after this war. The militarist spirit is not deprecated as a solely Prussian product, but also as a plutocratic evil. Therefore Socialist opinion is averse to any compromise by which the countries of the Entente, once victorious, would revert to methods of the past, forgetting, under plutocratic influence, *their pledge to destroy militarism and proclaim the principle of nationalities.*

The guiding principle of the majority of Greek Socialists is

that, as a result of this cataclysmal war, we must have neither a German peace nor a peace dictated by any plutocracy or a combination of plutocracies, but a Peoples' Peace pure and simple, destined to usher in the new social system which it was the mission of International Socialism to bring about, but which under the force of circumstances has devolved upon the Governments of the Entente.

II

While this may be said to have constituted the *crédo* of the majority of Greek Socialists during the two years which have elapsed since the elimination of Pro-German elements from the midst of the party, at the same time the views of the working-classes at large have been variously affected by political, social and economical vicissitudes. The initial *élan* of the Greek people in favour of the Entente has abated under the influence of two forces—first, the devious political intrigues combined with passionate partisanship, and, secondly, assiduous German propaganda—the two forces often interacting upon each other to such a degree as to produce an absolute chaos and a standing enigma as to the true Greek standpoint in the present conflict. The former embittered a great many to the extent of allowing themselves to be alienated from the Entente rather than follow a political leader merely because his programme was Pro-Entente, and thus, as they thought, sacrificing personal or party predilections. The German propaganda on the other hand (availing itself especially of the mobilization ordered in September, 1915—skifully made intolerable through studied as well as unavoidable privations), has been careful during the nine months the mobilization lasted, to teach the soldiers, known since as "epistrats," that if the workers were suffering so much economically, it was war and the present mobilization that caused their suffering; that if the Balkan wars, which were fought in the interest of Greece, have, nevertheless, produced more harm than good—inasmuch as they necessitated the present mobilization, have impoverished the people, and have caused cruel vicissitudes to every Greek family—how much

more will a third war, imposed in the interest of foreigners, cause increased misery. It was foolish, they argued, to shed one's blood and inflict untold misfortune upon one's family for a cause which does not concern Greece; that, at best, Greece could not escape the fate of Serbia and Roumania were she to abandon neutrality; that interest must be regarded before sentiment; and that Germany is the Power which can either crush or aggrandize Greece.

The Greek worker, in his rags of khaki, and while undergoing continual hardships as an epistrat, took these teachings to heart, and conceived a real horror of all idea of going to war. It might not have been so if the economical condition had been less terrible. Neither political intrigue nor German poison would have kept him neutral for two years had it not been for the paralyzing effect which destitution exercises upon his mind.

To illustrate this it is enough to mention that the poorest family requires a weekly expenditure of forty shillings for the absolutely indispensable necessities of life, while the wages of the worker never exceed twenty-five shillings. He has been feeling that if Greece goes to war a third time his economical condition will grow even worse. This feeling is still very strong. The natural love of every Greek for the ideals of England, France and Russia, and his conviction, derived from enlightened Socialist teaching, that there can be no guarantee for freedom and progress unless the Entente wins, do not move him to the desire to fight so long as he is so deeply plunged in poverty. He ceases to care for ideals, and even the voice of Patriotism—ready as a Greek always is to fight for his country—is powerless in the face of his own and his family's misery. It, therefore, remains an indisputable fact that the idea of going to war is unpopular in Greece, not from any notion or doctrine about the causes of the present war and the expectations after it, nor from cowardice, but solely from the impression that having been reduced to penury by events since the Balkan wars, the Greek worker is in danger of being totally crushed if a third war is imposed upon him. His point of view became strictly individual after his experience of nine months

of mobilization. Larger views would attract him if he could be free of anxiety as to his bread and that of his family should he be called to go to the front. His fighting power, his endurance, his heroism, his determination to win, once he enters a war against tyranny, are all there, provided he is sure that his wife and children will not starve. Is it easy to free him of this anxiety? If so, the two forces latent in him now—love for the peoples of the Entente, and conviction that organized freedom can only come from their victory—will be reanimated and manifested from the moment that he knows that neither he himself need want while he fights the enemy of Europe, nor his kith and kin if he be killed. He will then do his best in the crusade for the liberties of Europe. The assurance that the independence of nationalities will be one of the conditions of peace is another requisite for the willingness of the working-classes of Greece to enter the war with enthusiasm.

These considerations explain why, in spite of Greece having embraced the policy of Venizelos, mobilization is unpopular so long as the nightmare of want and suffering presses upon the imagination of the people. The Greek Labour League and the Greek Socialist Party believe that nothing will avail to make mobilization popular until the anxieties of the working-classes are removed. But if they are, indeed, removed the mobilization will be a welcome event, say, three months after.

Is it easy to remove these anxieties? The Greek Labour League and the Greek Socialist Party think that it would be most difficult for the Greek Government to do it on the strength of national resources only. Certain measures are necessary to reassure the working-classes of Greece about the consequences of the war to themselves, and the Greek Government may have to cope with insurmountable difficulties in its efforts to effect the measures required. Some of these measures depend upon its own volition and others on the volition of the Powers of the Entente.

A maximum of prices, determined on the basis of wages, and a minimum of wages would be a legislative measure which would protect the consumer, and thereby diminish the economi-

cal pressure upon the country. This is a measure which depends entirely on the volition of the Greek Government. The foundation all over Greece of factories for producing munitions and military articles of equipment, where women and young people would work as well as men who do not go to the front, is another measure calculated to improve the economical condition, besides, of course, supplying the Army and Navy; and it is a measure which depends partly on the volition of the Greek Government and partly on the volition of the Allies. These, however, would not be adequate measures unless decent payment to soldiers is guaranteed and relief to families left behind, as also a pension to the widow of every soldier killed. Some efforts towards a solution have already been made, but for full success it is necessary that the Allies should contribute.

It is futile to expect real mobilization without the above measures. Once, however, these are assured every man of military age would be in the ranks before the lapse of three months.

Whatever the circumstances were under which Mr. Venizelos returned to power it is acknowledged that his return dispelled an ugly situation, and even his opponents confess that the existence and honour of Greece have been saved by his action. But, all the same, it would be idle to ignore that there is still considerable German propaganda going on which insinuates that the people were *forced* to accept the solution. These tactics, fostered as they are by politicians, are fraught with danger which could only be averted by the measures above indicated.

Their full effect, however, would not be such as is desired if the daily pabulum of a venal Press is allowed to be provided for the working-classes without any counter-influence. The Greek newspaper-men have now formed the habit, to the degree of a second nature, of measuring everything—even the most sacred things—in cash.

It is no use counting upon the Athens Press. What we want is a Labour Press, and this should be considered a measure supplementing those above mentioned. A Labour Press is a

desideratum not only for Greece but for all other countries, and it ought to be established everywhere in the interests of the Governments of the Entente, no less than in the interest of the International proletariat.

The Greek race has been carrying on a struggle for existence ever since the fall of Constantinople. At present the working-classes are identified with the struggle in a peculiar way, and it thus happens that the "class" struggle is not the only issue to be considered in the case of Greece. The national struggle is an old one, and the class struggle is of recent development. Turks and Bulgars as races, and Austria as a State, have all along been mortal enemies of Hellenism. Labour is far from being organized as yet in Greece. Naturally, it cannot but look to the after-war conditions from the view-point of security against these enemies. It is at this juncture that agencies like the Labour Press should act as creators of wider vistas of Social reconstruction, materially, morally, intellectually and spiritually. Owing to the fact that the working-classes are not organized the founding of a Labour newspaper is all but impossible. No Labour Party could afford unaided to maintain a paper until organization has been achieved and long continued. The time now presses for the reasons above shown. Energetic propaganda is imperatively demanded in order to open the eyes of the working-classes and hasten a change in their thoughts, their feelings and their attitude. This is of the greatest urgency.

III

Among the conditions for peace the Greek Labour League and the Greek Socialist Party would urge the following :—

Kaiserism to be abolished.

Militarism to be destroyed. Individuals and companies not to be allowed to manufacture weapons.

International Treaties to be sacred and inviolable.

No State to be allowed to keep a permanent Army, under pain of being excluded from the Economic Union of those States which accept disarmament.

Freedom of each nationality to be guaranteed.

No Province or Island to be annexed if the population of it objects to such a change, but indemnities to be paid unless it is decided to establish a United States of Europe.

Parallel to these conditions there should be an organized endeavour to create an ideal of International ethics and International rectitude, and to dispel the Prussian superstition about the sanctity of the State ; while a Council of Nations, which may be the nucleus of the United States of Europe, must be encouraged to evolve, as also a Supreme Court of Nations representing the International Will under the sanction of the universal opinion of humanity. Perhaps the first step towards this would be the formation of an International League whose business it would be to enlighten the peoples.

To sum up the views of the Greek Labour League and the Greek Socialist Party :—

We want the war to be continued until the triumph of Truth is achieved—that is, until the Entente is victorious ; and we want to enable the working-classes of Greece to enter the war at once, and with enthusiasm. A Peoples' Peace, as distinct from a Plutocratic Peace, must be insisted upon. We need organized Freedom all over Europe, organized Equality and organized Fraternity, and we want the abolition of *all* forms of cruelty, seeing that human progress is effected in proportion as human cruelty is diminished. We desire peace, but we do not consent to peace until the road to these changes is open, and until the peoples' authority is recognized everywhere as superior to the authority of the State.

(Signed) PLATON E. DRAKOULES,

Delegate of the Greek Labour League,
40, Rue du Pirée, Athens

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

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ORIENTALIA

ÉTUDES ORIENTALES ET RELIGIEUSES. Par Édouard Montet, Professeur à l'Université de Genève. Mélanges publiés à l'occasion de sa 30^{me} année de professorat (Genève, 1917).

The name of Professor Montet is well known to the readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, to whose pages he has been a frequent contributor, particularly by the valuable summaries he has given of the progress of Oriental studies in the periodical Reports on Semitic Studies and Orientalism which he has been writing for this Review since 1896. The Faculty of Theology in the University of Geneva, in which Professor Montet occupies the chair of Old Testament Exegesis and the History of Israel, wished this year to celebrate the occasion of his having been a Professor of the University for thirty years, and it had been proposed to invite his old students to do honour to their teacher in Geneva on this occasion; but, on account of the war, it was impossible for his numerous pupils among the clergy of the Protestant Church in France to take part in such a celebration, and it was accordingly confined to the circle of his intimate friends in the University. But it was felt by the Faculty that this occasion should be marked by some enduring memorial, and one of his old pupils, Professor Fulliquet—now his colleague in the Faculty of Theology—was entrusted with the task of collecting and editing the present volume of articles that had been printed at various times in the *Journal Asiatique*, the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, the *Hibbert Journal* and other periodicals; and to these have been added some few articles hitherto unpublished.

The collection is divided into two parts, one dealing with Israel and the other with Islam. The articles in the first part discuss the origin

of the Hebrew people; the Israelites in Egypt, and the date, circumstances, etc., of the exodus; the primitive ideas underlying the rite of sacrifice in the early days of Israel; the formation of the canon of the Old Testament, and the earliest translations of it, etc. One of the articles hitherto unpublished deals with the book of Job, and Professor Montet shares the opinion of those critics who hold with the author of this wonderful poem, and comes to the conclusion that there is no ground for hope of a future life beyond the grave, and that the problem of human suffering is insoluble. The land of Uz, the birthplace of Job, he identifies with the Hauran.

Professor Montet is not only Professor of Old Testament Exegesis, but he also teaches Arabic and is the author of an Arabic grammar. To his knowledge of the literature of Islam he adds an acquaintance with this faith as a living reality, which he has acquired by his travels in Morocco and North Africa. His writings on Islam have made his name widely known as that of an impartial exponent of this faith ready to give generous recognition to the finer aspects of it. All students of the modern Muslim world are acquainted with his illuminating work published in 1911, "*De l'état présent et de l'avenir de l'Islam*," and will welcome the present volume as bringing together in a convenient form his scattered studies upon various aspects of this religion. He has given special attention to the cult of saints, particularly in the western parts of the Muhammadan world where this aspect of the religious life of Islam has developed to a remarkable degree. The explanation is probably to be found in the survival of the primitive paganism with its profound veneration for sorcerers and seers, and of the Berbers who still form the major part of the population of the Maghrib. In the present volume the longer articles dealing with Islam are devoted to a detailed study of this cult of saints and the organization and influence of the religious orders in Morocco. To these are added descriptive accounts of the two capitals of Morocco, Fez in the North and Marrakesh in the south.

The volume concludes with an interesting study of France in its relation to Islam, especially under the conditions of the present war; the author emphasizes the striking loyalty which the Musalman troops fighting on the side of England and France have shown. "The war," he adds, "will have important results for the Musalman subjects of France and for Islam generally. Islam will come out of this war, which will in a manner prove to be its apologia, with added importance. This apologia will be essentially the work of the rank and file of the troops from Algeria, Tunis, Morocco, and the Senegal, and of the Indian Musalman soldiers in the service of England. Their loyalty, their splendid dash on the field of battle, and their heroism will have done more to win respect for their religion than all the lectures and learned writings on Islam, all the laws or decrees in favour of the Musalmans." With a brief notice of the measures proposed by the French Government for improving the status of its Muhammadan subjects in Northern Africa, Professor Montet closes this interesting volume which we commend to the attention of our readers.

NEAR EAST

A PROTESTANT POWER TO GUARD THE HOLY PLACES

THE FUTURE OF PALESTINE : THE RE-BIRTH OF AN ANCIENT PEOPLE. By A. M. Hyamson. With 21 illustrations and a map. (*Sidgwick and Jackson.*) 10s. 6d. net.

The above volume is an attempt to describe in detail the history of Palestine and to draft the lines of its future development. The first six chapters of fifty-six pages are devoted to the description of her past story, after which the various towns are taken in detail, together with the various colonizing projects. The book shows that the invasion of Titus meant the death-blow to Jewish self-government. The losses of the Jewish people in the course of that war were computed at a million, while another million must be added, and attributed to the ravages of starvation. In fact, this unsuccessful revolt against the power of Rome received the severest punishment, relatively speaking, which can be found in the course of history. The era of the Crusades was scarcely calculated to benefit the Jewish interests in Palestine, and the Turkish Dominion ushered in by the failure of the King of Cyprus, in 1359, to recover Jerusalem was a forlorn hope which the flagging Crusader spirit did not sufficiently support. Now Turkish rule has brought Palestine to her present state of anarchy and chaos. Although the Turks did not maltreat the Jews with any special severity, and Ottoman tolerance was allowed a certain measure of independence in local affairs, its insecurity prevented the growth of prosperity which the natural fruitfulness of the soil postulated. But her wretched past must serve as a warning for the future, and makes the consideration of her status at the Peace Conference an absolute necessity. The author points out that for the greater part of history Palestine and Egypt have been closely connected; for the smaller State is, in fact, a shield to the larger on its vulnerable side. The religious interests of England may be less than those of other Powers, but this renders the presence of England in Palestine all the more essential. To keep the peace between the Latins and Greeks, and to prevent the Holy City from becoming a perpetual shambles, the Moslem soldiery has hitherto been on guard. If it is withdrawn its place must be taken by another neutral—Protestant or Jew. The latter has no desire for any such office, and would not for many years—until the new nation has passed out of infancy—have the strength to hold it. The Protestant, as the guardian of the Holy Places of Christendom, is at present the only possible alternative to the Turk. If the Turkish sway passes from Jerusalem, the Moslem Holy Places, second in importance only to those of Mecca, will also need a protector. For such an office the Great Power which counts its Muhammadan subjects by tens of millions seems indisputably marked out. Thus the security of the one weak link in the chain of Empire, the religious rivalries of Christendom, the interests of the Moslem world and the desires of the many peoples of Palestine, all combine to invite that Power to extend its invincible protection to the Holy Land.

The author concludes with the interesting observation that the adminis-

native body of the Government, as in the case of Egypt and the Native States of India, would at first, at any rate, have to be recruited to a large extent from outside.

The book as a whole is a very valuable contribution to our knowledge about Palestine, and is the first to deal in the English language at any length with the regeneration of Palestine by the Jews.

THE BALKAN IN HIS HOME

BALKAN HOME LIFE. By LUCY M. J. GARNETT. With 10 Illustrations.
(Methuen and Co., Ltd.) 10s 6d net.

The author of "Balkan Home Life" (one of a series) has chosen an opportune moment to bring before the English public her intimate knowledge of countries and people which have recently in no small degree occupied the attention of the whole of Europe. It has been pointed out that, whilst France has been fruitful in books on the Balkan Peninsula, we need only mention M. E. Driault's admirable work, "*Sur la Question d'Orient depuis les Origines*," and likewise Germany with the monumental work of Zinkeisen, "*Geschichte des Osmanischen Reichs*," there was comparatively little, if anything, to vie with these works in this country. Mr. Seton Watson's book has been only quite lately published, filling thus an evident gap. But the speciality of Miss Garnett's book is that it does not enter into political questions, but introduces the reader into the intimacy of homes which were once peaceful and happy—a refreshing lecture nowadays.

Discarding for some unknown reason Serbia and the kindred Monte negro, the author expands in her opening chapters on Albania. We know that this interesting people, ruled by the nature of their country, were able to throw off occasionally the authority of their conquerors, as was the case under the famous Kara Mohammed, of Scutari, and Ali Pasha, of Ioannina. They aimed at an independent sovereignty, but ultimately failed. Being thus subjected to the Turks, the total neglect of the mother tongue was due in a great measure, as the author tells us, to the fact that the Albanians really professed three creeds, Turkish being taught in the Moslem schools, Italian in the Roman Catholic schools, and Greek in the Orthodox Christian. But although their language has become a complete mosaic of fragments borrowed from many sources, a native element still predominates. The position of Albanian women differs in nothing from that in Turkey itself. The education of the girls is of a purely domestic character, with the exception of a very few of the upper classes who are taught a little reading and writing. Whether Moslem or Christian they are all condemned to complete seclusion from the outer world from the age of twelve until they get married. It has been asserted, in order to justify this idiosyncrasy on the part of the Christian Albanians, that this barbarous custom was adopted to shield the poor maidens from the danger that might assail them if they showed themselves in the streets, where, should a man address them, it would inevitably conduce to the loss of their reputation. But it is only right to say that, as a rule, the Albanians

that their women with the utmost chivalry. It is, for instance, contrary to their sense of propriety ever to make a woman the subject of jokes or humorous stories. Insult or annoyance offered to a girl often results in bitter feuds between the respective families, but a lapse from virtue on the part of a woman is punished with death! We are told that before the Turkish subjection there have been many strong and hardy Albanian women who knew how to handle a gun and often got the better of men when fighting.

What the author writes about the Albanians is, with only a few exceptions, also applicable to the Bulgarians and the Greeks of the Balkan Peninsula. Their religion, their customs—nay, even their respective languages—seem to have somehow amalgamated, with one exception only—the Wallachs. These nomads preferred hardship with freedom to comfort with subjection. They have led to this day a free nomadic life essentially pastoral. Their very name is a synonym for shepherd. They pass the winter months in the lowlands, where they set up every year their circular huts of reeds, branches, and hangings woven from goat's hair by their women. At Easter they dispose of their lambs in thousands, and prepare for their summer migration to the high mountains, which they reach leisurely. One of the most interesting pages of this book is the description the author gives us of a Wallachian household. "The rooms are snugly furnished in Eastern fashion, but without chairs and tables. Along the walls on either side of the hearth and extending under the windows is a range of comfortable cushions. Opposite the hearth generally stands an artistically carved wardrobe whence the rugs and covers are produced which are used as beds in the night. For the meals a low round table is brought in round which the guests and inmates seat themselves on cushions placed on the floor in a warmly lighted, brightly coloured chamber."

Very different is the position of the Wallach woman to that of the Turkish and Albanian. And what is the reason for this differentiation? It is that her usefulness and her untiring work has made her thus independent. The frequent and protracted absence of the men of the family throws great responsibility and various duties on her. She cultivates the fields and vineyards, reaps the harvest, tends the domestic animals, shears the sheep and prepares and dyes the wool for the loom which occupies a corner of every dwelling. She possesses, moreover, a great deal of wit and common sense. Conversant with Greek, she still clings to her own soft tongue and her nationality. Bolintineanu, a Rumanian author, was right when he wrote half a century ago about the Wallachs: "If ever this extraordinary people should escape from servitude, if ever it should possess a cultivated language, a literature, a history—in a word, a name—it will owe it to her women."

The same sympathy with which the author has approached the Albanians and the Wallachs she also extends to the Bulgarians whose chief characteristics she declares to be industry, thrift and solid good sense. Their being a strong race is shown by the illustration representing a Bulgarian kavas on p. 176.

Writing of the Turkish house, with its two divisions, Miss Garnett makes the somewhat startling statement: "The haremlik, far from meriting the epithet of a prison and a place of women's degradation, is, in her experience, the most cheerful and commodious part of the Turkish house; the term 'harem' meaning sacred enclosure, as the same term often applies to the sanctuaries of Islam. The haremlik, she therefore concludes, is a sanctum sanctorum, a place safe from intrusion, into which even a husband refrains from entering if the presence of one or more pair of shoes at its entrance door announces that his wife has guests!"

True, the Osmanli women may be well housed and well fed and in many cases given abundant jewellery and finery to make them more attractive in the eyes of their admiring husbands for whom they are but playthings and toys. But if we consider that these young women have souls, and are, in many cases, at least, not devoid of a certain amount of intellect, it must become clear to us that with the life they are compelled to lead they are certain to be hampered in their intellectual development; that they do not exist for themselves, but for a husband who may be perhaps good or perhaps bad, as chance will have it, and to whom, through their lack of education, they are inferior, and are treated as such. My long experience in the East has taught me that in most cases these fair inmates of the haremliks are far from happy. In this connection I may mention here the naïve question addressed to me by an Osmanli dame whom, to my surprise, I met one day in an English drawing-room: "How shall we set about to obtain the necessary education to make us more fit and companionable for our husbands and sons? I have come all the way from Istamboul to ask my English sisters this question." This was in the days of Abûlîl Hamid, when the poor Turkish women had a sore time, especially those who strove for emancipation. Yet Islam, as the author rightly says, does not deny to woman a soul, as has been so often wrongly asserted by misinformed travellers in the East. In fact, the Koran is most explicit on this point, wherein numerous texts promise the joys of Paradise to all true Moslems irrespective of sex. Indeed, the Hadith, or "Traditional Sayings" of Muhammad, record, as quoted in this book, that the prophet of Islam imparted to his followers his divinely acquired knowledge to the effect that certain of his deceased friends had been rewarded for their faith by admission to Paradise. Among them, he said, was his first wife, Khadija, whom he had been commanded to gladden with the good tidings of a chamber of a hollow pearl in which is no clamour and no fatigue!

In conclusion, a word of praise is due to the author for the intimate knowledge of the customs of the Balkan people, whose language she also seems to have acquired, as is implied by the numerous introduction of foreign words, and which, to those who are acquainted with them, implies so much more than a translated word.

TROTTER'S HISTORY OF INDIA

HISTORY OF INDIA. By the late Captain L. J. Trotter. Revised edition, brought up to 1911, by W. H. Hutton, B.D. With 4 Maps and 22 Illustrations. (*Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*.) 10s. 6d. net.

At the present juncture, when India's noble part in the war is praised in every corner of the Empire, every book that helps to make the British subject realize her wonderful story is extremely welcome. There could not, therefore, be a better moment for the re-issue of Captain Trotter's "History of India." Well planned, erudite, sane in judgment, attractive in style, it may be called the ideal handbook on the history of India in outline.

The original edition brought the history down to the Viceroyalty of the Earl of Elgin. Dr. Hutton has added two further chapters, one on Lord Curzon's tenure of the office, and the other ending with the Darbar of 1911. These additions, we may say, are in every way commendable. The perusal of them, however, naturally leads to the question whether Captain Trotter would have endorsed the editor's views. Perhaps it is too early to pass any historical judgment on Lord Curzon's rule. The future alone can show whether the many lines that his energy drew across Hindustan were cut in granite or traced in sand. As, therefore, the last chapters can, admittedly, only be narrative, it is a pity that the account was not extended to include the events of Lord Hardinge's administration.

FORTY YEARS IN BURMA. Dr. Marks. (London: *Hutchinson and Co.*)

Of Jewish descent, like so many successful evangelists, John Ebenezer Marks was born in 1832. In 1859, after an educational career, he went to the East as a missionary, and, though it is Burma that his name is inseparably associated with, his going there was quite by chance, as, when he was asked, "Will you go to Maulmein?" he answered, "With pleasure. Where is it?" He rapidly learned Burmese and to love the Burman, and was successful in missionary work, understanding men and manners, and we read with pleasure of his co-operation with the learned Roman Catholic prelate, Bishop Bigaudet. Educational schemes were his mission. At Maulmein he was successful; then he carried the good work on to Rangoon (as a Priest), Henzada, and Zalun, as well as other places. St. John's College, at Rangoon, was his chief foundation—now "known and loved by thousands of pupils and their friends." He also was careful to cultivate the welfare of the Eurasian children, and, after much opposition, the diocesan orphanage was the result. But his chief success was in being able to interest King Mindon-Min, of Burma, in his work. The King was tolerant, like all Buddhists, and interested in missionaries, not without an eye to their European support. Dr. Marks's call to Mandalay arose from these mixed motives; and the chapter on the mission school he founded there, attended by many of the King's sons—one of whom "a quiet, inoffensive, docile lad, without any particular vice or

virtue to distinguish him from the other boys of his age," became King Thibaw—who were all treated as ordinary pupils, forms one of the most interesting in the book. That Dr. Marks's influence was personal there can be no doubt, but the King thought of more I suppose in favour, and his sons ceased attending the school when he found that this was withheld. Dr. Marks left Burma in 1900, after forty happy years of evangelization, which this book describes in a somewhat go-as-you-please manner. He lived five years more, supervising and helping with his work, though from afar, loved by his pupils in the East, and, luckier than many Padres, not forgotten by them. The Archbishop of Canterbury, in a short foreword to this book, says of it "The missionary annals of our time would be incomplete without such a narrative in permanent form."

A. I. S.

RUSSIA

THE DIARY OF A RUSSIAN LADY. Barbe Doukhovskoy (*nee* Princess Galitzin) (*John Long*) 12s. 6d. net

As the wife of a distinguished Russian Governor, Madame Doukhovskoy had exceptional opportunities of seeing many and varied quarters of the world, from Arctic snows to tropical sands, and meeting with natives of all countries from China to Peru and beyond. She kept a diary of impressions of her eventful life, but refers but little to the work of General Doukhovskoy, and makes no secret of dislike of public functions and ceremonies. The publication of these memoirs was due to the insistence of the poet Constantine Sloutchevsky, who contributes a preface. Little Princess Vava Galitzin's lot was certainly cast in pleasant places.

"I was born under fortunate auspices, there could not be a happier little girl, good things were thrown down upon me—presents, petting, admiration. At an early age I chose as my motto, *Fais ce que voudras*. Whatever I wished for I very certainly had, and I didn't see how anybody could want to refuse me in anything."

She had the facility of capturing admirers of all ages, and records a good many ridiculous episodes. When in the Caucasus with her aunt, Princess Vava met the young General Doukhovskoy, who was attached to the person of the Grand Duke Michael, Commander in Chief in that region. Unlike her other admirers, the General was reserved and slow in his sincere advances, but a happy married life began a year before the war with Turkey. General Doukhovskoy served in the campaign as Chief of Staff to Count Boris Melikoff, and when appointed Governor General at Irzroum his wife made an adventurous journey in order to join him. She was willing to risk any hardship, this spoilt, daintily brought up lady, to be with the General. It is surprising to learn that he was appointed military representative at the celebration of the "twelve hundredth anniversary" of the battle of Kulikovo pole, which would mean that Dmitry Donskoi lived long before the Tartars came to Europe. The Tsar, Alexander II, was said to have "walked" after his assassination, and an audacious impostor personated the ghost, and addressed the public at vespers, when the police captured him. Even in the eighties French

newspapers placed news from Russia under "Asia," to Madame Doukhovskoy's indignation. "Shall we ever be considered as Europeans, I wonder?" After taking a German prince of commonplace appearance for a colonist in the Isle of Wight, she thought a well-dressed, elegant blacksmith must be a Minister of State. Madame Doukhovskoy's musical talent and training enabled her to secure concert triumphs. *Ramadan* and *Bairam* are called Mussulman "feasts," whereas the former is a fast. On the General's appointment to Siberia, to which they travelled via New York, they were alarmed by threats of assassination, to which the Press gave prominence, but managed to arrive without mishap. At Khabarovsk they entertained Mr. H. De Windt, the intrepid traveller, who had been to Sakhalin. On General Doukhovskoy's appointment to Turkestan disturbances broke out at Ferghana and Mussulmans attacked the Russian garrison. This was a kind of "holy war," which had to be suppressed by stern measures. The Grand Duke Nicholas Constantinovitch spent many years on the "Starving Plain," and constructed irrigation works. The following note is instructive, as Russians are generally good linguists:

"Many English officers serving in India speak our language, and it is a great pity that the same cannot be said of the Russian officers who serve in Turkestan. Notwithstanding their long sojourn in that country, they do not speak the native language."

Madame Doukhovskoy is in favour of working-men's clubs with bars and concert halls but without intoxicants, since "it is not only by tedious, boring preaching that the workmen are kept away from drunkenness," and good clubs would prove a counter attraction to the alehouse.

The General's health broke down at Tashkend, and he obtained leave to resign, to die shortly afterwards. This misfortune closes his widow's memoirs.

The volume provides pleasant reading for many hours. There are a good many misspelt names, and imperfections that might have been avoided. We read more than once of "Lucullus feasts" and "gilded cages" as parts of the experiences of this lively but capricious diarist.

I. P. M.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. By Isaac Don Levine. (*John Lane*.) 3s. 6d. net.

The foreign news editor of the *New York Tribune* has presented the story of the Russian catastrophe in startling colours. It is difficult to credit the series of crimes which marked the record of men in high position secretly allied with Powers aiming at detaching their country from loyalty to the Allies, and ready to sell Russia shamelessly. It is also incredible that such "dark forces" as are described should have gained a hold in an intelligent society, and so nearly succeeded in manipulating a shameful separate peace, utterly cynical of the staunch patriotism of the majority of Russians and of the thousands who had tied sword in hand.

The first chapter tells the story of a century of struggle between autocracy and democracy, but the sketch is far too meagre, and to be

complete would need a summary of the activities of reformers—men of letters and political exiles—of the nineteenth century, though these have been treated of by other writers. It is not generally known that, prior to the war, Russia was divided into two camps—the autocracy, bureaucracy and extreme reactionaries, against the progressive, radical and revolutionary elements of the democracy. As has been proved, the autocracy had most in common with Prussianism and Junkerism; but Hohenzollern supremacy would have meant absorption of Romanov rule and an iron rod over Russia, hence the Russian autocracy and democracy became united in enthusiasm for the aims of the Allies. But the “dark forces,” with the obnoxious Rasputin at the head, began to work for a separate peace so as to save Absolutism. The story of chicanery, corruption, terrorism and treachery carried on by an unscrupulous gang is dismal reading.

In his chapter on the future, Mr. Don Levine predicts what has come to pass, a mortal clash between the Provisional Government and the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. The aims of the former accord with those of Great Britain, France and the U.S.A., while the latter, ignoring actual needs and conditions, strive for widespread social revolution. Mr. Paul Miliukov's declaration that annexation of Constantinople was desirable from the economic standpoint was met with hostility by the Socialists. The later military crisis was not foreseen by the author, and introduces new considerations. The new Russia has still before it a period of trial and constant peril.

This work will prove useful to the student of recent and present Russian political conditions. A rather unimpressive portrait of Mr. Kerensky forms the frontispiece.

I. P. M.

SOME AUTUMN BOOKS ON RUSSIA

SCENES OF RUSSIAN COURT LIFE. Edited by the Grand Duke Nicholas. (*Jarrold.*) 15s.

TURGENEV. By Edward Garnett. (*Collins, Sons and Co.*) 6s.

MOSCOW IN FLAMES. By G. P. Danilevski, translated by A. S. Rappoport. (*Stanley Paul and Co.*) 6s.

THE RUSSIA OF ALEXANDER I.

A highly interesting and well written introduction by the Grand Duke Nicholas, and some altogether delightful and sparkling pages from the diary of the famous Princess Lieven, who has left us so many vivid and historically invaluable pen-pictures of her time, form, on the whole, almost the most attractive features of this book. The remaining portion of the volume contains a hitherto unpublished correspondence between the Emperor Alexander I. and his sister, the Grand Duchess Catherine. There is a never-fading glamour of romance about the personality of this popular hero Emperor. The tragic circumstances of his accession to the throne on the murder of his father, Paul I., his liberal ideas and personal interest in all classes of his subjects, his brilliant military successes;

then, in later life, his mystical tendency and the legends connected with his death—all this has helped to make the figure of this handsome, chivalrous giant stand out in the minds of his people like a knight in a story-book. Much has been written around his name, and it is not surprising that a hitherto unpublished set of his letters, once discovered, should have found its way into print. Frankly, however, most of the missives in question do not strike one as being strictly of interest to the public. By far their greater number contain nothing but obscure family allusions, or else endearments and "sweet nothings" evidently scribbled in haste by the Emperor to his favourite sister. Nevertheless, among the odd two hundred letters of which this correspondence consists there are certainly a dozen or so that justify the claim of the volume to historical interest and to presenting in a personal light a few phases of the stirring times with which it deals. Among these are several letters written from the front, especially one of great length, dated September 18, 1812, in which the Emperor speaks, evidently under the stress of great emotion and mental excitement, after Borodino and the abandonment of Moscow. This communication contains really interesting allusions to most of the great Generals of the day—Kutuzoff, Barclay de Tolly, Bagration, Bennigsen, Rostopchin, and others—and being, in addition, full of impressions, rumours, and opinions current at the time, undoubtedly forms the *clou* of the collection.

Elsewhere there are interesting allusions to Napoleon's desire to marry the Emperor's second sister, Grand Duchess Anne, and the anxiety of the whole Imperial family to refuse this unwelcome offer without offending the redoubtable "Corsican"! Also, there are some witty and sparkling pages addressed from London by the Grand Duchess Catherine to her brother. Her impressions of London and of English life and manners, and her descriptions of the Regent (George IV.), who displeased her intensely, and of the Court and society of that day, are caustic and amusing to a degree. The Grand Duchess appears to have been received everywhere in England with the greatest honours and enthusiasm as the sister of the most popular hero of the day. But, apparently, her sharp tongue and somewhat merciless wit caused her to make more enemies than friends, and to set the whole Court a-quarrelling on her account. The then Russian Ambassador, Princess Lieven, was in despair, especially when matters grew still more complicated on the arrival of the Emperor, who, always greatly under his sister's influence, immediately proceeded to share her somewhat capricious likes and dislikes, with really regrettable political consequences. Princess Lieven was in constant attendance on the Grand Duchess during the stay in London, and her brilliant pen has left us an unexceptionally delightful and piquante description, published now for the first time, of this historical and somewhat unsuccessful Imperial visit to England.

All this part of the present volume is admirable, and one can only regret that the letters (not the diary of Princess Lieven, where the hand of quite another translator can be traced) are so inadequately rendered into English. What can one make of such phrases as "a man whose character

likes me" (*se*, resembles mine), or "we have irrefragable proofs"; or "he says not to know my desire", or "she is too big made, but appetizing as need be" (Princess Charlotte'), or "the mere idea is a transport", or "my savage way is shying at it", or "I am outrageous at it," etc? Also, this volume containing only one illustration by way of frontispiece, one wonders why a portrait of the Empress (here erroneously called *Queen*) Catherine the Great should have been chosen. She was the grandmother of Alexander I, had been dead many years when the letters were written, and was in no way connected with any thing mentioned in the book. However, that is but a trifle; while, on the other hand, it is pleasant, in these days of revolution and destruction, to see the triumphant double headed eagle on the cover of an admirably bound and printed volume, and to let this silent symbol remind us of Russia's past glory and greatness. A hundred odd years ago Alexander I, representing that eagle, marched into Paris, and for the time being liberated the world. To day, alas! no Russian Emperor will march victoriously with his legions to Berlin, but the Russian sceptre is unarmished. The force of the two greatest military geniuses of modern times, Charles XII and Napoleon, broke down before its might, and let it never be forgotten that in this great world war of our own day it was not until the double headed eagle, with its sceptre and crown, had been burnt in the streets of Petrograd that the military downfall of Russia began.

And so let us read the letters of Alexander I, let our thoughts linger on his time and on the great and glorious moments of Russian history, and let us hope that on the ashes of that splendid past may yet arise one day as grand and mighty a future.

TURGENEV'S GENIUS

There can be nothing but praise for Mr Edward Garnett's admirable survey of the life and works of Turgenev. Mr Garnett not only writes delightfully and rivets the reader's interest on his subject, but he is, in addition, an accomplished connoisseur of Russian literature, and brings the genius and personality of the great Northern novelist quite remarkably near to the English mind. Perhaps the most attractive chapter in the little volume before us is the review of "A House of Gentlefolk." This chapter is so full of thought and sympathetic understanding, so well expressed, and the quotations so admirably chosen, that the picture presented is complete, and Mr Garnett's pages deserve the compliment of being held worthy of the exquisite masterpiece with which they deal.

There are some interesting political pages in the book, written as long ago as 1895. The political horizon, not only in Russia, but in the whole of Europe, has so completely changed since then that but few of the old pillars are still standing and intact. But Mr Garnett has done well to include these pages, for they form a very clear link between the ideas of the past and the present, and, moreover, shed a light on the perhaps already half forgotten aspirations and dreams of nineteenth century thinkers in Russia and elsewhere. Turgenev has been much discussed

and much misunderstood : over-rated by some critics, under-rated by others. Time, however, has shown us this perfect artist in the true light of his greatness. His portraits, though their prototypes have disappeared with their day, are not only as beautiful and unfaded as ever in the light of another era, but form a collection of priceless and unrivalled nineteenth-century cameos. Here is the test of greatness : a story written to-day, with the transitory *mise en scène* and detail of the moment, is likely to be tedious and on the shelf to-morrow ; but if the hand that writes it is guided by the divine spark, detail becomes historical, the *mise en scène* touches us like a sunset, and the characters are human, and therefore the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. Turgenev's Lisa, his Rudin, his Bazaroff, will never die. As a portrait of the half-educated Russian Nihilist of that time, Bazaroff stands almost alone. This character, so admirably dissected by Mr. Garnett, is a masterpiece of human psychology. The good and bad sides of Bazaroff's misguided restless mentality are so clearly and justly balanced that Turgenev, by his very sincerity, offended both Conservatives and Revolutionaries, each party asserting that the author had shown in this creation an unpardonable leaning toward the other ! The enemies he made in this connection caused Turgenev much pain and mental discouragement, and no wonder, indeed ; for, as Mr. Garnett tells us, "The stormy controversy that the novel 'Fathers and Children' provoked was so bitter, deep, and lasting, that the episode forms one of the most interesting chapters in literary history. Rarely has so great an artist so thoroughly drawn public attention to a scrutiny of new ideas rising in its midst, or come into such violent collision with his own party thereby. . . . The effect of the publication was widespread excitement in both political camps. . . . The fast increasing antipathy between the old order and the new, like a fire, required only a puff of wind to set it ablaze." "I experienced," Turgenev himself wrote at that time, "a coldness approaching to indignation from people near and sympathetic to me ; I received congratulations, almost caresses, from people of the opposite camp, from enemies. This confused me, wounded me ; but my conscience did not reproach me. . . ."

All this storm over the portrait of a solitary Nihilist ! Would Turgenev and his contemporaries have believed it possible that barely half a century would elapse before Nihilism would grow to a devastating hurricane that would sweep away throne, tradition, glory, and would leave their beloved country torn and bleeding in the pitiless grip of anarchy, destruction, and ruin ?

Mr. Garnett's admirable volume can be heartily recommended to all students of Russian literature. Those among them who are still unacquainted with Turgenev's works will certainly, after perusing Mr. Garnett's pages, turn with interest to the existing translations of the great Russian author.

1812

"Moscow in Flames," admirably translated, makes stirring reading. Having once begun, it is difficult to lay the volume down before reaching the last page ; and, strangely enough, one has only to substitute a few

names in place of others, and to make a few changes in the scenery, and one might almost be reading a brilliant war novel of the moment! There are all the same arguments that are on everyone's lips to-day, the same hates and fears, the same sacrifices and heroisms, the same hopes and despairs, even the same superstitions and prognostications. The Apocalypse was as freely quoted in those terrible days of 1812 as now. "The name of *Napoleon*," we read, "was changed into that of *Apollyon*, the Angel of the Abyss, and someone discovered, again in the Apocalypse, that the Anti-Christ would be hurled down by the hand of the Archangel Michael. Now Kutuzoff's name was Michael. People therefore soon expected to hear of the speedy extermination of Napoleon!"

How many echoes of such and similar phrases in a changed connection do we hear to-day!

"Moscow in Flames," one of the last of Danilevski's famous series of historical romances, was written more than thirty years ago. The author had the Napoleonic period at his finger-tips, and his local colour and detail are irreproachable. This prolific writer, the delight of Russian youth, lived and died in the nineteenth century. He was thus a contemporary of Fenimore Cooper, and the style of many of his stories of adventure has often been compared to that of the brilliant American. The charm of Danilevski's pages has not faded with time, and their power of instruction combined with pleasure seems as great now as it must have been in the eighties. The present work contains, indeed, enough thrills and hairbreadth escapes to please the most exacting school-boy; but there is also romance and charm, and an arresting historical picture, while the pleasing outline of the story is nowhere disturbed by inartistic sensationalism. Silent, dark-eyed Aurora, who dies a soldier's grim death, in Lieutenant's uniform, among rough, strange men and surroundings, where her sex is unsuspected, is interesting to us to-day, because she is the direct ancestress of our modern women warriors—with the difference, perhaps, that what was sheer romanticism in the nineteenth century is represented in the twentieth by a humming, go-ahead practicality and the breathless emancipation of the moment. Aurora, with her dreams of Charlotte Corday, and her heart torn with anguish for the unknown fate of her fiancé, a fate which, with all the other misfortunes that surround her, she lays at Napoleon's door—this Aurora is as much a child of her time as our smart, whistling, marching, hustling, uniformed girls are children of to-day. Her love-story in the book is but a thread. The interest, however, never flags, and the pictures of Moscow society immediately before the *débarde*, of the tragic days of the French invasion, of the fleeing population, the burning city, the retreating armies—all this, together with personal introductions to Napoleon, Murat, and, indeed, most of the famous historical personages of the day, cannot fail to prove highly attractive to youthful readers as well as to many of their elders. It occurs to one's mind, by the way, that this stirring romance is simply made for the stage. Will not some enterprising playwright dramatize it?

In conclusion, it can be said that if Danilevski has never given us the dazzling fireworks of a Dumas, nor, at the other end of the scale, the

noble and serious literary masterpiece of a Tolstoy ("Peace and War"), he has nevertheless left us a legacy of delight that should, by means of such admirable translations as the present one, be made accessible to the youth of all nations.

GENERAL

THE MAKING OF THE FUTURE

THE COMING POLITY. By Victor Branford and Patrick Geddes. **IDEAS AT WAR.** By Patrick Geddes and Dr. Gilbert Slater. ("Making of the Future" Series.) (*Williams and Norgate, 5s.*)

Almost alone among modern English thinkers, as far as we have observed these, the writers in this series seem, judging by the first two books published this summer—"Ideas at War," and "The Coming Polity"—to have some actual and constructive contribution to make towards the re-shaping of the thought, the re-consideration of the aims, which form and inform European civilization. Of critics of a searching calibre the war has discovered not a few, and some even antedated the war, as Mr. Belloc and Mr. J. K. Chesterton here, and conspicuously Mr. Thorstein Veblen in America. For instance, the trenchant criticisms and mordant irony of the latter have been devoted of late to the expression of the state of civilization in the Occidental world before the war, and likely to return with increased momentum afterwards, under the name of "An Inquiry into the Nature of Peace." But such writers, whether they denounce the "Servile State," like Belloc, or the economic arrangements of the modern world and their results, like Veblen, on the whole do little beyond showing us clearly the pailous state of modern civilization. They give us light to see the slough of despond, but they do not even claim to show us any definite way of escape from it. This is where Professor Geddes and Mr. Victor Branford differ from such writers—that while they are no less able to discover the evils from which we suffer, they also bring forward a point of view which helps us to perceive certain remedies for those evils. Further, they have a notation of their own which they claim to be of particular use for this object. They can by its means break up the mass of the social problem and apportion the evils from which society suffers into their definite spheres, and show in what direction remedies are to be looked for. This notation is found by putting together the formulæ of the four classes into which societies are divided by Comte and that used by Le Play to describe the influences shaping the individual. "Place, work, folk" of Le Play, when considered as affecting the "chiefs, people, intellectuals, and emotionals" of any society, works out in certain definite directions, and shows at what points we are to look for failure or success.

The scheme is worked out with something of the nature of a great game of chess. Sociology gains enormously in clearness and logic by the process. One result is to bring out clearly the fact that man, like any other organism, can only develop rightly in a suitable environment, and to give us some idea of what that environment should be. Our authors show us the great human blossoming periods as periods when the city

State flourishes, and when a common spiritual power unites those cities. The Imperialistic systems of modern times modelled at one or more removes on the Prussian State conception are shown to involve depression of human life. Our authors point out that we need to revive the conception of the local community blossoming into the regional city, as against that of the metropolitan city and the mere "provinces," if human life is to be full and rich. A further essential conception of these books is the dependence of civilization upon the primary rustic types and their compounds, the need to remember the "region" as the basis of civilization, while the city is its crown; and the corresponding need for the development of a rural-urban civilization, based on the actual survey and consideration of existing cities and their regions, instead of one governed too largely by abstract legal conceptions and abstractly trained professional men. *The gradual substitution of service from the wise for government by the powerful* may be taken as the central thought of both books, but they are difficult to summarize, because they contain so much that is new to the thought of the average man, and are couched in somewhat unfamiliar language. Our readers will do well to study them for themselves, and we venture to think that they will repay careful study and cause many people to reconsider some of their primary assumptions. Those who are students of Asiatic thought will note with interest that a prominent feature, the conception of the separation of the province of the temporal and spiritual powers, is one of the central conceptions of Baháism, as well as one of the implications of Christianity.

SARDINIA IN ANCIENT TIMES. By E. S. Bouchier. (Blackwell, Oxford.) 3s. 6d. net.

Mr. E. S. Bouchier has followed up his excellent volume on "Syria as a Roman Province" with a similar and equally welcome treatise on Sardinia, and has succeeded in investing what might at first sight appear to be a rather unpromising subject with a considerable amount of interest. The very isolation of the country insured that not only primitive, but also Roman conditions were preserved to a degree almost unsurpassed elsewhere. A picturesque tradition connects the first Sardinians with Shardinia, a body of mercenaries of the time of Rameses II.

In reality the island was a meeting-ground for Asiatics, Africans, and Iberians, and the excellence of the stock is being shown even to-day on the battle-fields of the Eastern Alps.

The author agrees that during the Roman period there was no especial connection between Sardinia and the Asiatic continent, but makes an interesting reference to a temple at Turras dedicated to the North Syrian war-god Jupiter Dolichenus.

There is also a full discussion of the phrase, "Sardonic laughter," which, according to the Romans, was caused by a bitter herb.

Greek writers generally describe the bitter laughter as that of old men who were slaughtered by their sons, being either driven into deep trenches or thrust off tall cliffs; or, again, it is the laughter of the victims immolated to Saturn-Molech by the Phœnician settlers in Sardinia.

TRADE, POLITICS, AND CHRISTIANITY IN AFRICA AND THE LAST By
J Macdonald (*Longmans, London*)

In a very striking introduction to this volume Sir Harry Johnston makes a forcible appeal for the better treatment of the 800,000,000 non-Christian and non-Caucasian inhabitants of the world "But we want Christian ethics to protect them from cruel exploitation, from degeneration and extinction, just as Christian ethics more widely applied will save from similar needless destruction many a remarkable beast or bird, tree or flowering plant, whose coexistence with man on this planet is perfectly consonant with human progress and happiness."

Further, Sir Harry points out that "the value of the Christian missionary is that he serves no Government. He is not the agent of any selfish State or self seeking community. He does not even follow very closely the narrow minded limitations of the Church or the sect that have sent him on his mission. He is the servant of an Ideal, which he identifies with God, and this ideal is in its essence not distinguishable from essential Christianity, which is at one and the same time essential common sense, real liberty, a real seeking after progress and betterment."

It is interesting to compare with this the statement of the author on p 186, where he writes - "The effect of race cleavage has been clearly in evidence in other parts of the world. Christianity has failed to unite Teuton, Slav, and Latin in Europe. Racial differences have kept them apart. Catholicism and the Hapsburg dynasty have not been able to weld the Austro-Hungarian monarchy into a compact whole. The existence of Finn and Slav, and Latin and Turk in the Balkans will always constitute a social problem in the Near East. Even in Ireland the influence of race has been stronger than that of religion in hindering the absorption of the Hibernian people into the political system of the British Isles."

The present volume naturally covers a wide area, but we may congratulate the author on giving a very thorough account of the problem of the relations of the white races with the natives of Africa, Asia, and America. We confess, however, that we should have liked to see some account of the original inhabitants of Australia, and what suggestions the author would make with regard to their rehabilitation. We note on p 187 the hint that the problem of governing India might be solved on a federal system. "The conglomeration," he adds, "may be welded into a firm, if artificial, organization by the inspiration of a grand Imperialism. The racial units," he explains, "will never be fused."

ARTICLES TO NOTE

THE FAR EAST

"Japan as it is" (*Contemporary Review*, November)

THE NEAR EAST

"The Gates of the Mediterranean" (*Fortnightly Review*, November)

"A Macedonian Future. Camp and Country" (*Cornhill*, November)

INDIA

"India Revisited a Recent Record of Candid Impressions" (*Black wood*, November)

"India Mr Montagu and his Mission" (*National Review*, November)

Curiosity has been rife as to the identity of the writer of a series of articles on *Germanism*, contrasting the aims of the Allies with the results of German *Kultur*, which have been appearing in the Greek Journal 'Η *Ηρόδοτος*.

These articles, manifesting an expert knowledge of the international situation and of the social problems involved, are from the pen of Dr Platon Drakoules, whose address to the recent Inter Allied Socialist Conference recently held in London appears in our present issue.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO THE FAR EAST

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA* for 1913-14, edited by Sir John Marshall, C I E, etc, recently received, is devoted to the Temples of Sanchi, the excavations at Avantipura and at Basārī, a description of the Ananda Temple at Pagan, excavations at Besnagar, Indian numismatics, a note on the Cholas, a note on a Trimurti, and minor subjects. Generally speaking, the illustrations are good, though those of coins might have been better if made from casts. The article on the Ananda Temple (36 pages), by Ch Duroselle, provides a series of about sixty illustrations out of eighty scenes of the life of Bodhisattva's last existence and progress towards final illumination. The article on Sāñchi (39 pages) is a further instalment of Sir John Marshall's studies in the preparation of a monograph, the cost of which will probably be high and the publication remote, the present article aims at giving students matter other than historical and iconographical, it introduces corrections in Cunningham's plan of 1854, and provides a mass of detailed information in a small compass.

Another recent publication of the Archaeological Survey is the Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, prepared by Mr J Coggin Brown, M SC, F G S †. The collection consists of palaeoliths, neoliths, copper and silver objects, and a few—indeed, very few—iron implements, merely mentioned without description. The author gives a general survey of the distribution of artefacts of various types in the diverse provinces, and he quotes several authorities—R B Foote, King, Evans, Vincent Smith, etc. His work is not intended as an introduction to the subject, for which he refers the student to the British Museum guides—not, one would imagine, a common bookstall commodity in India,

* "Archaeological Survey Annual Report, 1913-1914" Calcutta Superintendent of Printing Pp xi+312+iv, with 77 plates and 1 cut Rupees 20 (30s)

† Simla Government Central Press Royal 8vo, pp 155, with 10 plates (about 180 objects illustrated)

by the way. His descriptions are remarkably terse—some, indeed, very short; e.g.:

5653. Missing.
5677. Not an implement.
2004. Trap flake.
Etc.

—comparable to mineralogical labels.

It is a pity that the copper age antiquities have not been fully illustrated; eight photographs, chiefly from the Gungeria hoard, are a short allowance. Room might have been provided for Fatehgahr 5 and a few of the other swords, quite as interesting as the celts shown, if not, indeed, more so.

Students of iconography know how important are the mūdra of the gods and other images; some of them have been described and figured in the *Toung Pao* with reference to the figures of the Buddha; another well-known work of reference published by the Musée Guimet has made accessible the meanings hidden in the manifold movements of the hands of the Buddhist officiant; yet the literature, and especially the illustrations, of this intricate subject are scanty. One welcomes, therefore, very heartily the brochure translated by Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy and Mr. Gopala Kristnarja Duggirala, recently issued by the Harvard University Press, *THE MIRROR OF GESTURE*,* being the *Abhinaya Darpaṇa* of Nankideśvara, which the translators dedicate to all actors and actresses. Indeed, it is to Mr. Gordon Craig's desire, expressed in 1915, to get at the original instructions of the teachers of Indian dance that this little book owes its appearance in English. Small in bulk, but packed with information from board to board, it will prove of interest not only to those who seek to express by gesture in dance or play their emotions or feelings (indeed, one wonders why they should seek to subordinate their own gesture to the canons of Indian tradition), but also, and perhaps more so, to those who study Indian arts, in helping them to understand the meaning of a pose disclosed to the initiated by the pose itself, by the gesture, but hidden from the profane beholder. In that direction it will be a distinct addition to the shelves of iconographic students. The book deals chiefly with the head, glances, and meaning of the hand gestures: relationships, planets, gods, castes, oceans, rivers, heaven and hell, trees, animals, flying creatures, and swimming animals, are all represented by hand twists or movements, some of which are merely described, whilst others are elucidated by photographs from life or from works of art. The book is beautifully got up, an almost needless thing to say when its sponsors are named.

Professor B. Kumar Sarkar continues his socio-religious studies in Hindu folk institutions in a book on the *FOLK ELEMENT IN HINDU CULTURE*,† the main object of which is to explain the development of the popular form of Shaiva worship, known as Gambhīrā, Gājan, and Nīla. This explanation is remarkably thorough. The author, who is a voluminous writer on sociology and history, has drawn from numerous sources

* London: Humphrey Milford, 1917. Royal 8vo., pp. 53, with 15 plates.

† London: Longmans. 8vo., pp. xx+312+iv. 15s. net.

available in Bengali, and has given copious translations from his authorities. He seeks to establish a theory for the existence of this religious festival, traces its spread, describes its history and evolution, and finally shows that it has been instrumental in developing the education of the masses through its influence on literature, on the arts and industries of the country by creating a spirit of emulation, of competition, which had lasting effects far beyond the few days of the feast. Quotations are given at length of the Bengali folk poems relating to Shaivism. Descriptions of the festivals themselves are followed by an inquiry on the relations between Hinduism and Buddhism, together with chapters on Jain influence, the place of Islam in popular Hinduism, a biographical sketch of Rāmāi Pandit, a chapter on mask and dances, another on the self-imposed tortures of the Sannyāsi, and another on the invention of gods by the people. Such a maze of details as the author has accumulated requires a good index, and the indices in this book are models of thoroughness: they fill sixty pages in two columns of small print, followed by four pages of bibliography; and may be taken as an atonement for the author's introduction of political matter in the last pages of the book.

Passing from India to China, we notice a handsome volume of reprints of articles from the *Tientsin Times* and the *China Illustrated Weekly*, revised and enlarged, from the versatile pen of Mr. Arthur de C. Sowerby, a naturalist and sportsman whose "Fur and Leather in North China" was reviewed in these columns two years ago, and has since left our shelves to grace those of a young and enthusiastic animal lover. Mr. de Sowerby's new book, *A SPORTSMAN MISCELLANY*, contains twenty-one chapters and some eighty photographs. It does justice to its title in being chiefly a *livre de chasse* where pheasants, snipe, ducks, leopards, rams, takin, ponies, and wolves, spread their dead limbs, silent witnesses to the writer's deadly aim. Ten pages are filled by the story of Jimmy, the author's dog—ten pages which alone would make the book worth having. Readers who are mathematically inclined will appreciate the discussion on the relative speeds of birds and the calculation of lead in aiming, in which will be found a hard smack at German ammunition, and also a piece of Rooseveltian spelling which is worth recording (page 137): "A very difficult shot for those who have not learnt the *nack* (*sic*) of it," etc. We knew Mr. de Sowerby sent specimens to the Field Museum in Chicago, but has he got an American printer as an exchange? One wishes that instead, some good process-block makers settled in China and in India to improve the illustrations, which in Eastern books are so far lacking in beauty and giving so often too little credit to fine photographs. Mr. de Sowerby's own black-and-white drawings are, as usual, dotted here and there.

But all is not sport in China. The second edition of Professor E. H. Parker's *CHINA, HER HISTORY, DIPLOMACY, AND COMMERCE*,* will provide less occasional reading than the previous books. The work needs no introduction, nor, indeed, comment: it is one of the best, most read-

* London: John Murray. 8vo., pp. xxii + 417, with 17 maps. 10s. 6d. net.

able and straightforward books on China, by one who has kept in touch with the country almost day by day. Moreover, too many articles from the learned pen of Professor Parker have appeared in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* for our readers to be unaware of his depth of knowledge and incisiveness of exposition. This new edition has been enlarged and brought up to a recent date—February 15, 1917—six weeks before the work left the press. The book has been very thoroughly revised, and its up-to-date-ness includes a vigorous handling of German activities in the Far East which will be an eye-opener to those who allowed a German firm to wash, mend, and dye in synthetic indigo the Chinaman's cotton clothes at an exhibition some half-dozen years ago, free of charge, and never troubled to engineer a counter-stroke! Professor Parker's book is, like his articles, fine reading; a bit racy here and there, to help the dryness of statistics and politics to "go down" with the general reader; but we doubt whether heading a page "Not in these Trowsers" will commend itself to the staid students of China; and if Mr. Murray's paper endures for more years than printing paper is usually credited with, in future times readers will wonder what this gag means. A footnote might have been an advertisement for a music-hall man whose name will perhaps be forgotten by then: why tax the understanding of generations to come? So much for Professor Parker's love of colloquialisms. On page 394 he cannot resist imparting the information that he has not seen the second edition of Giles's "Chinese Dictionary." Well, well! does it mean that Victoria University does not boast a copy? or is it a gentle reminder to A. H. G. that once a collaborator, always a collaborator, who should be presented with a copy of reprinted or revised editions? We dedicate the problem to whom it may concern. The chapter "Personal Characteristics" is a double-barrelled shot-gun, for it introduces to us John Chinaman's vindication and an insight into Professor Parker's own characteristics. A man who is never an attraction to vermin may be blessed with sound sleep, but to be carried away with one's bed by a robber and to be deposited in another spot minus one's fur coat without waking must be an index to a good conscience! One is glad to see the opinion of Professor Parker anent the Japanese rule in Korea; so much has been written and said against the Japanese by H. B. Hulbert and by missionaries from Australia, Europe, and America, who object to the slightest curb being put upon their nefarious activities, that the recognition that Korea is doing well as a Japanese province should attract attention. It is only a few weeks ago that at a public lecture on Korea which was so elementary as to annoy, taking into consideration the place and the lecturer, an unknown person thought fit to ejaculate, "Korea for the Koreans!" with some bitterness and insistence, and did not even get a rebuke direct or indirect from the lecturer, who gave far more importance to his own journey to Korea years ago and to the comical incidents thereof than to the political or economic aspects of Chosen, which his hearers would doubtless have appreciated. It is greatly to be desired that a standardized spelling of Asiatic names be adopted. Professor Parker has one of his own which often jars upon one's eyesight: why *Madjars*, *Yeddo*, *Ouigour* and *Hiung nu* (which contradict one another as to the phonetic value of *u*).

Tonquin, etc. ? The author may be right, but it is none the less puzzling to see in three different volumes now before our eyes three spellings for T'ang, and two, Huen Tsang and Hsian Chwang, for the one and same pilgrim. Cannot a congress settle this once and for all soon after the war is ended, without getting itself into a German morass like the Bâle Anatomical Nomenclature ?

The JAPAN MAGAZINE continues to provide its readers with articles by Japanese writers on subjects of art, archaeology, trade, and politics. A new monthly periodical, THE NEW EAST, published since June, under the editorship of its proprietor, Mr J W Robertson Scott, aims at providing articles on Japan by Japanese and European writers, some of the articles appearing in Japanese, in the usual wretchedly small fount of type used for books, magazines, and the ruin of the reader's eyesight. The September issue now before us is a distinctly good magazine, a little "snappy" in parts, but containing much that will remain of permanent value for reference later, but we cannot admire the "Competition Sketches." The disclosures regarding Germany's thorough penetration of China are timely and welcome, they might even be made more thorough by publishing the Jiji's articles in full and adding information from China. This article will supplement the corresponding chapter in Professor Parker's book. It may be safely stated that in the German schools in China English was not the usual everyday language used by teachers and students as in a missionary school *subventioned by the French Government*, where, a few years ago a Frenchman could not make himself understood by the Chinese children except in English.

In ASIA, the journal of the American Asiatic Association, we find two articles on Japanese affairs, one by Walter Weyl, in which we are told that "Japan is desperately poor," and that "in the very forefront of the Japanese mind is the image of an embattled America, standing between Japan and what she believes is her justifiable ambition in Asia", that "the American menace is a thing real and immediate to the mind of the Japanese statesman." The other article contains a paragraph which is also a warning to leave China alone. It is remarkable how the Yankee mind does look upon itself as the sole arbiter of Asiatic affairs now and for ever after, although her chief exports to China were for a long while missionaries, paraffin oil—pardon! Standard oil—and Virginia cigarettes. The Editors of ASIA might also try to spell Kali in the usual way (not Karli), and use a French dictionary to avoid printing three times on the same page *Poudrier du Bouché*. The reproductions of photographs in ASIA are better than much of the text. There is, particularly, that prodding of the Japanese which is calculated to irritate, it recurs on page 638 and on the contents bill, in the condemnation of the contributor who went to the Far East on behalf of ASIA, found American hostility to Japan unjust, and greatly dared to criticize China! Why not quote Viscounts Ishii, Motono, and Chinda's speeches, which would be of more value than the comments on Lindsay Russell's excellent advice quoted on that page?

The illustrations of Helen Hyde's prints and those of *Ikebana* are excellent

The Trustees of the British Museum have recently published a handsome catalogue of the Japanese and Chinese woodcuts preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings, prepared or edited by Mr. Laurence Binyon,* who has had the assistance of several Japanese, one of whom, Mr. Hogitaro Inada, is particularly well informed on the subject of Japanese prints, and has been responsible for the revision—or even for a large part of the preparation—of the now classical catalogues of the exhibitions of prints held in Paris of late years, under the leadership of Mr. R. Koehlin. The British Museum collection was for a while a small one, and of little value, until, in 1906, far too late to secure good things at a cheap figure, the collection of Mr. Arthur Morrison was secured *en bloc*—to be followed later by his collection of Japanese paintings, which do not come within the same purview. Since then other purchases have filled gaps. The catalogue gives for each print a very full description, together with additional details, explaining the subject or scene, the poems found now and again on prints, etc., and no one who has not attempted the preparation of a truly descriptive catalogue can appreciate the pitfalls which beset the unwary. There are many catalogues of prints in existence, but in all probability the official origin of the present volume will make it a permanent work of reference for print collectors, much as Anderson's catalogue of Chinese and Japanese paintings has been and still is. Consequently, one would wish to be sure that it does not suffer from inaccuracies, and from the varied qualifications of the gentlemen who from time to time have helped Mr. Binyon, one of whom, at least, had to our knowledge little or no knowledge of prints at all. The Introduction is a very creditable essay, though some of the statements about the dating of prints are controversial, one, at any rate, is based on a hasty assumption by a reader too eager to be thorough; we allude to the Kiyonobu Print, No. 2, and to the statement on page xxxiv that it contains the words *Kanadehon Chushungura*; the first word is there right enough, but *Chushungura* is not. *Chirashi Kaki iro iro* *ari* is the proper reading. It advertises the sale of all kinds of books written in Kana, but not of the story of the Rōnins. Mr. Waley has made a mistake, and Mr. Binyon might have had a Japanese check his "discovery," apparently made recently. Other statements are more or less open to doubt; that about Sharaku's popularity is not bolstered by any evidence as far as we know. The remark about Fenollosa's hints on the subject of hair-dressing reminds us that Fenollosa had been incited by A. Brockhaus to collect historical information about hairdressing, and that the publication of this would be of value to collectors; but, after all, at any time a personage might well affect an old-fashioned form of "toupet." There was a living example some years ago in the late Mr. Furukawa, who kept his top-knot when his contemporaries were adopting European hair-

* Small 4to., pp. lili + 605, with 37 plates, of which 3 are in colour. 21s. net. (Brit. Museum, Quaritch, Longmans, Asher, Milford.)

cuts. The whole story of the Ukiyoe is so swathed in obscurity that any crumbs of fresh or revised information will be welcome; but we wonder whether all the statements on page xxxii can be taken for granted, having regard to the error on page xxiv? We have not had time to check them from the original Japanese book, and this is merely a *caveat*. The reproductions of signatures at the end of the book will be of value to many collectors, some of whom shudder at the sight of a dictionary. The illustrations would have been more satisfactory had they been printed in collotype, or on some other material than the flimsy Japanese paper, which does not give the half-tone blocks "a ghost of a chance," the background becoming a uniformly smutty grey, for which there is no excuse. Here and there a few inaccuracies crept in—e.g., page 215, only *one* strip of bamboo sheath is ever put on the *baren*; Wen Wang (p. xlvii) is not Bunwō (Wang = Ō).

The transliteration of names is very erratic, and often obsolete or inaccurate. We note Kitawo Yawoya, Yawozo, here Giwon, there Gion, Hatsamoyo (*u*), Kagiwara (*j*), Munisada (*e*), Nirihiira (*u*), as a few uncorrected errata which might be embodied in a loose sheet completing the list printed on pages xlvii-xlviii. Sato Tadanotu (p. 105) used a *Go ban*; the expression "chequers-board" might mean *Shogiban*, *Goban*, or some other game table. Page 105, No. 11, and page 148, No. 2, should not be the Daimio of Date, but Daté Masamune Daimyo of Sendai; on page 101, No. 16, describing Narihiira in the Yatsushashi as "in character," is rather vague; on page 99, No. 9 is a good specimen of telegraphic English with the name of the Kiogen censored! page 114, No. 12, Shakuhachi is *not* a flute (*fuyō*), it is a flageolet; on page 142, No. 13 should read Kintoki and his *mother*, Yama Uba; and on pages 145 and 146, Nos. 1-3, Furiu *mutsu no* Tamagawa; page 146, No. 1, should read *Ebira Genda* Kagesuye: the plum branch was fastened to his quiver; page 167, No. 2, Hanaogi represents here not Fugen but Eguchi no kimi; page 200, No. 66, has a misprint in the reading of the tanzaku; on page 304, *hooves*, as plural of hoof, seems singular in an official publication; and on page 306 the name *Mitsumara* is probably an unconscious printer's effort which will raise a smile. It seems needless to go further to show that, notwithstanding the duration of its preparation, this book could do with a fair amount of editing to avoid mistakes being passed on by copyists. It must be clearly stated that the difficulties of the task are fully appreciated, and that the above remarks are not made in a carping spirit or to belittle the value of the book, but merely to point out that, like most books dealing with Japanese subjects written in the midst of other work, it is not free from blemishes, the recognition of which happens generally too late for correction, to the eternal annoyance of the responsible author most of all.

OUR PROBLEM OF ENGLISH POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION

BY LORD GEORGE HAMILTON

UNDER this head a kindly reference and criticism was made in the August number of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* in connection with a book I wrote some time ago, entitled, "Parliamentary Reminiscences"; and that book was bracketed with another—"In the Wake of the War. Parliament or Imperial Government?" by Harold Hodge.

Your criticism did not fathom to the full the nature of my objections to and criticisms upon the efficiency of our present Parliamentary system.

Our Parliament dominates and controls to a far greater extent than any other known Parliamentary system the executive and administrative functions of the Government of the day. It is supreme, not only in these fields of work, but also as regards legislation; and, since the House of Lords has been pushed into the background, this control is concentrated in the House of Commons, and the House of Commons is supposed to be controlled by the Government—or, rather, the Cabinet of the Government.

Under this system we have not attained efficiency so far as either administration or even legislation is concerned, and the question which has often occurred to me, and which I wished indirectly to raise in my "Reminiscences," is, Are the conditions established by the existing British Constitution neces-

sarily incompatible with good administration and an effective executive Government?

You seem to think that my criticisms are largely based upon the assumption that I have spent most of my political life in a minority, and, consequently, kick against the decisions of the majority; but such is not the case. Out of the thirty-eight years that I was in Parliament, for twenty-three and a half my Party were in power, and for fourteen and a half the Radical Party were in power.

I fully admit and appreciate the advantages under which a democratic Government based on just representation works. It carries the people with it; and the assumption is that all its work is, more or less, based on a strong and solid foundation. Admitting the advantage of the democratic foundation, cannot you build up upon it an effective executive and administrative system?

Much as we may detest German methods and German autocracy, nobody can for a moment contrast in normal times the work and legislation of their Government with our own without coming to the conclusion that the legislation of the German Government is far more efficient and far cheaper than our own. Must democracy always be saddled with inept administrators? That is the question we have to consider in the immediate future. Judgment, knowledge, force of character and a judicial temperament are gifts which are frequently not associated with a fluent and plausible tongue; but it is just the fluent and plausible tongue that secures for a candidate representation to the House of Commons. Bismarck, if we take the magnitude and permanence of his work, was unquestionably the first statesman of the last century. Though he rapped out striking sentences, he was no orator, and at times had some difficulty in expressing himself.

Politics in no sense differ from other branches of human action. A man has got to know his job; but the men who are appointed under our Parliamentary system to be administrative heads of departments do not, as a rule, know their jobs. A large proportion of them are elected, and given high adminis-

trative posts, not because they are good administrators, or have any special qualities for or knowledge of the office to which they are appointed, but because they have political influence; and Cabinets are composed, not so much with a view to getting men of first-class administrative ability into the Government, but with a view to securing an administration which has behind it a majority of votes, and the larger that majority the longer the tenure of the administration is likely to be. The Cabinet, which is supposed to control Parliament, has so overgrown itself as to be a helpless administrative machine. During the greater part of the war there were twenty-three gentlemen in the Cabinet. The increase in numbers in the Cabinet induces the Prime Minister of the day to bring in a considerable number of indifferent men upon whose votes he can rely. A Cabinet is, therefore, largely composed of two elements: the first are men who are inept, but who are likely to back the Prime Minister; and then come those who are in search of political adventure. Can satisfactory administration or legislation be evolved out of such a compound? Take our recent legislation in connection with the National Insurance and Old Age Pensions, or our past administration of the Poor Law. In each one of these important social problems there has been a miscalculation in expenditure and a waste of money which is absolutely appalling to foreigners. They cannot understand how we contrive to spend so much money with so little result. The explanation, of course, is that the people who had either to promote that legislation or to control the Poor Law did not understand their business. They contrive to blunder through, but at the expense of the taxpayer.

To take an illustration of the difference between the English and German systems, one has only to allude to the preliminary preparation in each country previous to the introduction and legislation of such an important social matter as National Insurance. In this case committees of the best experts sat for years in Germany. They elaborated and threshed out a scheme which was ultimately presented to Parliament, and it was with the sanction and approval of these high authorities that the

legislation was placed upon the Statute-Book which did in its result correspond to the anticipations of its promoters and to their estimates of its cost.

In England, without any adequate investigation, and in the space of a few months, a scheme was rushed upon Parliament ; and it was obvious, from the discussions which ensued, that this scheme was crude and not thought out. The closure was remorselessly applied to carry it through Parliament, and it was placed on the Statute-Book, with the result that might have been foreseen. The Estimates which formed the foundation of its recommendations proved wholly illusory—so much so, that I think I am within the mark when I say that that expenditure has been double, if not treble, the original estimate, and the Approved Societies who were entrusted with the execution of the scheme are, most of them, now actuarially insolvent.

After this hasty legislation had been placed upon the Statute-Book its promoters went over to Germany to inquire into German methods.

When this war is over, the burden of our debt, and of the pensions necessary to be paid to those who have been maimed in the war, will be such that we cannot afford to bolster up crude and half-baked legislative proposals by dint of lavish expenditure. Mr. Lloyd George has greatly benefited our national polity by abolishing the old Cabinet, constituting a small Committee of five or six to carry on the war, and bringing in men of business experience and capacity to be heads of business departments. (I use the word "business" in contradistinction to purely "political" departments.)

My first criticism, therefore, upon our system is that popular elections as at present conducted in this country do not give us efficient administrators in an Imperial Parliament. And I may go further, and say that the same evil is becoming more and more apparent in County and Borough Councils—so much so, that there is almost a general recognition amongst those experts who have made a special study of these local questions that the representative authorities must be strengthened, either

by the appointment of more permanent officials, or by co-opting men from outside who will counteract the deficiencies and inexperience of the elected members.

As regards the representation of the House of Commons, the steady decadence in recent years of the reputation and administrative efficiency of that body is largely due to its procedure and the intolerable waste of time which that procedure permits to the self-advertising politician. Men of first-class ability and active habits will not waste a considerable proportion of their life simply in being part of a voting-machine or in listening to interminably dull and un instructive speeches. Whilst there is still a considerable number of first-class speakers in the House of Commons, and men of high attainments and ideals, I doubt if there is any assembly in the world where you will hear such banalities, such tedious repetition, or such wholesale waste of time for personal advertisement. The reform of the procedure of the House of Commons is an essential preliminary to a rehabilitation of its reputation and administrative efficiency, and until this is done I am quite confident there will not be that improvement in the administrative capacity of those who constitute our Government for which we all crave, and which we find as yet so difficult to create.

The House of Commons consists now of 670 members, to whom it is proposed to add thirty under the new Franchise Bill. The total seating accommodation inside the House, including Galleries, from which Members cannot speak, barely accommodates a moiety of this number. To make it an efficient body it should be summarily reduced to half—viz., 350—and there would be no practical difficulty in this reduction, as it would simply mean doubling up, under the new Reform Bill, adjacent Constituencies.

In the next place, far more work should be done by Committees outside the House.

The multiplicity of speeches by the same individual should be rigidly curtailed, though every opportunity should be given for the interpellation or indictment of the Government. If the House of Commons would resolutely turn its attention to con-

verting what is now a House of vague and indiscriminate talk into an assembly of businesslike legislation, the change would at once attract a more practical stamp of politician to it.

There is, however, one redeeming feature amongst the general decadence of the House of Commons during the past twenty years. The Labour Members have come out exceptionally well. They rarely talk on matters they have not mastered or do not understand. They may occasionally be tempestuous when their feelings are excited, but, as a rule, they have unquestionably contributed by their demeanour to the dignity and reputation of the House of Commons, and those of them who during this war have been put into positions of administrative responsibility have done exceptionally well, and devoted themselves to their work, and understood that their primary duty was action and achievement, and not talk and self-advertisement.

It must, however, be remembered that working-men who have become Members of Parliament did so on a reputation already made, and it is in consequence of their having made their reputation amongst their supporters that they are elected by them as their representatives. They are not "on the make," and it is the politician "on the make" who is the curse of all legislative assemblies.

So far I have only dealt with internal questions, but our Parliament has wide and all-important functions in connection with our Colonies, our Empire beyond the Seas and the Oversea Dominions. These questions are assuming more and more importance, and it is an absolute impossibility that a satisfactory conclusion of the great problems which they raise can be satisfactorily settled by an assembly of parochial chatterboxes.

Not the least of the tasks which await the Allies after the war is over is the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Poland. Let those who wish to reconstruct the British Empire remember and ponder over the cause of the collapse of the Polish kingdom. Two hundred years ago it was the most powerful monarchy in Central Europe. Its dominions extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea. It had, however, a bad Constitu-

tion. Talk, and inability to act on account of this talk, coupled with the power of veto exercised by individuals in the constituent authority, wrought ruin upon a people who had many of the highest qualities of a noble nation. Let us be careful that the British Empire does not collapse and become effete through a manifestation of the same weaknesses which in so subtle and dangerous a form lie embedded in the so-called British Constitution.

October 29, 1917.



THE JUBILEE OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

(FOUNDED 1866)

CHAPTER VIII

THE most interesting event connected with the meetings of the Association during the Session 1898-99 was the first public appearance of the Earl of Elgin—late Viceroy of India—who took the chair at the reading of a paper by Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., on "The Indian Famine Report of 1899," and made two most important speeches, in which he explained and justified his famine policy, and expressed the warm acknowledgments of the people of India for the help and sympathy extended to them by the people of Great Britain.

Another address before the Association deserving special mention was delivered by the Hon. John Barrett, United States Consul-General at Bangkok, on "Siam and Her Neighbours." This lecture was a little outside the ordinary routine of the Association's work ; but it was explained by the Chairman (and the policy has been endorsed by the Council) that the connection of India with other countries in the East, such as Persia, Afghanistan, China and Siam, has now become so intimate that it was desirable to occasionally extend the area of the Association's proceedings and invite lectures on such countries when it was evident that Indian policy or interests were directly involved.

Other Lecturers of reputation and exceptional knowledge who addressed meetings of the Association during the past season were Colonel R. C. Temple, C.I.E., on "The Development of Currency in the Far East," with Lord Reay in the

chair ; Sir Charles Roe, on " Tribes and the Land in the Punjab," with Sir Lepel Griffin in the chair ; Mr. C. W. Whish, on " Reform in the Police Administration of India," with Lord Reay in the chair ; Sir Roland Wilson, Bart., on " The Codification of the Personal Laws of the Natives of India," with Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., in the chair.

The question of the formation of agricultural Banks was discussed by the Council in connection with a scheme propounded by Mr. Alexander Rogers, I.C.S., and it was ultimately resolved that, although the Association would gladly see agricultural Banks experimentally started in suitable districts on the general lines laid down by Mr. Rogers, they did not see their way to take any practical action to give effect to the scheme.

On March 6, 1900, Sir Lepel Griffin, the Chairman of Council, read an admirable paper on " Persia," with General Sir Thomas E. Gordon, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.S.I., in the chair, and in the presence of Lord Chelmsford, G.C.B., and Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., and a crowded audience.

After some preliminary remarks, Sir Lepel Griffin said there was no occasion for the East India Association to apologize for inviting an address and discussion on Persia, a country which is connected with India by a long diplomatic history, while the interests and perhaps the fortunes of both have been, and will remain, nearly related. " You may remember," he said, " that Lord Curzon dedicated his monumental work on ' Persia ' to the Officials, Civil and Military, in India whose hands uphold the noblest fabric yet reared by the genius of a conquering nation " ; and in this dedication Lord Curzon not only paid what this Association may consider a just tribute to those services, but they will hold that his judgment was right in appreciating the importance which Persia is to India."

Strange to say, Sir Lepel welcomed the advent of Germany into Asia Minor and the East, and used these words : " With regard to Germany, although at the present moment there is, no doubt, an exceedingly bitter feeling against England, an irritation so illogical as to be ridiculous, yet the Emperor of

Germany who is a warm friend of this country, and who is the cleverest man in his dominions, thoroughly understands that the future of German interests demands a sensible understanding with England. I have no doubt that before very long his people will accept his view as reasonable, and that the entrance of Germany into the Asian field will be for the future advantage of both countries."

Sir Lepel opposed the proposal to link up India with Russia, and considered that "Nothing could be more imbecile than to surrender the supremacy—the absolute supremacy—that we have in the command of the sea-carrying trade of the world by making railways through Afghanistan, Persia, and Baluchistan in order to favour our trade rivals."

During the Session 1900-1901 the wars in the Transvaal and China, and the death of the Queen-Empress, unfavourably affected the activities of the Association; but, nevertheless, several important papers were read and discussed. Amongst these were :

Tuesday, June 12 : Mr. Archibald Colquhoun, the distinguished traveller, on "Afghanistan, the Key to India," Joseph Walton, Esq., M.P., in the chair.

Friday, June 29 : Mr. Maconachie, of the Bengal Civil Service, on "The Desirability of a Definite Recognition of the Religious Element in Government Education in India," Lord Reay in the chair.

Tuesday, December 4 : Mr. William Sowerby, C.E., F.G.S., on "Water-Supply and Prevention of Drought in India," Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., in the chair.

Tuesday, January 29, 1901 : Mr. F. Loraine Petre, late Commissioner at Allahabad, lectured on "Indian Secretariats and their Relation to General Administration," Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

Monday, May 6 : Mr. John David Rees, C.I.E., late member of the Governor-General's Council, on "Famine Facts and Fallacies," Sir Charles Elliott in the chair.

June 24 : Mr. Thorburn, lately Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, on "Agricola Redivivus," the Rt. Hon. Mr. Leonard Courtney, P.C., in the chair.

December 2 : By Dr. Duncan, of the Educational Depart-

ment of Madras, "Is the Educational System of India a Failure?" Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

January 28 : "The Spread of Municipal Ideas in India," by Mr. Alexander Rogers, with Sir Charles Stevens, K.C.S.I., presiding.

February 10 : "The Indian Civil Service, and the Further Admission of Natives of India," by Mr. J. B. Pennington, with the Hon. Percy Wyndham in the chair.

February 26 : "Is State-aided Education in any Shape Suitable to the Present Condition of India?" by Sir Roland Wilson, Bart., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., in the chair.

April 29 : "India and South Africa," by Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., the Right Hon. Lord Reay in the chair.

The question of the grievances of Indian British subjects in South Africa, both in the newly-annexed Boer States and in Natal, was again brought before the attention of the Secretary of State for the Colonies and India ; and it was pointed out that the matter should be given full and careful consideration now that the war was drawing to a close, as it might afterwards be difficult to alter a condition of things that had become stereotyped and immovable. The lecture of April 29, on "India and South Africa," by Sir Lepel Griffin, with its subsequent discussion, dealt with one branch of the same subject, and advocated the settlement of Indian Immigrants on a large scale in those parts of South and Central Africa which are not exclusively reserved for European colonization, or which cannot be effectively colonized by men of European blood. A very large portion of the African dominions of Great Britain are of this character. He urged that the advantages and disadvantages of this scheme of Indian colonization were fair subjects for discussion, and deserved the fullest consideration and inquiry.

The Coronation of His Majesty King Edward VII. was the most important event during the year, both for India and the whole British Empire. It brought to England a large number of independent Princes, Chiefs and representative guests of the Crown, together with detachments from the most distinguished regiments of the three Presidencies ; and the

Council recorded its belief that the cordial welcome extended to their Indian guests by all classes of the British people, and the dignified, sympathetic, and friendly attitude of the Indians towards their British hosts, have done more than anything that has before occurred in the history of the two races to create a mutual feeling of respect and affection, which may have the happiest results in the future.

Among the ruling Princes who visited London the East India Association must gratefully remember His Highness the Maharaja Madharao Sindhia of Gwalior, G.C.S.I., who presented on the occasion of his visit to the Association a donation of £1,000, to be invested or otherwise employed by the Council in furtherance of their declared objects.

Among the papers of interest read during the session were the following :

May 26 : S. S. Thorburn, Esq., " Education by Newspaper," Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

June 9 : C. W. Whish, Esq., " Agricultural Banks in India," Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart., in the chair.

November 24 : R. H. Elliott, Esq., " Economical Effects of Recent Indian Currency Legislation," Sir Robert Griffin, K.C.B., in the chair.

March 23, 1903 : J. D. Rees, Esq., C.I.E., " The Western Frontiers of India," the Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Dilke, Bart., in the chair.

May 18 : C. W. Whish, Esq., " The Social Question in India," Sir Roland Wilson, Bart., in the chair.

June 8 : Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart., " Indians in the Transvaal : Their Grievances as British Citizens," the Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Dilke, Bart., in the chair.

As a result of this last paper the following strongly-worded communication was sent to the Colonial Office from the East India Association.

TO THE RIGHT HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, M.P.,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

The memorial of the East India Association respectfully sheweth :

That the British Indian settlers in the Transvaal have shown

themselves to be law-abiding, industrious, peaceful, and loyal Citizens of the Empire.

That a notification has been issued at Pretoria, on April 8 last, reviewing and enforcing the Boer laws of 1885 and 1886, which imposed on British Indian subjects disqualifications and indignities unmerited by their conduct, uncalled for by any public necessity, and incompatible with the free and tolerant principles of British Administration.

And that fresh legislation on the subject is now contemplated.

Your memorialists therefore pray that, before this or any legislation is sanctioned or approved imposing disabilities on British Indians in the Transvaal, a full and formal inquiry as to the necessity for such legislation be made by an impartial authority, under the direction of the Colonial Office ; that in this inquiry the burden of proof be placed upon those who desire to impose such disabilities ; and that, pending this inquiry, the Pretoria notification of April 8 be withdrawn, so as to place all the parties on a fair and equal footing.

We have the honour to remain, your most obedient servants,
LEPEL GRIFFIN, Chairman ; M. M. BHOWNAGGREE, A. K. CONNELL, LESLEY C. PROBYN, F. LORAIN PETRE, J. B. PENNINGTON, W. H. RATTIGAN, C. ROE, ROBERT SEWELL, T. H. THORNTON, S. S. THORBURN, Members of the Council of the East India Association ; C. W. ARATHOON, Member of Council and Hon. Secretary.

Although the Association was in no way concerned with the political interests involved in the employment of Chinese labour in the Transvaal, yet, mindful of its long defence of the rights of Indians in South Africa, it could not refrain from observing that the efforts of those who had shown themselves so eager to defend Chinamen from irksome conditions of employment (of which neither they nor their Government complained) would have been exerted more logically and beneficially in removing the gross and unjust disabilities which Colonial Legislation and Trade-union Sentiment have imposed upon Indian settlers in the South African colonies. The Association maintained (and

Government of India and the Colonial Office were indisposed or unable to obtain for them a recognition of those rights, this Association will not refrain from protesting against their inaction.

Another subject of great importance to India, and of grave concern to the Association, was the imposition of a heavy additional tax on tea, which had been already incidentally discussed at the Association, and will, it is hoped, be dealt with in a special paper hereafter. The policy of burdening a new and promising Indian industry with crushing taxation, instead of obtaining the necessary revenue from foreign imports or from some article of home consumption more obnoxious to public health and order than tea, was challenged by the Association as opposed to all reasonable economical doctrine, and a direct injustice to India. Some public indignation was expressed at the imposition of higher rates on Indian tea imported into Persia ; but the Association failed to see how complaint could be justly levied against Russia or Persia in this matter when the British Government itself, with less or no excuse, dealt a still heavier blow at the Indian tea trade.

On the termination of the war between Russia and Japan, the Association placed on record in its Annual Report for 1904-1905 the following remarks :

“ It would ill become our Association, which includes amongst its members so many of the most distinguished of the Princes of India, and so many Statesmen who have successfully administered His Majesty's Government in the East, to attempt to minimize or deny the far-reaching effects which will

should in no measure relax their efforts to widen the bounds of liberty ; to extend the blessings of a reasonable and fruitful education ; to develop the industries of India ; to improve its agricultural methods ; to include a larger number of India's educated and upper classes in the Administration ; and to reduce, as far as may be practicable, the taxes which press most heavily upon the poor. If the British Government of India applies itself with whole-hearted energy to this Imperial task, we shall see each year the Indian peoples more contented and prosperous, and the roots of the British Empire in the East will strike deep—secure against rebellion within and hostility without—in the gratitude and affection of a loyal and free people."

A resolution was unanimously passed at the meeting held to discuss Mr. Thorburn's paper, "India under Protection," to the effect that India should be assigned a place proportionate to her importance in the Empire, and that her Representatives should include independent and unofficial Members, English and Indian, of British India and Native States, adequately representing her more important interests and industries. A copy of this resolution was sent to the Secretary of State for India and to other prominent Statesmen.

The event of the Session of 1905-1906 which appealed most strongly to the masses of the Indian population was undoubtedly the tour of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales in India ; and the acclamations of loyalty to the person of the King-Emperor as represented by his Heir made a profound impression.

Three of the first papers read during this Session were contributed by Indian gentlemen, and all of them were of great interest, and marked by considerable ability.

Over the paper read by Shaikh Abdul Quadir on "Young India : Its Hopes and Aspirations," the Hon. Mr. Justice Tyabji presided, a gentleman whose name will always be connected with the movement for improving education amongst the Mahommedans of Western India.

The Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale's paper on "Self-Government in India" led to an interesting debate ; and Mr. Thorburn's suggestive paper on "An Indian Militia for India's Defence" was most appropriate and helpful at a time when Army reorganization in India was under consideration and discussion. Mr. Thorburn's views are happily now, after ten years, being to some extent adopted.



WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME, BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

The Grille of the House of Commons—The Secretary of State for India and his Mission—The Royal Asiatic Society—"Our Day": Indian Section—National Indian Association—Entente Cordiale: Women of the Overseas Dominions and of India—Women's Medical Training College, Ludhiana—Women's Indian Study Association—The Salvation Army—Lyceum Club: The Allies' Welcome to China on entering the War; to Roumania; Mrs. Rhys Davids on Philosophic Ideals

"THE House of Commons keeps lady visitors behind the purdah!" This has been the general explanation offered to Indian—and other—visitors, who have stared with astonishment at the gilded brass trellis, known as the Grille, which till recently has hidden ladies sufficiently interested in the doings of legislators to desire to hear their speeches. The House of Commons has not only separated the sexes with purdah-like rigidity, but it has lived under the fiction that ladies were not within the precincts of the House. "Strangers," in the persons of men visitors, are not allowed to witness the devotions with which every sitting commences, but ladies, being technically "outside," have been permitted to gaze down from above upon Hon. Members, few in number, who join in the daily prayers for blessing on the deliberations of the High Court of Parliament. When Parliament reassembled on October 16, the House of Commons found that the Grille had disappeared; lady visitors no longer appear dimly as birds in a gilded cage. With the disappearance of the Grille there needs must follow the disappearance of the purdah spirit of separating the sexes, giving place to the admission of both to the open Strangers' Gallery. The House of Lords does not hide its lady visitors behind a curtain or put them in a cage; they occupy seats which are in full view of the House, and even, on occasion, overflow on to the red benches of the peers. If a husband and wife visit the House of Commons together they are parted at the Central Lobby, and the wife must needs traverse a quarter of a mile—so it is estimated—of corridors and galleries before she finds herself in the Ladies' Gallery at the opposite end of the House to her husband.

Nor is she allowed, unless accompanied by a Member, to stray along the tempting broad corridors which lead to alluring rooms for rest and recreation, or to the famous Terrace, with its traditions of tea and strawberries and cream. If she leaves the Ladies' Gallery alone, she is carefully shepherded into a cage-like lift, which conveys her to a narrow portal giving access to the outer world, and if she has to meet her husband again within the House, she must needs pass out of Palace Yard and along the public highway, where both sexes meet, till she reaches the spot inside the House where she may, without risk of interference by the men of the A Division of Metropolitan Police, once again speak with her husband.

In a recent debate on the Grille, Mr. W. H. Dickinson, who pressed for its removal, declared that after considerable research he had been unable to discover the purpose it was intended to serve. He told the House that in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries ladies used to attend the debates, on occasion in such large numbers that they overflowed into the seats allotted to Members. As a result of their refusal to abandon these points of vantage on February 2, 1778, they were excluded for about fifty years, and Mrs. Sheridan, it is reported, had to appear dressed as a man in order to hear a great speech by her husband. Later on, ladies were allowed to peer down two ventilating shafts in the roof of the House; "but," added Mr. Dickinson, "fortunately for them the Houses of Parliament were burnt down in 1835. By that fire they were relieved of their purgatory." When the present House was built the original plan showed the space allotted to the ladies to be only five or six feet from the seats of Members. It was proposed to erect a Grille to prevent conversation; but the plan was altered—the ladies were placed high above the Reporters' Gallery. Yet the Grille was erected. "I cannot help thinking," said Mr. Dickinson, "that when we have to solicit the votes of ladies themselves we shall have a very great difficulty in justifying a system which seems to treat them either as wild beasts or as ladies of the harem." "A discreditable anachronism, . . . an indignity unworthy of the democracy of the present day," was the description given of the Grille by another Hon. Member. A few days before the House rose for the recess, £5 was solemnly voted for "Expenditure in respect of Houses of Parliament Buildings." The leader of the House explained in half a dozen words that the vote was for the removal of the Grille. There was no debate, but certain Members pressed for a division, with the result that the Ayes numbered 164, the Noes 18.

The Grille has since been removed, and the only doubt that remains is its ultimate destination. Is it to find a home in a museum, or to be committed to the care of a Woman Suffrage Society whose doings made it conspicuously famous? As the Grille is in sections, it may be easily possible to gratify all claimants!

The Secretary of State invited the following gentlemen to accompany him on his visit to India: The Earl of Donoughmore, K.P., Chairman of

Committees of the House of Lords; Mr. Charles Roberts, M.P., formerly Under-Secretary for India; Sir William Duke, member of the India Council; and Mr. Malcolm Seton, of the India Office, who will act as Secretary. During Mr. Montagu's absence Lord Islington, Under-Secretary for India, will represent the Secretary of State in the House of Lords and the Ministry; Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Minister for Education, will act as representative of the India Office in the House of Commons. By request of the Council of the Society of Arts, Sir Charles S. Bayley will act as chairman of the Indian Section Committee in the absence of Sir William Duke.

After twenty-six years of service, thirteen as assistant secretary, and thirteen as secretary and librarian, Miss C. Hughes is resigning her duties at the Royal Asiatic Society on her approaching marriage with Mr. R. W. Fraser, formerly of the Madras Civil Service, afterwards secretary of the London Institution, and now on the staff of the Institution in its new development as the School of Oriental Studies. Under the devoted care and energy which Miss Hughes has given, the Society has not only prospered but increased its reputation throughout the world, and maintained its foremost place among societies concerned with Oriental learning. The editing of the famous Journal of the Society has also been undertaken by Miss Hughes, in co-operation with the Council; and a feature of every annual meeting has been the tribute paid by the President, Lord Reay, or the Vice-Presidents in his absence, to the admirable and successful way in which Miss Hughes has carried out her varied and exacting duties, and to her unfailing courtesy and helpfulness to members. Miss Hughes' successor is Colonel H. A. Rose, formerly of the Panjab Civil Service, who has recently been in charge of an Indian Labour Corps in France. He brings enthusiasm and experience to his new work, being an authority on Indian ethnography and the author of the Panjab Census Report for 1901. Colonel Rose takes up his duties on December 1. He has the good wishes of members of the Society and friends who recognize the difficulty of his task in succeeding so able a secretary as Miss Hughes.

Sprays of jasmine and flags with an elephant or a star were the distinguishing features of the Indian Section of "Our Day," organized this year, for the second time, by Princess Sophia Duleep Singh. London, walking into the Indian "pitch," which extended from the Haymarket to St. James's Square, Carlton House Terrace, and Piccadilly, with an *annexe* at Whiteley's, saw more Indian ladies in saris than it sees, as a rule, during the whole year. The courage of Indian ladies, whose saris brightened London's grey streets, contributed largely to the success of the effort on behalf of wounded Indian soldiers. Sympathetic buyers united the Empire in a buttonhole: the elephant for India, the kangaroo for Australia, the springbok for South Africa, the maple leaf for Canada. The jasmine sprays were a novelty of this year, and proved very attractive. Good business was done also at the stalls outside Dewar House, Haymarket, and in Piccadilly; Sir Thomas Dewar was again a good friend to

the Indian Section. Among those who helped Princess Sophia in organization or in selling were Princess Sudhira Mander, of Cooch Behar, Lady Kensington, Lady Primrose, Lady Hayes Sadler, Lady Katherine Stuart, Lady Muir Mackenzie, Mrs. Villiers Stuart, Mrs. Ameer Ali, Mrs. T. Lal, Mrs. P. L. Roy, Mrs. K. P. Gupta, Mrs. Bholi Nauth, Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mrs. P. C. Sen, Mrs. M. M. Dhar, Miss Bonarjee, Miss Ghosh, Miss Muriel Dutt, Miss Beck, Mrs. Rajkumari Das, Mrs. Beverley, Miss D. Dove, and Miss Rosanna Powell.

The National Indian Association gave a friendly and informal welcome to the Hon. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, who has recently arrived in this country to take up his duties as member of the India Council. The new member comes with a record of long service to the cause of education in India, and has been for many years closely associated with the work of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. Old friends and new gathered to greet him and wish him success in his new duties.

At one of the weekly Friday evening gatherings of the Association, which are in the nature of merry family parties, and to which friends interested to meet Indian students and others are welcomed, much amusement was caused by a mock trial, carried out with all the formalities of a court of law. Dr. John Matthai, of Balliol College, Oxford, was the judge, and Indians figured as prosecuting and defending counsel, jurors, clerk of the Court, witnesses, etc. The prisoner, also an Indian, was found guilty of the theft of a box of matches, but the utmost penalty of the law was not exacted! An air raid, of which the alarm had been given, would be regarded, said the judge, as gross contempt of Court. Fortunately, the proceedings were only disturbed by laughter, not by bombs!

It was a happy choice to make Mrs. N. C. Sen the first link in the chain which is to draw together the women of the Overseas Dominions and India. From the Dominions comes the desire to know more of the women of India, and the British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union is the medium by which this desire starts on its way to realization. The Union called a gathering, representative of India, the Dominions, and the Homeland, on October 27, at 144, High Holborn, and a committee was formed to carry on and extend the idea. The High Commissioners of the Dominions and the Agents-General, and their wives, are taking a keen interest in the new movement, a special feature of which will be to promote friendly intercourse, by which a knowledge and understanding of each other may be fostered and strengthened. There was excellent promise in the first gathering. Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Canada were represented; and India may feel proud of her representatives: Mrs. N. C. Sen, who gave an illuminating talk on India, past and present; Princess Sophia Duleep Singh, Mrs. Bonnarjee and her daughter, who has just gained the LL.B., London University, the first Bengali girl to win the distinction; Dr. Jhirad, house-surgeon at the New Hospital for Women, Euston Road, London, which is staffed by women; Mrs. M. M. Dhar;

Committees of the House of Lords; Mr. Charles Roberts, M.P., formerly Under-Secretary for India; Sir William Duke, member of the India Council; and Mr. Malcolm Seton, of the India Office, who will act as Secretary. During Mr. Montagu's absence Lord Islington, Under-Secretary for India, will represent the Secretary of State in the House of Lords and the Ministry; Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Minister for Education, will act as representative of the India Office in the House of Commons. By request of the Council of the Society of Arts, Sir Charles S. Bayley will act as chairman of the Indian Section Committee in the absence of Sir William Duke.

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The National Indian Association gave a friendly and informal welcome to the Hon. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, who has recently arrived in this country to take up his duties as member of the India Council. The new member comes with a record of long service to the cause of education in India, and has been for many years closely associated with the work of the Mahommedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. Old friends and new gathered to greet him and wish him success in his new duties.

At one of the weekly Friday evening gatherings of the Association, which are in the nature of merry family parties, and to which friends interested to meet Indian students and others are welcomed, much amusement was caused by a mock trial, carried out with all the formalities of a court of law. Dr. John Matthai, of Balliol College, Oxford, was the judge, and Indians figured as prosecuting and defending counsel, jurors, clerk of the Court, witnesses, etc. The prisoner, also an Indian, was found guilty of the theft of a box of matches, but the utmost penalty of the law was not exacted ! An air raid, of which the alarm had been given, would be regarded, said the judge, as gross contempt of Court. Fortunately, the proceedings were only disturbed by laughter, not by bombs !

It was a happy choice to make Mrs. N. C. Sen the first link in the chain which is to draw together the women of the Overseas Dominions and India. From the Dominions comes the desire to know more of the women of India, and the British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union is the medium by which this desire starts on its way to realization. The Union called a gathering, representative of India, the Dominions, and the Homeland, on October 27, at 144, High Holborn, and a committee was formed to carry on and extend the idea. The High Commissioners of the Dominions and the Agents-General, and their wives, are taking a keen interest in the new movement, a special feature of which will be to promote friendly intercourse, by which a knowledge and understanding of each other may be fostered and strengthened. There was excellent promise in the first gathering. Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Canada were represented ; and India may feel proud of her representatives : Mrs. N. C. Sen, who gave an illuminating talk on India, past and present ; Princess Sophia Duleep Singh, Mrs. Bonnarjee and her daughter, who has just gained the LL.B., London University, the first Bengali girl to win the distinction ; Dr. Jhirad, house-surgeon at the New Hospital for Women, Euston Road, London, which is staffed by women ; Mrs. M. M. Dhar ;

and others representing Madras, various parts of India, and Ceylon. Among the representatives of the Homeland were Mrs Despard, Mrs Cobden Sanderson, Miss Chrystal MacMillan, and Lady Muir Mackenzie, who presided, and is herself a friendly link between East and West. In an interesting speech from the chair she declared that association with India had widened the outlook of Britain, and that the women of India, as well as of other nations in the British Commonwealth, must extend the great gifts which make home beautiful and attractive beyond the scope of individual into national homes. Mrs Sen's presentment of India's powers and resources, of the great gifts which her sons and daughters can bring to the well being of the nations, was both interesting and illuminating, dealing with past and present, and expressing high hope for the future. India produced the great men and women of the Vedas and the Upanishads, of the Middle Ages, and to day has given us the poet, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the statesman, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the scientist, Dr J C Bose, soldiers who have proved their worth on the battlefield, such women, too, as Her Highness the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal, Sarojini Naidu, Pundita Ramabai, as well as novelists, editors, scholars, teachers. With these human and other material resources India comes with rich gifts into the partnership of the British Commonwealth. The drawing together of the women of the Commonwealth of nations is a movement full of hope and promise for the future.

The dominant note of the annual meeting of the Women's Medical Training College, Ludhiana, Panjab, held at the Caxton Hall on November 1, was the urgent need for more trained medical women and nurses. Lady Carmichael sounded the note from the chair, and contrasted the excellent facilities of the College with some hospitals in India which are destitute of trained nurses and women patients. Yet the work of the College is handicapped because, to quote Dr Edith Brown's words, 'We have no prospect yet of a doctor for midwifery or eyes. Is there any hope in England?' The College may be said to owe, not only its continued existence for twenty years, but its great success, to the devoted work of Dr Edith Brown, the Principal, who, in addition to personal service, puts into the College funds the fees received for her practice outside, amounting to more than £1,000 a year. It is characteristic of this devoted woman that at the close of a day of very heavy surgical work she could give her leisure to "treating" a doll to avert disappointment from a little patient. Dolls, said the secretary (Miss Benham, 15, Holwood Road, Bromley, Kent), are one of the needs of the College which can be supplied by those who are unable to fill the serious gaps among the women doctors and nurses on the staff. It goes without saying that financial help is always required for development and equipment, as well as for general expenses. The Panjab Government has paid tribute to the admirable service of the College by recognizing it as the Provincial Medical School for Women of all denominations, Christian and non-Christian. It works under the banner of Christianity, but the religious convictions of students are scrupulously respected. The report shows a remarkable list of sub-assistant

surgeons, compounders, and nurses, trained at the College, who are now working in many parts of India, from the N.-W. Frontier to Madras, from Khatiawar to Bengal. Dr. Lilius Blackett, of Mooltan, told how Ludhiana students had practically saved the situation in the hospital in which she works in its crying need for help; Dr. Neve, of Kashmir, added his tribute of praise, and pleaded for financial support for the College; and Miss Mary Sorabji pointed out how much more favourable it was for Indian girls to study medicine under the excellent conditions obtaining at Ludhiana than in Bombay and other parts of India, except the Lady Hardinge Memorial College at Delhi, where they have to do their work side by side with men. It is through trained Indian medical women and nurses that the gift of healing must come to Indian women now left without necessary care and help.

Lord Sydenham presided at the meeting of the Women's Indian Study Association last month, when "The Women's Movement in India" was the subject for consideration. He declared that every possible assistance should be given to the Movement, which makes for progress among the women of India. The women of Britain have influence and responsibility, as well as the men of Britain, with regard to India, and Lord Sydenham made a strong appeal to British women who were going to India to get into understanding sympathy with the most kindly people in the world and their most fascinating country. He considered that every regiment sent to India should be instructed about the people and the country, and that a knowledge of Indian history, customs, religions, literature, and points of view, should have a prominent place in the Civil Service examination. Miss Boyd, the special speaker on the occasion, has had experience of the Woman's Movement in India through her work for the Women's University Settlement in Bombay. She said that although there is no Woman Suffrage Movement nor a Woman's Trade Union among Indian women, India is not untouched by the great movement which has spread round the world. There is in Indian women the great desire to render service. The war has increased the desire to render service to their own families by extending its scope to those outside, and the story of what Indian women have done for India's soldiers is as significant as it is valuable. She laid stress on the importance of extending educational facilities to women, on India's need of trained teachers and medical women, and made a special appeal to British women in India and at home to show friendliness towards their Indian sisters, and to lend them a helping hand on the road to progress, along which, she pointed out, they have already made considerable advance.

Before Commissioner and Mrs. Booth-Tucker left London on their return to Salvation Army work in India, a large number of friends had the opportunity of meeting them at a good-bye gathering by invitation of General and Mrs. Booth. Lord Sydenham, presiding on the occasion, declared that the Army had done marvellous work among criminal tribes in India, transforming them from wandering outcasts and robbers into

orderly people, ready to carry on useful work. Commissioner Booth-Tucker was born in India. He is the son of an Anglo-Indian Judge, and was a magistrate and Treasury officer before he joined the Salvation Army. He introduced the Army to India in 1882, and has devoted himself to its work. Some years ago he was decorated by the King-Emperor for his valuable services.

"The Right secures many allies, the Wrong but few." This quotation, from a Chinese book of the third century before Christ, in Chinese characters and an English translation, decorated the characteristically Chinese programmes on the occasion of the dinner to celebrate China's entry into the war given by the Lyceum Club, on October 29. The welcome of Britain was given by Viscount Bryce, O.M., who pointed out that the flames of war have now enveloped the whole civilized world, and that three-fourths of mankind are in arms. China, ever a peace-loving nation, did not enter the war from motives of revenge, but because she saw that the principles of right, justice, and humanity are involved in the world conflict. In her long history one of the greatest events to be recorded will be her participation in this terrific struggle. The American Ambassador declared that Germany's assault on civilization had reached both the oldest and the youngest nations; that it meant much to the Allies that the ancient civilization of Asia should pass a clear judgment on the issues involved. France and Japan had their spokesmen, who welcomed China as an ally, and other allied nations were represented. The Chinese Minister, in a thoughtful and able speech, stated that China had come into the conflict on the side of civilization against barbarity, of moral right against physical force, of the smaller nations against aggressive Powers, and that she would do everything in her power to help in men and material, including enemy ships in her ports. Before she joined the Allies she had been in sympathy with their cause, and had contributed to war loans, ambulances, aeroplanes, etc.; her doctors, even after ten years' absence from home, had decided to remain and use their skill for the benefit of the Western nations; the men of the Chinese labour battalion had proved themselves clever and resourceful mechanics. His Excellency paid tribute to the might of Britain as he had seen it here in war time, to the great rallying of the outlying parts of the Empire to the service of the Allies, and added that the part played by women will be one of the most brilliant pages of history.

There was special appropriateness in the remark of the Roumanian Ambassador, M. Mishu, in paying tribute to the heroic service of British women: "We shall never cease to admire what British women have done for Roumania, and the example they had set. Even in an air-raid they are not seriously disturbed"—for the dinner given in honour of Roumania at the Lyceum Club proceeded to the accompaniment of an air attack on London, with all that it means of roaring guns and shrieking shells. The President on the occasion was Miss Henderson, who was in Roumania, as administrator of the Scottish Women's Hospitals, during those dark days

of retreat, "when the products of a fertile country were offered on the altar of necessity while the people cried for food." Miss Henderson gave a moving description of the experiences of autumn, 1916, and declared that the terrible sufferings of Roumania must evoke not only material compensation but heartfelt sympathy and consolation. The Roumanian Ambassador added to his touching words of admiration and gratitude for the devoted service of British women instances of the courage of the women of his nation during the war, telling also of the heroine of bygone days who inspired her son to achieve a great victory. Other distinguished Roumanians were among the guests. M. Mitrani made an interesting speech on Greater Roumania, giving a brief historical sketch of the Roumanian principalities of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania, and expressing hope for the fulfilment of their dreams of union and consolidation. General Georgesco, who was in command of a Roumanian army corps, said how valuable was the help given by Britain to Roumania in her great need. Captain Masterson's description of the destruction of the oil-fields brought home something of Roumania's sacrifice; Mr. Leeper urged the need for a real *rapprochement* between Britain and Roumania, to which the Anglo-Roumanian Society will devote itself; and Mr. A. Whyte, M.P., emphasizing the necessity for the unity of the Balkans, maintained that the future of the peace of Europe depends upon a positive, not a negative, Balkan policy. The Roumanian and Serbian nations must stand shoulder to shoulder for liberty, justice, and the free development of the peoples, and he thought that even Bulgaria might be brought back into the union.

Mrs. Rhys Davids gave her audience food for thought when she addressed a joint meeting of the Oriental and Philosophical Circles of the Lyceum Club on the Buddhist doctrine of Change. The Buddhist says nothing lasts. Repose, stability, sameness, are a fiction; the real state, the constant coefficient of all things, material and mental, is motion, otherwise change. In a sense, we stand to-day where the early Buddhist stood. We have set our faces, on the whole, toward a philosophy where change is recognized as not a passing phase of static things, but as their true state of being. Mrs. Davids quoted General Smuts' famous speech on the British Commonwealth of Nations: "We are a system of States, not only a static system, a stationary system, but a dynamic system, growing, evolving all the time towards new destinies. . . . Your whole basic idea is different from anything that has ever existed before. . . ." She looks forward to the time when a wonderful growth in philosophic grasp, courage, and faith, will evolve an ideal based on change, accepting its eternal and creative nature as our best guarantee for a realization of transformed conceptions of peace and happiness.

A. A. S.

A NOTEWORTHY EXHIBITION

A COLLECTION, derived from various sources, of early Persian and Indo-Persian Drawings, Tempera Paintings, Illuminated and Illustrated Manuscripts and Books, exhibited at the Fine Art Society in Bond Street, is attracting numerous visitors, and students of Oriental art in particular. It is the first time that such an exhibition was made possible in this country, as the supply of the necessary material was for a long time not forthcoming. For we are told that Berlin, New York, and Paris monopolized to a great extent all that has come into the market.

Our attention is drawn at once to the exquisitely fine calligraphy which in most cases accompanies these drawings and miniatures, and which was evidently greatly valued in the Muhammadan world, where the painter ranked lower than the scribe.

Most of the Paintings and Manuscript-folios here exhibited date from the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth century. They are the work of well-known artists, who signed their names in the modest way characteristic of Orientals, as, for instance, "The Humble Muhammad Darwish," or "the slave the sinner Ahmadul-Husayni," etc.

Perhaps the most interesting miniatures from the art-historical point of view are: "The Lady holding a Lotus" (1), "a Mythological Figure seated on a tiger's skin" (2), and a "Hermit with a Rosary" (3). They date from the thirteenth century, and are of great rarity. They show the influence which the Mongols, imbued with Chinese art, brought from the Far East into the sphere of the Near East after the Fall of Bagdad, about 1258.

Mogul art asserts itself in the portrait of Prince Mirza Salim, eldest son of Akbar the Great, seated in a pavilion with his tutor (113). "A Man seated on a Tiger's Skin" is another fine example of the Mogul school (67). The Timurid school is represented by several personages of Mongolian type in a garden (68), whilst the portrait of Timur, with its peculiar specimen of calligraphy on the reverse, somewhat recalls that wonderful miniature portrait of this great Mongol Emperor in Mr. Martin's collection. Of no less importance than the Miniatures and Drawings are the Illuminated and Illustrated Manuscript-Books, which will prove, no doubt, of the greatest interest to Orientalists.

L. M. R.

OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

Telegram from Viceroy, Revenue and Agriculture Department, dated October 16, 1917.—Rainfall has been scanty in Bay Islands, Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, United Provinces, Punjab (east and north), Kashmir, North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Central India (east), Madras (south-east), and Madras Coast (north) ; fair in Burma, Central Provinces (east), Hyderabad (north), and Malabar ; normal in Assam, Punjab (south-west), Sind, Rajputana, Hyderabad (south), Mysore and Madras Deccan ; in excess elsewhere.

The monsoon will still probably be weak.

Telegram from Viceroy, Revenue and Agriculture Department, dated October 23, 1917.—Rainfall has been scanty in Assam, United Provinces, Punjab (east and north), Kashmir, North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Rajputana, Gujarat, Central India, Berar, and Central Provinces (west) ; fair in Bay Islands, Burma, Orissa, Bihar, and Central Provinces (east) ; normal in Bengal, Punjab (south-west), Sind and Hyderabad (north) ; in excess elsewhere. Rainfall will probably be excessive in Bombay and defective in Madras.

Telegram from Secretary to Government of India, Revenue and Agriculture Department, dated October 30, 1917.—Rainfall has been scanty in Mysore, Madras (south-east), and Madras Deccan ; fair in Bay Islands, Upper Burma, Assam, Hyderabad (north), and Malabar ; normal in Punjab (south-west), North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Berar, and Hyderabad (south) ; and in excess elsewhere. Rainfall is likely to be in excess in North-East India.

The Government of India now propose to discontinue sending this weather telegram.

THE LAST WAR?

BY J. POLLEN, C.I.E.

Is the present war the last war? This question is discussed at some length by the well-known Swiss writer Mr. Hector Hodler in the October issue of *Esperanto*, the official organ of the U.E.A., published at Geneva.

Mr. Hodler holds that this war is distinguished from all former wars, not only by its enormous proportions and by the perfection of its weapons of destruction, by the gravity of the loss in human life, by the profound transformations it has brought about in the economic life of the peoples, by the indecisive character of its army operations, but also—and this is by far the most weighty consequence—by the effect it has produced and is producing on our manner of thought.

Whereas the human butcheries of the Past never aroused amongst our forefathers a lasting reaction against the principle itself of war (which always appeared to them to be a natural misfortune scarcely capable of being avoided) we now reject it with indignation, considering it a useless barbarism and a great crime against mankind. Our indignation is increased by the fact that we are now beginning to understand that war is not a natural fatality, like an earthquake or volcanic eruption, but, on the contrary, that it could be avoided by timely precautions taken by men. It is precisely for this reason that rulers are now striving so energetically to prove that they are not to blame for its occurrence.

No one any longer doubts that the present war has discredited the very principle itself of war, which will henceforth be regarded as an absurdity unworthy of the progress of civilization. From this admission arises a hope that, taught by the most terrible experience imaginable, the peoples of to-morrow will lay aside their arms and attach themselves to the ideal of a united and pacified Humanity. It has been well said that this war will prove the death of war.

However, merely to hope that this war will be the last is not sufficient to make it so. Hatred of war is a valuable weapon in the fight for the establishment of a new order, but it can lead to no positive result unless our spirit forms a sufficiently clear and precise idea as to the practical means to be adopted to do away with new conflicts. In order to live in good health it is not sufficient merely not to desire bad health—one must

adopt a healthy hygiene and manner of life, which will remove all possible causes of bad health.

Unfortunately, although most men disapprove of the principle of war, there are only a few who are really and truly interested in the question how to prevent a recurrence of the present barbarity. It is to be feared that when peace comes mankind, who will almost at once be occupied with other tasks apparently more urgent, will relapse into the former mistaken system, and will thus lose the advantages of their tragic experiences. Against this possible danger (the forgetting which follows suffering) let us guard public opinion by setting before it now at the present time the problem regarding international order in its fullest amplitude and clearest aspect. Whoever, under various pretexts, attempts to delay the study and discussion of that problem is preparing, whether he desires to do so or not, disorder in the future to be followed by fresh wars. He is just as dangerous as a militarist.

The search for remedies demands a knowledge of causes. Now in this relation our capacity for judging is as yet very defective. We warmly and strongly denounce individuals who are responsible, although in so doing we too often act more on the impulse of the moment or on the suggestion of the creators of public opinion than on impartial examination of facts. We accuse and reproach the rulers that are to blame. We demand that they should be most severely punished. But it is worthy of remark that in our researches into the causes of war we almost always miss the essential non-personal invariable element of the problem—the chief cause of all wars—namely, the *system* of interstate relations, the logic of which dominates the will of the rulers and of the peoples!

Because we thus ignore the true cause of the public misfortunes we can only propose half-remedies, always the same, and always insufficient—viz., “to punish the criminals,” to “alter territorial limits” at certain points, “to establish a new balance of power” as unstable as the former. We do not succeed in getting out of the vicious circle inside which mankind has been wandering for centuries, passing out of one war and led back into another simply because it cannot yet control itself. This will continue as long as we obstinately impute to men that which in reality is the logical effect of a certain system for the maintenance of which all peoples are responsible. Do not let us believe that the power of rulers is greater than it really is. However unscrupulous some leaders of the peoples may be, they would be prevented from endangering international security if the world were organized for peace instead of being organized for war. The logic of the system is more powerful than the logic of the men, “International Anarchy” is the proper name of the system which now rules us, and from which war can never be disassociated. It is characterized by the co-existence of sovereign nations who in their reciprocal relations know no other law than their own peculiar interests.

Fortunately men have the power to change the system which oppresses them. The solution is known! It consists in the substitution of Order for Anarchy, of the free association of the peoples for this tumultuous chaos of independent nations.

No victory of any nation will be enough of itself to kill war. This glorious result can only be achieved by the fundamental transformation of interstatal relations, to be realized and brought about by peoples better educated and more rationally instructed as to their true interests than they are now. The greatest victory, the most fruitful victory, the most enduring and the most-to-be-desired-of-all victories, will be that which mankind will gain over itself in freeing itself from the chains of the Past, casting off the rotten prejudices which are destroying it, and striving with all its forces to attain the luminous ideal of a United Body of Nations.

LONDON THEATRES

Globe Theatre.—"THE WILLOW TREE."

The Anglo-Saxon on the horns of a dilemma in the Far East—between the love left at home and the love newly-found amid the blossoms of Japan—is a theme that has become familiar to us ever since the success of "*Madame Butterfly*." But here we have a dash of the *Pygmalion* and *Galatea* legend thrown in, with the effect that fantasy has, indeed, been outfantasied. The love-sick swain buys a Japanese image reminiscent in wondrous wise of his Western flame—and the carved block of wood becomes flesh! His real love comes across the seas—and the Japanese returns to mother—wood. Miss Renée Kelly is very successful as the Japanese girl, and only less so as the Englishwoman. Mr. Owen Nares, fresh from the triumph of "*Romance*," easily convinces us of the sincerity of his passion.

A somewhat grotesque, and, we think, unnecessary addition, is the introduction of an Americanized ultra-modern young Japanese student, who is supposed to judge everything by the dollar-mark. We confess to the belief that "young Japan" is no longer in this embryonic stage.

